TO: AF

FROM: LY

DATE: May 9, 1947

SUBJECT: WEST END COOPERATIVE CORPORATION

The above named organization was recently called to our attention as a result of a news item which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution on April 29th, 1947, wherein 9 white men broke up a religious meeting which was attended by whites and Negroes at a home on Sells Avenue in Atlanta. The story further indicated that a KKK sign was posted on the premises.

I attended a meeting which was sponsored by this group and held at the American Legion Hall, 542 Ashby Street, Atlanta, on May 2nd, 1947. I arrived at 7:30 P.M., and found only three people present. After waiting until 8:15, the crowd swelled to 18, consisting of 12 men, 5 women and one boy. It is my opinion that of the 12 men, at least 4 were observers. The meeting was presided over by Joseph M. Wallace, its president, and he started a discussion as to policies of the West End Cooperative Corporation. He stated it was necessary to remove all Negroes from the West End area where the whites are now living but that his organization intended to do it in a peaceful manner. He went on to tell the small audience that it was his intention to purchase from the Negroes their homes at a reasonable price and help them to find quarters in the Negro district. Wallace went on to tell the people present that his organization was a non-profit one, that no membership fees were required, and all people living in the West End area are automatically members of the organization. The Corporation has shares for sale, ranging in price from $10 to $50 and this money is used to purchase Negro property in West End in order to clear the colored people out of this area.

A question was asked from the floor as to how many members are presently enrolled and Wallace said that he did not have his records with him at this time but thought there were at least 200 active members. When pressed further for information, he became very vague and merely indicated that he did not have his records with him. A great deal of stress was placed by Wallace on the need for new members and he instructed every person present to contact every one in his neighborhood in order to sign them up as active members. He referred to this method as the block plan, which is a similar term used by the Columbians. He elaborated further by saying that, "We should have block meetings of each group and try to swell our membership."

Harry C. Harris, vice-president of the organization, then took the floor and referred to the newspaper article that appeared in the Constitution, April 29, 1947, but Wallace waved him down and kep him quiet. There was then carried on a general discussion about the Negro population in the area and it was recommended that the Federal Government subsidize a housing program in the Atlanta area for the Negro in order to set up an entire area for them with their own police department, fire department and other public utilities. Wallace was very eager to continue the discussion along this line, as he is in favor of starting this development and indicated that he would like very much to handle the building. Time after time, Wallace publicly stated, "I have no malice in my heart for the colored people but we must keep them in their place."

COPY

Wallace struck me as being a very good organizer and he knows how to pin the people down to get them to do some work. He sounds like an old time pitch man selling his wares on the New York East Side, as he kept saying from time to time, "Tell you what I'm going to do...."

The meeting as a whole was very uneventful and very unsuccessful financially, as no shares were sold and none of the supposed city officials who were to be present made an appearance. Five people left the meeting before it was over and the remainder waited until the close of the meeting, about 10:30 P.M.

After the meeting, I spoke to Harry C. Harris, the vice-president, and Mr. Smallwood, a member of the organization, and questioned them about the incident which appeared in the Constitution. They both admitted that they were present outside the home of Miss Doris Ebbert, 1247 Sells Ave., S.W., Atlanta, the night of April 28th. With them were a number of other members of the West End Cooperative Corporation but they did not furnish me with names or number.

Smallwood told me he crept up on the porch, peeked in through the window, and saw seven or eight people sitting around, talking to each other. He said that some were colored and some were white. "I saw a colored man with his arm around the back of a white woman's chair and I got so mad that I wanted to bust into the house." Mr. Harris also mentioned that he saw what was going on and when they rang the bell to inquire what colored and white people were doing together in this neighborhood, they were informed that a religious meeting was going on. Smallwood said he didn't believe this was a religious meeting and suggested that they get rid of the Negroes from this neighborhood immediately. Smallwood then said the police arrived but there was no trouble. The colored people were escorted out of the neighborhood and the crowd on the outside dispersed.

A list of officers of the corporation were given as follows:

Joseph M. Wallace, president,
Harry C. Harris, vice-president,
Mrs. Elise Benefield, secretary,
Miss Alma Owens, treasurer.

This group is incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia.

Wallace, to whom I spoke after the meeting, told me he was born in Tifton, Ga., which is in Tift County, and that he is a veteran of World War I. He lives with his wife at 839 Park Street, Atlanta, is in the junk business and also does some building. He is very eager to help the Negro to get them settled in their own community and would like very much to build some homes for them if the government would arrange to subsidize the program.

Wallace stated that his organization bars no one from joining other than Negroes. He said that Jews and Catholics are welcomed to become members. Wallace, himself, says he is a member of the Methodist Church.

Wallace told me he ran for City Council last year but was licked by only a few votes. He intends to make another try at it. He also mentioned that he was formerly an actor and traveled through the U.S. as a song and dance man. When pressed for details, he

COPY

did not give me any specific data. He told me that within the next month he intends to publish a weekly newspaper which will be run by Wallace and not by his organization. He plans to call it "The West End Free Press," and distribute it free. He said he hopes that the cost of printing this paper will be met by local advertisers.

During the course of the meeting, no anti-Semitic reference was made, other than "the nigger-lovers from New York" and "that Jew Rosenwald." The organization's platform is strictly anti-Negro and its purpose is to keep the West End area free from colored infiltration.

COPY

W-
West

March 5, 1948

Mr. Charles W. West
SIMS & WEST, Agents
909 Grant Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. West:

Your numbered policy, G -- 30488, has turned up at last, and we are very glad to return it to you herewith.

Please accept my personal apologies in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s
Enclosure

W -
Weisiger, Kendall

April 20, 1948

Dear Kendall:

Here is more dope turned up by a girl on our staff.

I note that the representative of Encampment for Citizenship is named Frank Harris. He will be in Atlanta from April 25 at noon to April 28 at nine o'clock in the morning, staying at the Ansley Hotel.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Kendall Weisiger
206 Seventeenth Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Memo

4/17/48

TO: Dr. Mitchell

FROM: Gay Morenus

About: Places for students from other countries to go in the summer.

I note ~~from~~ that Encampment literature on the filing table says, under eligibility, "all Americans . . ." What about the Friends' International Service Seminars? I have several good second-hand reports of them. F. S. C. Northroup lectured at one of them, and the staff is generally fine. They also sound like fun, and I believe the Service Committee is generous with financial help for foreign students. See attached description.

38 - W - Welch

June 17, 1948

Mr. Edmund Welch
Box 816
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Welch:

I am very glad that you are to take over the interesting job at Vickburg's YMCA. That particular YM, as you know, has been for many years a source of helpfulness in most good causes in Mississippi.

Our members at Vicksburg are the following:

Mrs. Neil Callahan Aeolian Apartments	Mrs. L. C. Jefferson 816 Monroe Boulevard
Dr. D. Swan Haworth First Baptist Church	Mr. W. H. Jefferson 802 Monroe Street
Mr. George L. Jefferson 800 Monroe Street	Mr. F. C. Willcoxon YMCA.

Rabbi Brav, who has been a distinguished Vicksburg citizen and one of our valued members, unfortunately has just moved to Cincinnati.

Please keep in touch with us and let us be of any service for you that we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Box 816
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 6, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In September I shall become Physical Director and Adult Program Secretary of the J. W. Johnson Memorial YMCA, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

noted
GM

Would you be so kind as to send me the names of those members of the Council who reside in Vicksburg? I am looking forward to making friends with them.

Sincerely,

Edmund Welch

38-W - Weber, Dorothy

July 9, 1948

Miss Dorothy Weber
Associate Secretary
Woman's Division of Christian Service
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Weber:

I am sorry to tell you that we have not compiled a list of Supreme Court rulings that have to bear on segregation practices. However, I am sending you material which contains references to pertinent decisions, with some discussion of each.

The enclosed pamphlet published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperatin discusses Court rulings up to 1942. Since we have only two copies of the pamphlet left, we should appreciate your returning this copy. The second enclosure, "The Condition of Our Rights", refers to a number of decisions. I have marked pages that will be of interest to you. This pamphlet you may keep.

wf 7-9-48

I think that these two booklets will give you the basic decisions, with the exception of a few on the white primary and early ones regarding segregated transportation. The Negro Year Book, 1947, p. 268 discusses white primary decisions--U.S. vs. Classic, 1941; Smith vs. Allwright, 1944; and the Primus King case, 1946. "The Condition of Our Rights" refers to the most recent decision, that in South Carolina.

There is an article on court decisions on segregated transportation in Race Relations: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends, October-November 1947, Volume V, Numbers 1&2. The Summary is published by the Social Science Institute of Fisk University. The article was written by Raymond Pace Alexander.

The Negro Year Book, 1947, also has a section on equalization of teachers' salaries. As yet there has been no Supreme Court decision in the matter. District federal courts have taken action in a number of cases, and decisions have followed the same general pattern.

I believe there has been a recent federal ruling that segregated dining cars on trains are constitutional. I do not have the facts, however.

Mrs. Tilly finds quite useful the 1946-47 annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union, entitled, "In Times of Challenge: U. S. Liberties, 1946-47". The report lists in a general way state and federal court decisions regarding civil liberties, and state and federal legislative action. I understand that copies of the report are no longer available on order, but you might be able to use a file copy in the Civil Liberties Union office, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York.

I hope that this general information will be helpful. Someone should compile a list of Supreme Court decisions bearing on race relations, but it would take a lawyer to do a good job of it and SRC does not have that kind of money.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

P. S. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People may have a more composite account of Supreme Court decisions.

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JUL 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

CHAIRMAN
MRS. JAMES OLDSHUE
434 EAST 88TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

STAFF
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
THELMA STEVENS

ASSOCIATE SECRETARIES
ELEANOR NEFF
DOROTHY WEBER

OFFICE SECRETARIES
MRS. CHARLOTTE R. FRENCH
ELSIE PETERSON

CHAIRMEN OF RESOURCE COMMITTEES

LOCAL CHURCH AND COMMUNITY CO-OPERATION
MRS. HOWARD W. SELBY
219 CHESTNUT STREET
WEST NEWTON, MASS.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD PEACE
MRS. R. E. JONES
BOX 103
WAVELAND, MISS.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS
MRS. J. G. LAW
310 LAFAYETTE AVENUE
RACINE, WIS.

INTERRACIAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS
MRS. DAVID D. JONES
BENNETT COLLEGE
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
MRS. JOY ELMER MORGAN
4109—17TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ALCOHOL AND OTHER NARCOTICS
MRS. WILTZ LEDBETTER
1134 DALZELL STREET
SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY
MRS. L. M. AWTREY
ACWORTH, GEORGIA

July 6, 1948

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I should very much appreciate your sending me any materials that you may have on Supreme Court rulings that have to bear on the breaking of segregation practices--that is, teacher's salaries, transportation, restrictive covenants, etc.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Weber

DW:ep

38-W- Weber, Dorothy

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

CHAIRMAN
MRS. JAMES OLDSHUE
434 EAST 88TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

STAFF
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
THELMA STEVENS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

ALCOHOL AND OTHER NARCOTICS
MRS. WILTZ LEDBETTER
1134 DALZELL STREET
SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY
MRS. L. M. AWTREY
ACWORTH, GEORGIA

July 13, 1948

Miss Margaret Price
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Price:

You are the most helpful person always! I hope you know how much I appreciate all the good work you do for ms so many times in helping me to find things tthat I need! Thank you so much for the materials that came yesterday, they are exactly what I wanted, and will help so much in my class in Oklahom City the latter part of the month. I am going to return the file copy to you in a day or two, I will not risk taking it with me for fear it will get lost.

Thanks again for all you do!

Sincerely,

Dorothy Weber

38 - W - Misc. -
Weisenborn, Gordon

October 6, 1948

Mr. Gordon Weisenborn
674 Irving Park
Chicago 13, Illinois

Dear Gordon:

Thanks for your welcome letter.

The idea keeps growing underneath and, once in a while, sends up a tentative shoot toward the light such as yours.

George Stoney has discussed it with the great man Grierson. I don't know the results.

It has occurred to me that maybe Grierson could get UNESCO to do such a film.

It needs to cover the whole of Africa. I think, therefore, that the gold mine you have turned up with Herskovits needs to have joined up to it various other gold mines that are about in order to produce the complete and dazzling treasure that we are after. You remember that there is some other footage available from the Harmon Foundation in New York.

I will try to restate the notion. You begin by observing that white Americans are normally curious about people from Kamchatka or Somaliland or, say, Eskimos. The more we learn about examples of such oddities, the more interested we become in them as individuals, and we end by liking and helping them. Yet your same white American, as a southerner, closes the front door behind him in the morning and in the course of a day confronts a thousand oddly descended dark countenances, as to whose owners he feels neither curiosity nor friendship—often the reverse. I am supposing that that is partly because he has been told the myth which Herskovits wrote a book to explode.

If, therefore, we could visually have movie audiences set out to examine history truthfully, that good start toward correct information might alter some people's opinion about Negroes over here. My general doctrine is that here is a people who had a difficult continent and who not only survived, but built creditable societies and whose modern representatives, therefore, deserve a hand up rather than a stomping down.

The film ought to go in pretty heavily for the disabilities of African geography, and then it should show somebody's good guesses on the populating of the continent in prehistoric times, trace out more recent tribal migration, and describe the main racial types and the main language groups of present-day Africa. Then there is the whole business of the medieval kingdoms and native industry, invention, and trade. Religion would get a play, and folk expressions such as dancing. Consider the beautiful possibilities of the musical accompaniment. The wreckage of the Arab slave wars comes in, and then the degredation of the slave trade. And then white colonization and the scramble for Africa. Something goes in about the worldwide dispersal of African peoples. That's the notion.

If I said I had $2,000, it was in some rasher and earlier incarnation. None now.

I do wish you would go back and talk to Herskovits and see if the two of you can concoct a plan for sending a new and stronger shoot up into the light.

And thank you for remembering and trying and writing.

You and your nice wife belong in our house whenever you get to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P. S. McGlothlin's address is: Mr. W. J. McGlothlin
Associate Director
Regional Council for Education
101 Marietta Street Building, Room 912
Atlanta, Georgia

cc: George Stoney

the film center

PRODUCTION - DISTRIBUTION - UTILIZATION

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL - MONTEAGLE TENNESSEE

9
28
48

Dear George:

Please excuse me writing you at home, but I don't have your office adress.

Do you remember (I'm sure you do) your projected film on African culture? About a year ago you outlined your ideas on a film that would present an image of the high level of African society to American audiences.

You suggested that you might have $2000 for the project. I investigated the possibilities in New York and then rather left further discussion in the hands of Maynard Gertler of World Today. I do not know what your subsequent discussion amounted to, but I did know that even if the New York newsreels had decent footage (which they don't), their charge is about $1.75 / foot, which would amount to about $3,500 for footage alone.

But, this afternoon I ran into something which excites me and certainly re-opens the possibility of fulfilling that dream of yours. I was up visiting Dr. Melville Herskovits, Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern. Mell just threw this off as a side remark, but sitting beneath his desk is 8000 feet of what is supposed to be superb shooting of the life and culture of Western Africa. Mel shot this himself and would be very happy to see it put to some use. He would further be happy to record the commentary. I don't know if that would do for our version, but we could easily make one for him in return for the use of the footage.

What do you think?

One reason Mel has done nothing with it is that many educated Negros, according to Mel, consider such investigations into Africa as "sub-human." Of course, if the film is handled by intelligent people, this charge is absurd.

the film center

PRODUCTION - DISTRIBUTION - UTILIZATION

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL - MONTEAGLE TENNESSEE

When you answer this letter, and if you still like the idea, can you formulate it on paper so that I can present it to Mel. If you present your ideas as to what kind of a job such a film would do and with what kind of audiences, I know I can get this footage.

Please give my best to the family.

Best regards,

Gordon

Gordon Weisenborn
For next two weeks..... 674 Irving Park
Chicago, 13

P.S. Could you also send me Bill McGlothlin's Atlanta address?

38-W-misc. -
Weil, R. J.

October 11, 1948

Mr. R. J. Weil
1628 Canal Building
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Mr. Weil:

Following up our telephone conversation of today, I am sending the enclosed material:

(1) 2 copies of October, 1947, NEW SOUTH, which contains, in addition to a listing of cities, some comments of chiefs of police and an article on Greensboro's experience with Negro policemen;

(2) 10 copies of September, 1948, NEW SOUTH, which brings the figures up to date in a table and article on pages 7 and 8;

(3) A clipping from the ATLANTA JOURNAL of November 25, 1947, which cites some of the results of an inquiry by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

Memphis, Tenn., and Columbia, S. C., have within the past few weeks announced their decision to employ Negro policemen as soon as applicants have been selected and trained.

I believe you will be interested in the leaflet, also enclosed, describing the work of the Southern Regional Council.

If we can be of further help, let us know.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

ENCL

GSM:t

38-W-Misc.-Webber, C.C.

December 14, 1948

Mr. Charles C. Webber, President
Virginia CIO Council
110 North Eighth Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Charlie:

Here, with much pleasure, is the bulletin which the New York Times praised. I send also the much better thing by Luther Jackson.

Sent it after all

If you insist on paying for these, the price would be thirty cents, but we would greatly prefer that you come along and be a member of the Southern Regional Council at $3.00 a year--in which case we chip these in for glad free!

Cordial regards.

Sinceraly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

CHARLES C. WEBBER, PRESIDENT
RICHMOND

PHONE: 2-0558

LLOYD P. VAUGHAN, SEC'Y-TREAS.
RICHMOND

VIRGINIA CIO COUNCIL

(VIRGINIA STATE INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL)

AFFILIATED WITH C. I. O.

110 N. EIGHTH STREET
RICHMOND

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
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LYNCHBURG
JAMES H. BOYETTE, UAW
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LYNCHBURG

CIO STATE DIRECTOR
ERNEST B. PUGH
RICHMOND

December 13, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

I was greatly interested in a summary of your fifth annual survey that appeared in a recent issue of the New York Times relative to the growth of political participation by both white people and Negroes in the South.

Will you kindly send me a copy of this survey and a bill for the same.

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Webber

Charles C. Webber, President
Virginia CIO Council

CCW:FT

38 H- Fisk
Weston, Annabelle

May 4, 1949

Dr. Annabelle Weston
2434 Millwood Avenue
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Weston:

I promised you yesterday some things about Negro veterans.

Here are copies of our surveys of several years ago in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Florida, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, together with a couple of other articles that would be helpful.

I put in also some pamphlets which you may find generally useful, and a list of all of our things.

You have got in the State Office Building at Columbia a person in charge of Veterans' Education. He could tell you roughly the number of Negro veterans of World War II who upon discharge returned to South Carolina. From that number, you would have to take your guess of the number who have left. That gives you the remaining number. Then it would be interesting to get figures (also probably available from the same official) as to the number of these veterans who took respectively college courses, institutional trade training of a secondary nature, non-institutional on-the-job trade training, mixed institutional and non-institutional trade training, and on-the-farm training. That would tell you the proportion of South Carolina Negro veterans who have made some use of the educational provisions of the GI bill. Interesting to compare that number with relevant figures for white veterans in the state.

Figures on employment of veterans could be had from the Veterans' Employment

Division of the South Carolina Employment Service.

All of these officials (in my experience in other states) will claim that they have no official race breakdowns. Nevertheless (also in my experience) they know pretty accurately. The problem is to get their guesses.

Have you not got at Allen or Benedict a special veterans' service officer? If so, some conversation with him would give you much of what you want.

A point to be brought out is that the GI training opportunity expires unless advantage is taken of it at some date soon—I believe June 30, 1949. If that is the case (and any Veterans' Administration official could advise you accurately) it is of great importance to get laggards to tie onto a course of educational training in which they would have the advantage of the GI bill.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

38 H - Misc
Welch, Nat.

May 5, 1949

Dear Nat:

Hey, you were a good egg to send us not only your own and your new wife's four dollars for a welcome joint membership, but a list of 54 other good eggs whom we should go after.

We are going after them great guns.

The things you and Aubrey push with farm people in the South are fundamental. And I declare, I see some cracks you are making in the ground!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Nat Welch
101 Magnolia Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

101 Magnolia Curve
Montgomery, Ala
May 1, 1949

Mr George Mitchell
Sov. Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George,

Enclosed is my application for membership. Your pamphlet "What Kind of South do You Want" spurred me to act after two years of "Meaning to".

Maybe this pamphlet will do the same for some of the people I have listed here.

Best regards,
Nat Welch

4.00 ok
M.C.

List of 54 names for cultivation enclosed

RECEIVED
MAY 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

To PSM.

Would you like to write a personal welcome to membership & thank you for the fine list of names she sent?

The list has gone to Jane — the membership blank to Carol —

38 H - Misc
Weisiger, Kendall

July 18, 1949

Mr. Kendall Weisiger
206 17th St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Kendall:

Here is a man who has been trying for some time to get sponsorship for coming to this country.

You will see I have made one or two deadend efforts to help him. Have you any suggestions.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

W Miscel

May 10, 1949

Mr. Kendall Weisiger
206 Seventeenth Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Kendall:

I have read with much interest your presentation to a major foundation.

I would certainly be greatly pleased if they took your careful and wise advice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

38- W- Misc.
Heisiger, Kendall

April 21, 1949

Mr. Kendall Weisiger
206 - 17th Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ken:

Come and see me sometime when you are downtown.

I have been spearing around in your Rotary Clubs in Florida.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

38-W-Misc.: Weir, Forrest C.

REV. EDWARD G. MACKAY, D.D.
CHAIRMAN, ADVISORY COMMITTEE

REV. FORREST CLEBURNE WEIR, PH.D.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

REV. JOHN M. ALEXANDER, D.D.
CHAIRMAN, RADIO DEPARTMENT

Southeastern Inter-Council Office

Representing

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
The International Council of Religious Education
The Home Missions Council of North America
The United Stewardship Council

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 20, 1949

Dr. Geroge S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I want you to know how deeply I appreciate your gracious participation in the program of our Convocation. The Advisory Committee and those responsible for carrying out our plans join me in this. Such a meeting would not have been possible except through the gracious gifts you brought to it.

I feel sure that the fruits of our efforts will be appearing in the region throughout the next biennium.

With every good wish to you personally, I am

Faithfully yours,

Forrest C. Weir

FCW:klm

Forrest Cleburne Weir

RECEIVED
DEC 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

W-Miscl

February 14, 1950

Mr. Alex Weinstein
Committee Chairman
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
1000 Eleventh Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Weinstein:

Dr. Kittrell has sent us on your kind letter to her of February 8 about literature from the Southern Regional Council for the third AnnualConference on Civil Liberties February 23-24.

We are mailing to the clearing house a bundle of material.

We appreciate this opportunity to get our things before the group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

National Civil Liberties Clearing House

1000 Eleventh Street, N. W. • Washington 1, D. C. • STerling 3711

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RUSSELL SMITH
(National Farmers Union)

February 8, 1950.

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1950
Dept. of Home Economics

Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Howard University,
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Dr. Kittrell:

As you know, the National Civil Liberties Clearing House is having its Third Annual Conference on Civil Liberties on February 23-24 at the Hotel 2400, 2400 16th St., N.W., and in addition to the Conference sessions we are planning a literature resource table of key pieces of literature on the subjects of the sessions. We understand that your organization has put out some excellent publications in the field of civil rights, and we'd like to know if you wish to make copies of some of them available to us.

We shall be glad to receive a maximum of 100 copies each of cost-free literature, and from 5 to 10 sample copies, so marked, of materials which must be sold. Delegates will have an opportunity to order purchaseable material by filling in an order blank for same, which will be available at the table from the volunteers on duty. (If you have such printed forms, we shall be glad to have them.)

We hope that you will send whatever materials you think pertinent. To help our committee on arrangements, will you please send these by February 21, addressed to:

National Civil Liberties Clearing House
1637 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Sincerely,

Alex Weinstein

Alex Weinstein
Committee Chairman

72

March 7, 1950

Mr. Carter Wesley
The Houston Informer
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Many thanks for your helpful letter of March 1. I know our attorneys in the county unit suit will be interested to read it.

The hearing, before a three-judge federal tribunal here in Atlanta, was held about ten days ago. It went very well, we thought, though the case undoubtedly will have to be appealed to the Supreme Court. The main point of contention is not on the substantive issues of the case, but on the matter of jurisdiction. Once the courts agree that it is a proper matter for the federal courts to rule on, we feel that the battle will be virtually won. A decision on the hearing is expected some time this week.

We are grateful for your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming

FREEDMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF

The Informer Group of Papers

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FAIRFAX 8347

The Market:
- 2,800,000 People
- Plenty Money
- Willing to Buy
- Awaiting Invitation

The Means:
- THE INFORMER
- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- NEW ORLEANS INFORMER
- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

March 1, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I want first to thank you for your letter of February 15, which I laid aside until I could have another gander at the Constitution. Unfortunately, I had loaned my volume of the United States Constitution out, and had to wait until I could get it back again.

Once or twice I had discussed this unit question of Georgia with people in Georgia, the last time was during the Talmadge election when I happened to be out there. The tough job is to get it away from that part of Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution, which says:

> "And the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numberous branch of the State Legislature."

That provision keeps tending to pull one into a circle, back to what the State of Georgia sets up as the qualifications of Electors for the State Legislature.

It leaves you struggling to make applicable Article XIV and Article XVII of the Constitution against "abridged privileges," as the weapon by which you hope to upset the unit system.

What you have got to watch all the way through is to keep the defendants from effectively appealing to that part of Article I quoted above. If you can fend them off that, you have a chance to get in your proof of clear abridgment of the privileges

of the citizens of Fulton County, as against the rights and liberties given to citizens in smaller counties.

I am horse-backing, but it seems to me that you ought to also develop some law or argument to in fact show that one man representing 65,000 does not give to any one of the 65,000 the same rights, privileges and protections as one man representing 1400. This is another angle of the privilege argument, but it is one that you ought to have some facts and material on.

It may be a difficult job to establish your point clearly, but I think, on the other hand, the general sentiment of the courts is such now that they would be more inclined to try to see your point of view and to recognize the losses, particularly if you are in a federal court. I would not have much faith in a state court down there as much as politics are involved. I am afraid I am making very little contribution, but this is the best thing that I can muster up after poring for half an hour or so over the Constitutional provisions.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

March 8, 1950

Mr. R. D. Wellons, President
Pembroke State College
Pembroke, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wellons:

Many thanks for the report on the John Hay Whitney Foundation. I do hope one of the young men will have some luck.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund has long had a special interest in Indian matters. The Director is Dr. Channing Tobias and their address is 101 Park Avenue, New York City. My understanding is that the Phelps-Stokes Fund has very little money left itself, and I have no supposition that they could provide the facilities you want, but I think Mr. Tobias could give you some useful advice.

There is also something, as you know, called the National Recreation Association whose address is 315 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. They would not have any money but they might help to interest somebody who could do it.

Sometime, when you have leisure (!), dig out of the files the pageant twice performed about 1938 and 1939. It died in a minor quarrel, but it had its uses for Pembroke people in enlisting outside liking.

A sincere friend of Pembroke who has many contacts is Mrs. Ruth Muskrat Bronson--more generally, Mrs. Ruth M. Bronson. She lives in Washington. She spent many years in the office of Indian Affairs and now is in some way connected with the Indian Lobby. Her name and address would be in the Washington telephone directory. I took her to Pembroke several times.

Another person who knows and likes Pembroke and has many contacts is D'Aracy McNichol. Still another is Ward Sheppard, wherever he is.

Keep an eye on my young man Abner Nash Locklear. He got good training at Ohio State and showed character and steadiness. I have seen him only once or twice since he graduated but each time have thought that he wasn't

fully using himself. I tried to get Abner trained as a rural community planner. What he learned was straight farming, but he knows what the bigger idea is. If he could be got off to a year's graduate work at Harvard School of Agricultural Economics or to Cornell or could get an interneship in Washington in the Department of Agriculture for a year, he could blossom.

Another notion I have long had is for a great map to be made of central Robeson County on a scale large enough to show individual land holdings. Every scrap that is family farmer owned could be specifically marked. Then the tenant holdings; then the places being sharecropped. Pembroke has made remarkable progress in the last fifteen years toward becoming a community of owner farmers. That needs to be made more conscious and speeded up. I should think a Veterans' On The Farm training class could take on a map making job like that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

PEMBROKE STATE COLLEGE
PEMBROKE, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

March 6,1950

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I have received your letter of March 3,1950, with its enclosure of two application blanks for the John Hay Whitney Foundation Fellowships. I have passed these applications on with full instructions to two young men, who I believe are well qualified to receive the Fellowships. Both of the young men have received the Bachelor's Degree already. One in the field of Agriculture and the other in Music. The one in Agriculture is planning to specialize in the field of Cooperative Agriculture and the one in Music is going to specialize in the field of Choral Music. They have been advised to return the completed applications to me not later than March 8,1950, and I will immediately forward them to Mr. Robert C. Weaver, as you have directed.

Your contacts with the various Foundations might possibly enable you to put us in touch with a Foundation that is directly concerned with projects in the field of Health and Recreation. Some seven years ago the people of Pembroke purchased a small triangle piece of land with a view to putting it up for a children's playground. Not much has been done toward putting it up thus far. I am wondering whether or not we might find a Foundation that would be interested in providing funds for a substantial building with play courts and perhaps a swimming pool on this playground site. If you can put us in touch with such a Foundation you will have served Pembroke well!

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

R. D. Wellons

R. D. Wellons
President
Pembroke State College

RDW:bo

March 3, 1950

Mr. R. D. Wellons
Pembroke State College
Pembroke, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wellons:

Here are a couple of application blanks for the John Hay Whitney Foundation Opportunity Fellowships.

If your candidate or candidates will fill in the blank and send it on to Mr. Robert C. Weaver, Director of Opportunity Fellowships, I feel sure that due consideration will be given.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

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The Market:
- 2,800,000 People
- Plenty Money
- Willing to Buy
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The Means:
- THE INFORMER
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- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

March 21, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for yours of March 7. I certainly hope that you will win your decision before the three-judge court, but if you don't, I hope that you will win it on appeal.

With many good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

April 19, 1950

Mr. Kendall Weisiger
607 17th Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Kendall:

You are a good egg. Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMier

38 W-Misc
Welsch

COUNCILMEN

HERMAN J. BRINKLEY
LUTHER A. MORRIS
HENRY L. WILLIAMS
WILLIAM H. HARDY
CLAUDE M. HICKS
EARL D. WILLIAMS
C. C. WHITE

SAM J. WELSCH
MAYOR

CITY OF MARIETTA

MARIETTA, GEORGIA

THOS. F. AUSTIN
CITY CLERK

BEN H. WOOTTEN
CITY ENGINEER

September 2,1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,N. E.,
Atlanta,Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I acknowledge receipt of-and thank you for-your kind letter of September 1, with enclosure.

Respectfully,

Sam J. Welsch

Sam J. Welsch

SJW/s

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

W - Miscl

October 16, 1950

Mr. Robert Weaver, Director
Opportunity Fellowships
John Hay Whitney Foundation
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Bob:

I sent one of the blanks to my friend who runs the college for Indians in eastern North Carolina. Here is his letter back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

W - Miscel

July 31, 1951

Mrs. Joyce Weir
P. O. Box 708
Auburn, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Weir:

The classic book is Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma. I am sure you will find it in the Auburn library. It is ten years old now, but still mighty good. Other people who have written usefully and well recently in the field are Arnold Rose and R. M. McIver.

Meanwhile, I send you a few things of ours. We would be delighted to have you as a member of the Council. There is a blank toward the end of the brown leaflet with the map.

The president of the Alabama Division of the Council is Mr. A. D. Beittel, at Talladega. Maybe you could go over there and talk with him. Or you could strike a rich resource by hunting up Mrs. Jessie Parker Guzman, at Tuskegee Institute.

I had a summer's teaching at Auburn myself twenty-five years ago and enjoyed in those bachelor days most of the delights of the place.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ALABAMA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
RESEARCH INSTRUCTION EXTENSION
1872
Auburn, Ala.

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1951
Southern Regional Council

P.O. Box 108
Auburn, Alabama

Dr George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Will you please send me any information you have, on Interracial Agencies. Or any Negro White adjustments that have been accomplished through these ~~agency~~ agencies.

Sincerely yours
(Mrs) Joyce Weir

September 23, 1953

Mr. Kendall Weisiger
Rotary Educational Fund
Palmer Building
Marietta Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Kendall:

Here's a copy of Frank Loescher's letter about Victor Cotun.

I have written Frank that you will write to your Rotary friends in Philadelphia and tell them to get behind Cotun.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/allc
enclosure

RECEIVED
JAN 6
Southern Regional Council

DR. ALFRED A. WEINSTEIN
663 WEST PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

January 5, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you very much in my behalf and in behalf of the AVC for your advice and cooperation.

I am sure that your approval carries a great deal of weight in the eyes of such people as Mrs. Mason, and Mrs. Bethune and others in the field of social action.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

Alfred

Alfred A. Weinstein, M.D.

AAW:p

January 18, 1954

Mrs. Christine K. Wells
Dean of Students
Lynchburg College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Wells:

I will be there for February 16 and can stay over February 17 if that will be needed. I have to be near Chattanooga the day before but will be driving and will sleep somewhere along the way the night of February 15 and arrive at the college breakfasted by 9 o'clodk the morning of the 16th; hope the college finds me somewhere to sleep that night.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

air mail

LYNCHBURG COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

January 15, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 18
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

After conferring with members of the Assembly Committee, we would like for you to address our two assemblies on Tuesday morning, February 16. The first assembly meets from 9:25-9:55 and the second one from 10:05-10:35. I think that our students would enjoy and profit from your map speech.

The Student Christian Association would like for you to speak to their group which meets at 7:30 on Tuesday evening. You are free to choose your own topic for this presentation.

Dr. Lovejoy who teaches sociology will write to you about speaking to his classes on February 17.

If you will let me know the time of your arrival, we will communicate with you later about the entertainment which will be provided while you are here.

Cordially yours,

Christine K. Wells

Christine K. Wells
Dean of Students

CKW/js

February 2, 1954

Miss Christine K. Wells
Dean of Students
Lynchburg College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Miss Wells:

When I count up the miles from Chattanooga to Lynchburg on the road, I think I am better off taking the Southern Railway's convenient overnight sleeper from Chattanooga to Lynchburg that puts me in Lynchburg at, I think, 8:25 on the morning of February 16. If I am a few minutes later than 9 o'clock in arriving at the College, blame it on the train; but I ought to be successful in arriving by the agreed-upon moment of 9.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

LYNCHBURG COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

January 30, 1954

RECEIVED
FEB 1
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It will be a pleasure to have you on campus. We shall expect you by 9 o'clock the morning of February 16 and will make the necessary arrangements for sleeping accomodations.

Cordially yours,

Christine K. Wells

Christine K. Wells
Dean of Students

CKW/js

Lynchburg Coll

February 19, '54

Dear Mrs. Wells,

I am all gratitude for the two pleasant days at Lynchburg College, and for the generous check that gave me the trip free. They were mighty nice students, sublimely confident that just education (like the College's) will do all that's needed. I tried to shake them on that!

My thanks to your President, and to o her kind friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

December second, 1953

Miss Christine K Wells
Dean of Students
Lynchburg College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Miss Wells:

Many thanks for kind remarks about the map speech.

I have not booked anything as far ahead as February so pick your own date and let me know what you choose.

It would cost about $60.00 to get me up to Lynchburg and back.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

LYNCHBURG COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

November 24, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 25
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was so impressed with the talk you gave at the Southern Hazen Conference this past August that I have been anxious for our students to have a like experience.

I wonder if you could be on our campus for a day and speak to our assemblies?

Our assemblies are on Tuesday and Thursday so either time could be arranged and almost any time after February 1 that would be convenient to you.

If you can arrange to be with us, when would be the most convenient time and what would be the expense that would be necessary for such a visit from you.

I do hope you can be with us.

Sincerely,

Christine K. Wells

Christine K. Wells
Dean of Students

CKW/js

June 30, 1954

Mr. William Welch
The Office of Senator Lehmann
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Welch:

Please accept my long over-due expression of appreciation for your help in setting up the conference with Senator Fulbright on May 11th.

I am sending you a copy of The Negro and The Schools under separate cover.

As consideration is given to the advantage to the South itself -- as well as to the nation -- inherent in the Supreme Court's Decision of May 17th, we believe the region will accept and use the opportunities before it.

Hope everything is going well in Senator Lehmann's office.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/

February 8, 1955

Dictated February 7th

Mrs. Clara West
1203 Spring Street
Perry, Georgia

Dear Mrs. West:

'Tis not perfectly easy, but I would greatly like to be with you at Tuskegee Institute on April 28th, and have put it down on my calendar to be there for at least the morning of April 28th.

I assume that the Association will find my (modest) expenses for getting from Atlanta to Tuskegee and back.

I think I have things to say to the meeting, and I appreciate the invitation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

February 1, 1955

Mrs. Clara West
1203 Spring Street
Perry, Georgia

Dear Mrs. West:

Thank you for your letter of January 24th, inviting Dr. Mitchell to speak at the Fifth Annual National Association of Jeanes Supervisors on April 28th-29th. I note from his engagement calendar that he has promised to be in New York on April 29th and 30th. However, he will be writing you himself upon his return to the office on Monday, February 7th.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
(Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director)

eab/

JAN 31 1955

1203 Spring Street
Perry, Georgia
January 24, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

At our Fifth Annual National Association of Jeanes Supervisors which will be held at Tuskegee Institute on April 28-29, the planning group is anxious to have you help us make it a most meaningful conference. The group will include Jeanes workers from the thirteen Southern states.

Thus, we anxiously invite you to be our conference speaker on Thursday morning, April 28 and promote the idea of preparing for working in an integrated society.

Hoping that you will find it possible to help make the conference a challenging one at a time like this, I am

Yours very truly,

Clara West

Clara West, President
National Association of Jeanes Supervisors

cc: Dr. Kara V. Jackson

MAR 14 1955

92 Mitchell Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
March 11, 1955

Dear Leader:

We invite you to participate in the Conference on "The Challenge of Adult Education in Georgia." The dates are April 14-15 and the place is the University of Georgia. The enclosed program outlines the main topics to which your contributions are needed. A small committee has been at work compiling facts and figures for this meeting. A large number of agencies, organizations and institutions are co-operating to make this Conference a rewarding experience.

We have been fortunate in securing Mr. Malcolm Knowles of the Adult Education Association of the U.S. and Dr. Andrew Hendrickson of Ohio State University to join in our deliberations.

We believe that this is the first step toward better communications between all of us engaged in these activities. The sharing of our experiences, plans and problems should aid us in carrying out programs for the growth and development of Georgia and its citizens.

If you desire hotel or dormitory accommodations in Athens and plan to attend the Dinner on April 14, please check your requirements on the enclosed card. It is already addressed for your convenience.

I look forward to seeing you at the first Georgia Conference on Adult Education.

Sincerely,

Lucile Nix

Lucile Nix, Chairman
Conference Committee

LN:h

Enc.

Planning Committee

Perry E. Babcock
Robert L. Cousins
John A. Griffin
Mrs. Leonard Haas
Mrs. H. M. Kandel
Miss Mary Webb
J. Eugene Welden

A Conference on

THE CHALLENGE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN GEORGIA

at the University of Georgia
April 14-15, 1955

Thursday, April 14

1:00 P.M. Registration - Dawson Hall Lobby

2:00 P.M. Opening Session
Presiding: Miss Lucile Nix, Chairman
Welcome: Dr. A. B. Biscoe, Dean of Faculties, University of Ga.
ADULT EDUCATION IN THE U.S. - Mr. Malcolm Knowles, Administrative Coordinator, Adult Education Association

2:45 P.M. Panel Discussion
ADULT EDUCATION IN GEORGIA
"A Report on Programs and Activities in Progress"
Moderator: Mr. Louis Griffith
Panel: Mrs. Leonard Haas, Mr. Robert L. Cousins, Mrs. Bernice McCullar, Mr. Carson Pritchard and Mr. Hal Salfen

Group Discussion

6:30 P.M. Dinner - Snelling Hall

THE CHALLENGE OF ADULT EDUCATION
Speaker: Dr. Andrew Hendrickson, Ohio State University and Chairman, Field Services Committee AEA

Group Discussion

Friday, April 15

9:00 A.M. General Session

THE NEEDS OF ADULT EDUCATION OF GEORGIA

9:30 A.M. WHAT ARE THE NEXT STEPS - Small Group Discussions
Leader: Mr. Paul Rilling, Institute of Citizenship, Emory University

11:00 A.M. Reports from Groups

Conference Summary
Mr. Malcolm Knowles and Miss Lucile Nix

Mr. J. Eugene Welden
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Please reserve for me for the night of April 14, 1955

___ place in dormitory

___ hotel room (type of accommodations desired_____)

___ I will attend Conferee Dinner on evening of April 14

Name: _____

Street: _____

City: _____

THE GEORGIA CENTER
for Continuing Education
THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
Athens, Georgia

March 26, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are very pleased that you will be attending the Conference on "The Challenge of Adult Education in Georgia" to be held on the University Campus April 14-15, 1955.

Enclosed for your convenience is a map of the campus with Dawson Hall encircled in red where registration will be completed at 1:00 p.m. on April 14.

A reservation for you has been made at the Georgian Hotel.

We look forward to your participation and contribution in this first Georgia Conference.

Sincerely,

J. E. Welden

J. Eugene Welden, Supervisor
Conferences and Short Courses

JEW:h

Enc.

3/25
accepted
requested hotel
& banquet reservation
for Apr 14

92 Mitchell Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
March 11, 1955

Dear Leader:

We invite you to participate in the Conference on "The Challenge of Adult Education in Georgia." The dates are April 14-15 and the place is the University of Georgia. The enclosed program outlines the main topics to which your contributions are needed. A small committee has been at work compiling facts and figures for this meeting. A large number of agencies, organizations and institutions are co-operating to make this Conference a rewarding experience.

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If you desire hotel or dormitory accommodations in Athens and plan to attend the Dinner on April 14, please check your requirements on the enclosed card. It is already addressed for your convenience.

I look forward to seeing you at the first Georgia Conference on Adult Education.

Sincerely,

Lucile Nix

Lucile Nix, Chairman
Conference Committee

LN:h

Enc.

Planning Committee

Perry E. Babcock
Robert L. Cousins
John A. Griffin
Mrs. Leonard Haas
Mrs. H. M. Kandel
Miss Mary Webb
J. Eugene Welden

A Conference on

THE CHALLENGE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN GEORGIA

at the University of Georgia
April 14-15, 1955

Thursday, April 14

1:00 P. M. Registration - Dawson Hall Lobby

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Welcome: Dr. A. B. Biscoe, Dean of Faculties, University of Ga.
ADULT EDUCATION IN THE U. S. - Mr. Malcolm Knowles, Administrative Coordinator, Adult Education Association

2:45 P. M. Panel Discussion
ADULT EDUCATION IN GEORGIA
"A Report on Programs and Activities in Progress"
Moderator: Mr. Louis Griffith
Panel: Mrs. Leonard Haas, Mr. Robert L. Cousins, Mrs. Bernice McCullar, Mr. Carson Pritchard and Mr. Hal Salfen

Group Discussion

6:30 P. M. Dinner - Snelling Hall

THE CHALLENGE OF ADULT EDUCATION
Speaker: Dr. Andrew Hendrickson, Ohio State University and Chairman, Field Services Committee AEA

Group Discussion

Friday, April 15

9:00 A. M. General Session

THE NEEDS OF ADULT EDUCATION OF GEORGIA

9:30 A. M. WHAT ARE THE NEXT STEPS - Small Group Discussions
Leader: Mr. Paul Rilling, Institute of Citizenship, Emory University

11:00 A. M. Reports from Groups

Conference Summary
Mr. Malcolm Knowles and Miss Lucile Nix

MR. + MRS T. A. PHILLIPS
684 Lincoln Ave.
St. Paul 5, Minn

OPERATION WENT FINE. JANIE ~~VERY CHIPPER~~ CHEERFUL + ~~FAIRLY~~ RESTING WELL. ~~AND COMFORTABLE~~ SENDS LOVE. MORE LATER.

HAROLD

PEMBROKE STATE COLLEGE

PEMBROKE, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

December 6, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Upon my return from Miami I have found your letter of November 29th concerning the availability of Wade M. Mackie of Goldsboro. We shall keep him in mind. I wonder if he is interested in a teaching position.

How are you and Governor Griffin getting on?

Very sincerely,

R. D. Wellons

R. D. Wellons
President
Pembroke State College

RDW:bop

ORRadio Industries

120 MARVYN ROAD, OPELIKA, ALABAMA

October 11, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 12 1956

Mr. Jack O'Dowd
Chicago Sun-Times
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. O'Dowd:

Just a note to tell you how much I enjoyed reading your article "The Right of Dissent" in the current issue of "New South".

I was impressed with the clarity of your thinking and the courage it took to make this speech.

Sincerely,

Nat Welch
Vice President, Sales

NW/esp

cc: Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rankin File

How Orr, Of Opelika, Changed U. S. Radio, TV, And Movies

By Allen Rankin

THIS is the fabulous story of how a country boy from Opelika, Alabama, helped uncover and rebuild one of Adolf Hitler's prize possessions.

Of how he was the first man to introduce this find to America.

And of how he thus began a major revolution in the radio, television, recording and movie industries of the world.

The man is genial, drawling but brilliant J. Herbert Orr, 43, still of Opelika. His find was and is the magnetic tape recording machine, without which no modern radio or television station could operate today.

The first tape recorder ever assembled in America was put together by Orr in the basement of Martin's Drug Store in Opelika in 1946. Thus, he became the machine's first manufacturer. In the same year he went to Atlantic City and introduced the tape recorder to the U. S. radio world at large. —and the wire and disc recorder began to be obsolete. Since then, 40 different companies have piled out an estimated 1,000,000 machines but only four make the magnetic tape for them, the nation's only exclusive manufacturer of the stuff being Mr. Orr himself, with his fast mushrooming ORRadio plant at Opelika.

ORR

Orr is probably the only ex-Army officer who was ever kicked up into big business by a well-deserved chewing-out from Gen. Ike Eisenhower. But back to the beginning:

Ghost Voices

U. S. Intelligence, monitoring German broadcasts in England before the Normandy invasion, noted something curious. Hitler's voice would come on the air often, and at all hours of the day and night. Obviously Der Fuehrer was too busy to speak at such hours. Obviously his speeches were recordings—but what kind? There was no scratch or rumble or background noise that Americans were accustomed to hear on all records.

It was spooky. It was a thing to make the hair stand straight up on the back of the neck of Maj. Orr, chief engineer, Radio Division, SHAEF. His interest further keened when Intelligence began to get bits of information about a remarkable magnetic tape recorder the Germans had used since 1939.

Orr was a radio-man born. At 12, he had chopped wood for six months and had hauled it by wagon to Columbus, Ga., to get enough money to buy and assemble the first radio he ever saw and the first one ever heard in Lee County. He had grown up to become a leading engineering consultant in the building of radio stations. Back at Opelika he had acquired one of his own. Now he was charged with rebuilding the German radio system as the Allies would capture it.

He longed to get his hands on one of those spookily-perfect German tape recorders.

Dynamite And Spies

D-Day came. Special commandos sprinted to try to capture German radio stations before they blew up. It was no use. The Germans did a perfect job of demolition. One by one they blew up and pulverized every single station from Normandy to Paris. Unfortunately, some U. S. commandos almost reached some stations in time, but were blown up upon arrival, along with the German secrets.

Then, finally, the prize, Radio Luxembourg—the greatest station on the continent—fell into Allied hands. By a break of good luck this powerhouse, capable of beaming propaganda to any point in Europe and Asia—was almost intact.

The Germans had scattered at least 20 tons of TNT under its transmitter and glittering six-million-dollar studios. And they had touched off all the fuses before leaving. But despite careful loyalty screening of radio personnel, the Nazis had overlooked two spies—one at the Luxembourg transmitter and the other at the studios.

These pro-Allies, with what help they could muster, slipped around behind the German demolition squads and snapped off the fuses as fast as they were set. All but one in the basement.

The alarm rang and the Germans dashed out. They expected to see Radio Luxembourg go up in smithereens behind them. They must have always wondered why there was only one explosion which blew down one wall—then no more. The jewel continued to stand and stand and stand, and the Americans walked in and owned it.

Hitler, Courtesy Eisenhower

Among its rare prizes were three of the mysterious German tape recorders—"Magnetophones." And that's when Engineer Orr's hair really did stand on end.

"We turned them on," said Orr, "and out poured some of the most beautiful music you ever heard. No scratch. No background noise. Just perfect high-fidelity music. I guess that's where the spark was ignited. I could see what magnetic tape could do for me —for every broadcaster in the world."

The bizarre accident briefly brought back the ghost of the dead Adolf Hitler and made Orr, of Opelika, America's leading authority on magnetic tape.

In 1945 Gen. Eisenhower was broadcasting a very important speech to the German people—this broadcast from a recording made on a spool of captured German tape.

Suddenly in the middle of Eisenhower's speech Hitler's shouting, gutteral voice blurted out. To the abject astonishment and horrification of all concerned—most of all Eisenhower himself—it continued to do so for two minutes.

Naturally, the General was sore, and naturally he chewed out some radio officers, among them J. Herbert Orr. It was small use to explain that for some reason the old German tape hadn't "erased" as it should have. Ike issued an order: From now on no more official recordings on old German tape. Learn how to make the stuff. Broadcast on our own virgin tape. Safer.

'Well, Yes, It's Easy'

The job of learning how to manufacture the first U. S. magnetic tape fell to Major Orr. He was in luck. He drove down to Ludwigshafen, the estate of Dr. Karl Pflumer, the granddaddy of German recording tape, and found the distinguished old scientist at home. He told Pflaumer his predicament. There was a long pause. Then the old genius smiled.

"Well, yes," he said in perfect English. "I think I can tell you how to make some tape pretty quickly. Since you are in a hurry for it, I won't tell you the best method now but the simplest. Here, I'll write it down for you."

To Orr's chagrin, he found he had left his notebook at home. Paper was scarce. There was none around. Frantically he looked for some, finally came up with a brown paper sack. Dr. Pflaumer put the sack on the car fender and scribbled down a formula in English.

Two weeks after his assignment to "manufacture virgin tape," Orr was doing it—despite the fact that all German tape-making machines had been bombed beyond recognition. The first U. S. tape was made on a material once intended to go into women's purses.

'As A Token Of Esteem'

There was yet one more drama to be performed to make Opelika's Orr the leading U. S. expert on magnetic tape-making. His career in Germany ended with a terrific automobile wreck that broke his back in three places. After a long siege in the hospital he was scheduled to be shipped home.

He was being carried out on a stretcher when a familiar figure came up. It was old Dr. Pflaumer. He had taken a liking to the American major and had traveled 150 miles to see him. Pflaumer knelt beside Orr's litter and talked. Finally, the attendants said Orr must go. The old German took an envelope from his pocket. "As a token of my esteem for you," he said. Then he was gone.

The envelope contained no mere sentimental words. It contained all the Pflaumer formulae and findings on how to make top-quality recording tape. And that is what the ORRadio Company of Opelika, Ala.—housed in an old German PW camp—distributes to radio and TV stations throughout the world today.

(Rankin File Tomorrow: Pictures From Tape)

January 7, 1957

Mr. Wallace Westfeldt
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Wallace:

Sorry I have waited so long in writing to you, especially since you were so kind to me in Knoxville. I believe you talked with Harold Fleming concerning the bus situation while I was out ill. Since nothing seemed to be developing along that line, I didn't think it worthwhile to call.

There will be a meeting here in Atlanta on January 15th of interested people and groups concerning the bus situation. If anything developes from that, I'll let you know.

The main reason for writing now, however, is that I am still interested in receiving copies of the segregation material carried by the Nashville Tennessean which you mentioned in Knoxville. We are interested in submitting some editorials and news features on segregation from the southern papers for possible prizes, and I would like to see what the Tennessean is doing. Hope you can send me these.

Again thanks for your hospitality in Knoxville, and do let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

January 8, 1957

Mr. Wallace Westfeldt
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Wallace:

Harold informs me that he has contacted you regarding the latest on the bus situation. I mailed you a letter on January 7, about the bus situation, and asking for some news items. Please disregard the information in my letter concerning the bus situation since Harold's supersedes mine, but I would still like the news items if available.

Thanks,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

December 23, 1958

Miss Elizabeth Charles Welborn
P. O. Box 14
Greenwood, South Carolina

Dear Miss Welborn:

Thank you for letting us see your poem "I Take My Stand." However, New South as a rule, does not publish poetry, we deal mostly with articles of a specific nature.

I see no reason, however, why you should not be able to publish this in one of the other magazines such as The Nation, The New Republic or perhaps Crisis.

Again thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

Ref

January 11, 1961

Mr. Victor Weingarten
Victor Weingarten Public Relations
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Weingarten:

Your recent letter was most welcome, and I will be very happy to see you when I am next in New York.

I have delayed answering until the dates of my next visit there became certain. It now appears that I will be in New York Monday and Tuesday, January 30 and 31. However, since several essential appointments are still up in the air, can we leave it that I will call you on arrival to determine a time when we can get together?

Meanwhile, with all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Return to Ref

VICTOR WEINGARTEN *Public Relations*

10 EAST 44TH STREET · NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 2-0283

DECEMBER 30, 1960

MR. HAROLD C. FLEMING, DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTHE STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. FLEMING:

JANELEE EDDY, AT THE TACONIC FOUNDATION, SUGGESTED I WRITE TO YOU WITH A PROBLEM I DISCUSSED WITH HER.

I HAVE BEEN INVITED TO DELIVER THE KEYNOTE SPEECH AT THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA IN SAVANNAH, MID-APRIL. I AM RELUCTANT TO TALK PUBLIC RELATIONS THEORY TO THIS GROUP WHICH IS COMPRISED OF EXECUTIVES, BOARD AND STAFF MEMBERS OF THE CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. I WOULD BE MUCH HAPPIER IF I HAD MORE THAN A NORTHERNER'S VIEW OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY PEOPLE WHO WORK AND LIVE IN THE SOUTH. I EXPECT TO BE TALKING TO SOME OF THE CHILD WELFARE PEOPLE WHO KNOW THE SOUTH, BUT I THOUGHT BECAUSE OF YOUR BROAD KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS YOU MIGHT BE ABLE TO BE OF CONSIDERABLE HELP TO ME.

I WONDER IF THE NEXT TIME YOU COME NORTH WE COULD HAVE LUNCH OR A DRINK, AS YOUR SCHEDULE PERMITS. I WOULD APPRECIATE THAT VERY MUCH. WILL YOU PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF THIS IS POSSIBLE, AND IF AND WHEN YOU PLAN TO BE UP THIS WAY.

WITH VERY BEST WISHES FOR THE NEW YEAR,

SINCERELY YOURS,

Vic Weingarten

VICTOR WEINGARTEN

February 7, 1961

Dr. Alfred A. Weinstein
849 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Al:

You were most thoughtful to write me such a kind letter about the New York Times profile.

Although we all enjoy recognition, as you might guess, such personal publicity inspired by a whole organization's efforts makes me a bit queasy. Such generous words as yours are a good antidote!

Warm appreciation and regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

DR. ALFRED A. WEINSTEIN
849 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

February 1, 1961.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave NE,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you on being named by the New York Times as "Man in the News."

The racial crisis is a serious one as you realize, but you have succeeded in viewing it sanely and calmly. My hat is off to you for your interpretation of this matter. With such men as you expressing their honest viewpoint on this subject, we are bound to come up with the right solution.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Alfred

Alfred A. Weinstein, M.D.

Encls: School Desegregation...
Last Voting Study
HCF's NYT reprint
L-reports #16,17,18,21, &22

February 8, 1961

Mr. Victor Weingarten
Victor Weingarten Public Relations
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Weingarten:

I am extremely sorry that my inept scheduling in New York last week deprived me of the opportunity to meet and talk with you, as we had planned. The next few weeks should bring me to New York again, and this time I will hope to do better.

Meanwhile, I am enclosing a few publications of the Council that may be of interest. None of them is directly pertinent to the subject of your forthcoming speech in Savannah, but perhaps they will have some general background value.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

File

Western Electric Company
INCORPORATED
195 BROADWAY NEW YORK 7, N.Y.
AREA CODE 212 571-2345

February 25, 1963

MR. LESTIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In confirmation of our telephone conversation today, I am writing to tell you I shall see you next Tuesday, March 5, at 2:30 P. M. in your office.

I look forward to meeting you and hearing about the Council's work.

Sincerely,

Norman J. Rubin

N. J. RUBIN
Programs Assistant

CLEMSON COLLEGE

CLEMSON BAPTIST CHURCH

Baptist Student Union
POST OFFICE BOX 87
CLEMSON, SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLES A. WEBSTER, JR.
DIRECTOR OF STUDENT WORK

GENEVA METZGER
ASSOCIATE

March 25, 1963

PA
MJ-file

Mr. Max Hahn
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I very much appreciate your kindness and that of Mr. Leslie Dunbar in arranging an opportunity to correspond with you in regard to a study in which we may have mutual interest. As Mr. Dunbar may have indicated, the position which I have held for the past four years in being terminated at the end of this month. My giving of directions to two Negro applicants as to the location of the Clemson Registrar's office is the primary reason for my professional demise here. As to specifics on my small part in the admission of Harvey Gantt to Clemson, I would solicit your inquiry with Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Secretary of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations and perhaps with Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, 10 Columbus Circle, New York City.

The program of the Clemson Baptist Student Union has attempted to make our students aware of all the important areas of cultural change as well as give to them a theological perspective with which to meet such changes. In this undertaking the South Carolina Council on Human Relations has provided a channel of interracial experience that our Baptist students could not have obtained elsewhere in this state. For the past two years the State President of the South Carolina Baptist Student Union has attended the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. Their experiences and our general contact with the director of that project, Connie Currie, has meant a great deal to both our local and the state Baptist Student Union programs. I am most grateful for the role of the Field Foundation in these and the other fine projects with which it is associated.

Through these contacts and in my previous experience as president of the Southeast Region of the Interseminary Movement, I have become concerned about the kind and quality of Negro theological education in the South today. I have met many young Negroes, among whom Harvey Gantt is on of the finest, both in my visits to their seminaries in 1958-1959 and at conferences sponsored by

the South Carolina Council. Many of them have shared with me their concern that the young Negro in the South today is deserting the Christian Faith in perhaps larger numbers than is evident among young Christians in general. Their feeling is that their churches no longer speak to their intellectual and theological needs, and that the challenge they find in the Christian Faith is inferior to that of other philosophies of life. Secularism has become the predominant philosophical system of a vast number of these young people as it has to our nation as a whole. If the church is to remain vital in a period already being referred to by some as the post-Christian Era, the vitality of its entire experience must be increased. I feel that the task of theological education is to train young menaand women who can become leaders in such a genuine revitalization. The day of separate theological seminaries for Negro students might well be past. Still several fine schools exist in our Southland. Dr. Stewmrd Newman, with whom I studied at Southeastern Seminary, has told me of the struggle of our American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville. I have visited all the seminaries in North and South Carolina and Georgia while with the Interseminary Movement. In most cases, I find that the Negro seminaries are struggling on every front. The solution may be through the future consolidation of faculties and facilities as has been done in Atlanta's Interdenominational Seminary, but the best solution would be found in the consolidation of the "Negro church" and the "white church" into the Church. Naturally this ecumenical dream cannot be realized for a long span of time, but it must be faced now with preparation on every level.

In view of this situation, I feel that a study is needed. It should be undertaken on sound prinicples of research in the hope that evidence might be collected to indicate a method or revitalizing the Christian Faith among Negro youth.

I recently visited with Dr. Earl Brewer, Director of the Department of Religion and Society, Emory University Divinity School. He was encouraging about the topic and scope of such a study and shared with me the possibility of combining such a study with a doctoral program in his department. Dr. Brewer suggested that I make inquiries about such funds that might be available for such a study, and added that he would be glad to make application for me through the Religious Research Division of Emory University or to admit me to such a program with the Southern Regional Council as administrator of the grant.

When Mr. Dunbar called me to indicate his contact with you, I did not have these details. Nor have I bee able to locate J. D. Herron in Chapel Hill, N. C. to talk with him as Mr. Dunbar suggested. I therefore open this matter with you at this time merely to indicate that in the event you should become interested, the grant would not have to be made to a private individual alone.

Since such a proposal as this will require a great deal of study on your part to determine its advisability, I shall conclude by giving a few facts about myself along with references you may wish to contact if and when you do become interested in such a study. I am an ordained Baptist minister, 29 years of age, married with two sons. I am a native of Wilson, N. C., and a graduate of Duke Univeristy with an A. B. in Religion and a B. D. degree from Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. My record both at Duke and Southeastern is such that admission to graduate school is no problem. My economic situation at present is extremely threatened by the possibility of withdrawal of salary in the face of publicity on my forced resignation. My contact with various levels of theological life is somewhatgreater than most Southern Baptists. Dr. Olin T. Binkley, Dean and President-elect of Southeastern Seminary, Rev. Warren T. Carr, Watts Street Baptist Church, Durham, N. C., Dr. Carlyle Marney, Myers Park Baptist Church, Charlotte, N.C., and Dr. Edmund Perry, Chairman of the Department of Biblical Literature and Comparative Religion, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, are all individuals who can evaluate my qualifications for undertaking such a study. Rev. Will Campbell, National Council of Churches Race Relations, is also an acquaintance of mine and an excellent one to evaluate the validity of such a study being undertaken.

I appreciate your time and concern in reading this letter. Once again you have my expression of appreciation for the Field Foundation's fine contribution to the area of Human Relations. I shall look forward to corresponding with you further on this and other matters in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

C. A. Webster, Jr.

CAW:gnm

cc: Rev. J. C. Herron
Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Mrs. Alice Spearman

April 3, 1962

Mr. Charles Webster
Director of Student Work
Baptist Student Union
Post Office Box 87
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Charles:

Max Hahn sent me a copy of his discouraging reply to you. I think a good next step would be for you to take counsel with J. C. Herrin. I hope to see J. C. at the Southern Interagency Conference meeting later this month, and will talk with him.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 29, 1963

PA
MJ-file

Rev. Charles A. Webster, Jr.
Director of Student Work
Baptist Student Union
Post Office Box 87
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Webster:

Thank you for your letter. Your concern about the need for revitalizing the faith of Negro youth is well founded. Although I shall bring your letter to the attention of members of our group I believe I should warn you that they probably will not react favorably for these reasons: First, we have continuing obligations of some pressing commitments which have first claim on our funds. Second, The Field Foundation has been reluctant to make doctoral thesis grants. (Our charter does not permit us to make grants to individuals, as you know.) In the third place, the Fund for Theological Education, in Princeton, which was established by the Sealantic Fund (Rockefeller money) is active in Protestant theological education and one of its programs is intended to help promising Negro college youths get a high quality theological education. The Rev. Shelby Rooks, who formerly had a Harlem church, supervises this fellowship program.

Another factor I should mention is that Mr. Yorke Allen of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is now finishing a book on the six major Negro Baptist and Methodist groups which presumably overlaps to some extent the study you had in mind.

In view of the foregoing you probably will wish to review other possibilities.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Mahn
Executive Vice President

cc: Leslie Dunbar
J. C. Herrin
Mrs. Alice Spearman

file

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

file

October 25, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Thank you for your kind words. I was sorry that there was not more time to talk with you.

Best regards,

File:
- We - gen. corresp
Cr. ref Nat Welsh,
Board -

via air mail

April 23, 1964

The Honorable Matthew Welsh
Governor of Indiana
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Governor Welsh:

At the request of Mr. Nat Welsh of Alabama, I am forwarding some materials which may be of interest to you. We have such a mass of this sort of material that making any selection is very hard. We would be very glad to send more to you or to fill your request as well as we were able for specific topics.

Two interesting statistics: during 1963, of the ten (10) deaths in eleven (11) southern states attributable to civil rights causes, eight (8) were in Alabama; during 1963, of the thirty-five (35) race related bombings in the states, fourteen (14) were in Alabama.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Copy

UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA
244 WASHINGTON STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

April 14, 1965

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Statesboro
Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

I am happy to inform you that the Board of Regents at its April meeting today conferred upon you the title of President Emeritus of The Woman's College of Georgia.

We rejoice with you in this recognition of the fine work which you did while you were active in the University System of Georgia. I should like to offer my personal congratulations to you.

I hope I shall have the opportunity of seeing you again before long.

Cordially yours,

S. Walter Martin

S. Walter Martin
Acting Chancellor

SWM:K

cc: President R. E. Lee
Dr. J. C. Bonner
Mr. S. C. Mangiafico

Copy

REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA
20 IVY STREET, S. E.
ATLANTA

March 16, 1956

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

At its meeting on March 14, 1956, the Board of Regents adopted the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, That the action of the Board of Regents of March 10, 1954, conferring the honorary title of President Emeritus of the Georgia State College for Women on Dr. Guy H. Wells, effective July 1, 1954, be, and it is hereby rescinded."

Yours very truly,

L. R. Siebert

L. R. Siebert,
Executive Secretary

rd

cc: Chancellor Harmon Caldwell

Dear Mr King:
Thought you might be interested. Maybe amused —
Your friend.
Guy H. Wells

Show to Dunbar: It has racial significance.

PA ✓
AV ✓
PWV
VJV
BPV
LEV
MFTV
ML✓
MJ - file

"We" - gen. corresp.

April 27, 1965

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Statesboro,
Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

Thank you so much for your note of April 27; we are all deeply appreciative of your comment about the Council.

Luesta had shown me the letter of Dr. Martin. I am the one who sent it over to Eugene Patterson. I hope you don't mind. I think the column he wrote was a very handsome one and fitted to your deserts.

The New South!

All best wishes, and do come in whenever you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Dear Dr. Dunbar 2/27/65

You have learned of the action of the Regents in restoring my title as President Emeritus of the Woman's College -

I am sorry that the action was unanimous - as it was also when they voted to resend the honor.

This represents change of climate, which you grieve is responsible for more than any other grief - I thought you would be interested -

Sincerely

Guy Stevens

UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA
244 WASHINGTON STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

April 14, 1965

9 years later

Dr. Guy H. Wells
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Georgia

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Cordially yours,

S. Walter Martin

S. Walter Martin
Acting Chancellor

SWM:K

cc: President R. E. Lee
Dr. J. C. Bonner
Mr. S. C. Mangiafico

REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA

20 IVY STREET, S. E.

ATLANTA

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Dr. Guy H. Wells
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

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Yours very truly,

L. R. Siebert

L. R. Siebert,
Executive Secretary

rd

cc: Chancellor Harmon Caldwell

Rec'd 4/28/68

GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

MILLEDGEVILLE, GEORGIA

DR. GUY H. WELLS
PEACE CORPS CONSULTANT
STATESBORO, GEORGIA

April 27-1968

Dr. Les Dunbar
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Mrs Knox tells me you must be responsible for Eugene Patterson's Column on the Regents action restoring my Emeritus Title. I appreciate what he wrote, because of the good it may do to the Regents.

The former action of the Regents hurt me more for what it showed about them to me - that we had a Board of Regents over the Higher Institutions of Learning which ignored the first principle of Democratic Government - freedom of thought and speech -

I am happy too that the Climate of the State has changed - at least on the surface -

Sincerely
Guy H. Wells

PW

✓ ML – why not the poem for New South – some might think it better than Rome

MJ – file

file
"We" gen.

January 11, 1966

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan, Chairman
Wednesdays in Mississippi
147 East 81 Street, Apt. 1-E
New York, New York 10028

Dear Mrs. Cowan:

We will be happy to see that you get on our mailing list and to provide you with extra copies of any of our materials that may be of interest to you. This should have been done a long time ago.

On one of your Southern trips we would be pleased if you could arrange to stop off in Atlanta for a visit.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

new letterhead to Mrs. Ed have for handling

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

147 EAST 81 STREET, APT. 1-E
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028

EL
Interagency mail list
MS-file

January 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

All questions on how to be put on the mailing list of the Southern Regional Council are answered -- "Just ask."

So, I am asking-- please do put Wednesdays in Mississippi on the mailing list. We are great admirers of SRC pamphlets. Recently we were told you publish an excellent newsletter. I know we will gain a great deal of knowledge from this material.

At the moment the staff is reading, and finding excellent, "Black Belt Schools."

Many thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Polly Cowan

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman

Please return to MG

file
c. Joe - Jim

April 29, 1966

Mr. Jeff Hodges
Public Affairs Department
Western Electric Company
195 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Jeff:

Enclosed are several clippings concerning the Council, which I trust will meet your needs. If you need any further information please let us know.

It was a pleasure having lunch with you and do come to visit us sometime when you can bring your bride along.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

January 19, 1970

Mr. Edward Weinstein
137 Howard Street
Waverly, New York 14892'

Dear Mr. Weinstein:

Thank you for your card and inquiry. However, our activities are limited to the Southeastern region of the United States. I am sure that if you were to be in touch with the local offices of your Anti-Defamation League they could be of some assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Dear Mr Anthony

100 yr old

We own a legit. Store here and would be agreeable to its sale in conformity with our civil rights belief. Your name was suggested as a liaison. If you can facilitate this please reply as we have an offer from the WASP group.

This is a family business.

EDWARD WEINSTEIN

Specify Nekoosa BOND
MADE IN U.S.A.

10 copies QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
2 copies CHECK LIST

Mailed to:

Reverend Dan Whitsit
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

No Charge

THIS IS NEKOOSA BOND SALMON SUBSTANCE 20

Make file of these until done "Wednesdays in Mississippi"

June 8, 1966

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman
Wednesdays in Mississippi
147 East 81st Street, Apartment 1-E
New York, New York 10028

Dear Mrs. Cowan:

Here, finally, is some response to your request concerning the Roxbury Project. I asked the young man who has done an excellent job with Books for Equal Education here, and who is helping us in our current paperback program, to react to your letters and the proposal. That reaction in memorandum form to me is enclosed.

It does seem to me that it is reasonable to expect that the Roxbury group could find one or more book wholesalers who would be happy to provide the books on a contingency basis. This is not unusual, especially if one finds a wholesaler who is in agreement with the purposes of the program.

By the end of the summer I hope we will have an evaluation of at least a part of our paperback efforts. And, we will know a great deal more at that time about what works best. We shall share a copy of this evaluation with you, if you wish.

We will be happy to do anything we can to help Miss Jennifer Lyman find a position in Mississippi or Alabama this summer. It won't be easy at this late date, but we will share the information about her with several appropriate people and would be happy to hear from her further.

It was good to see you in New York in May and last weekend in Washington.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI
6287478
147 EAST 81 STREET, APT. 1-E
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028

May 13, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It was good to hear your humor in a somehwat humorless meeting. Why were we all so deadly?

I am sending you a copy of the proposal we outlined for the Operation Exodus parents in Roxbury. We expect they will make changes to suit their own needs. We also told them that Virginia Mathews of the National Book Committee said there is VISTA money available for books, and gave them the name of the man to contact: Mr. Miles Holister, Community Action Demonstration Project, who is, presumably in charge of setting up Neighborhhod Resource Centers for the distribution of books.

Marge Gross told me that you found a distributor in Atlanta who waved the discount, or took it over in some manner. How did you find him? I wonder if the women of Boston can find such a person. What should they be looking for? (You can see how well versed I am in this field!) But they should be pursuing all sides; if VISTA falls through the distributor might be the substitute.

Also, I would like to recommend to you a young woman who would like to work in the south this summer, either in Mississippi or in Alabama.

Name: Miss Jennifer Lyman
Address: 605 East 82nd Street, New York, N. Y.
Age: 22
Education: graduate of Barnard College, June, 1965. English major
Experience: Winant Volunteer, 1962, AFSC Project 1963, Day Camp Counsellor, 1964, Crossroads Africa, 1965.
Worked this fall for the American Committee on Africa, then on a political campaign (assisted in running the headquarters)
Most recently: secretary for Wednesdays in Mississippi.

Salary needs: at least enough to live on .

All the best, and thanks, as usual, for your help.

Yours,

Polly Cowan

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman

encls.

Rec'd 5/12/66

(1)

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

147 EAST 81 STREET, APT. 1-E
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028

May 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our attention has been called to the story in Publishers' Weekly on: Grants for Anti-Poverty Book Programs. We know that your work will be with libraries in the South, but we thought that you might be able to help us on a new project.

We are trying to give assistance to a multi-ethnic book project for children in the Roxbury area of Boston. The women of Roxbury, specifically those mothers who have been the leaders of Operation Exodus (the busing of Negro children to white schools in the city) want their children to have the opportunity to buy and to read both interracial stories and text books. There is no book store in Roxbury. As one mother said to us: "They sell them at Harvard Square in Cambridge. Who can get there?"

This may be a dream. But it is a fine dream, and we would like to help make it a reality. The women have already had promises of space for book stalls in the stores which they patronize: grocery store, furniture store and the like. I think that, in their opinion, book stalls are not as formidable as book stores. Either would do, of course.

Has such a proposition come across the desk of anyone at the Southern Regional Council? We are going to bring it to the attention of the American Book Publishers Council as a pilot project; but that won't necessarily mean that any action will be taken. There is also a new group being formed: Council on Interracial Books for Children, but it hasn't gotten off the ground yet.

Any ideas will be gratefully received.

Yours very sincerely,

Polly Cowan

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman

BOOKS FOR ROXBURY PROJECT

THE PROPOSAL:

In the Roxbury / North Dorchester area of greater Boston there are no bookstores. There is, however, a deep desire for education.

Under the sponsorship of"Operation Exodus" which buses children to schools which are under-utilized, a tutoring project is in operation. The mothers of the children and members of the Northern Student Movement are giving supplementary education to Exodus students.

These mothers, with the help of outsiders as needed, propose to set up book-stalls or a book store in the area. Space has already been promised by stores in the area, in advantageous locations.

There will be a screening committee from the tutorial program to decide which books will be sold. Emphasis will be placed on selling multi-ethnic texts and stories, as it has been found that these books motivate the children to read. Gertrude Samuels, writing for the Children's Book Section in the New York Times, May 8, 1966 says: ".....there is a growing pride in the Negro heritage. Many reading choices are books on Negro history and achievements."

NEEDS:

* Maximum discounts from the publishers. Books will be sold for the list price; the profit will go to "Operation Exodus," for the busing program.

* Knowledge of distribution

* Instruction on setting up of displays and book shelves.

* Setting up of accounts for accurate book-keeping.

(It is possible that funds will have to be raised for the original purchase of books. For the first few weeks, before"Operation Exodus" can realize a profit, funds may have to be plowed back into the re-ordering of books.)

STRUCTURE:

This project will be carried out by the parents of "Operation Exodus," in consultation with WIMS-Boston Project.

submitted by:
Wednesdays in Mississippi
147 East 81st Street
New York, N. Y.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

147 East 81st Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

WIMS NEWSLETTER

May, 1966

We never cease being astonished at the many new and varied activities of our team members, and the time has come to bring you up to date again. We thank those of you who have returned the questionnaires and postcards and those who continue to keep us informed by letter.

ITEMS FROM ILLINOIS:

Elizabeth Haselden was recently appointed to the Education Committee of the Mayor's Commission in Evaston.

Buddy Mayer is planning to participate in the program of Project 3000 in Chicago. She gave a Head Start program on art at Firman House in February. 90 Negro youngsters were fascinated by her slides of Negro and white contemporary artists. Buddy sent us a copy of a letter which she received from the President of the Mississippi Art Association indicating that they are making progress toward obtaining an Art Center. This group has also made good use of the slides that Buddy sent to them.

Jean Davis was chairman of the Benevolence Committee which allocated $30,000 to 24 local agencies in the inner city of Chicago. The Committee keeps them in close contact with the Martin Luther King operation in Chicago. SCLC's headquarters are in the Warren Avenue Church and it works closely with the West Side Christian Parish; both the Church and the Parish are funded by the Benevolence Committee.

Marquerite Cassell is chairman of a new committee, coordinated by the YWCA, which is to work on the problem of bridging the gulf of understanding between suburban and inner-city women. She also told us that the Chicago Urban League Womens' Board had a "Winnteka Walk" on May 1st with integrated hostesses and guides.

Selma Taub is working on a Fair Housing Committee which is planning an "Escort" service for Negro families who are seeking homes or apartments in that community. The Committee is part of the Niles Township Human Relations Council.

FROM MINNESOTA:

Maxine Nathanson and the area coordinator for Minneapolis in 1964, Mrs. W. W. Brooks, are working hard on the Minnesota Women's Committee for Civil Rights. Their annual meeting is planned for May and will be concerned with general information and the Psychological Aspects of Prejudice and Stereotyping. A professor

of Psychology at State University will be the main speaker.

FROM NEW JERSEY:

Edith Savage who did such a wonderful fund-raising job for WIMS last fall, has been working 48 hours a day on Mayor Arthur Holland's campaign for re-election in Trenton. The election is on May 8th.

Olive Noble is working with WICS in Newark. She is also a volunteer teacher's aide at the East Orange High School, works on a homework program in Jersey City, and on a Week Day School of Religion at Roseville Methodist Church in Newark.

Lorna Scheide has some exciting news: she is going to Africa for 5 weeks next summer with Ogey Walden through the American Committee on Africa. She asks that you drop her a line if you have any friends you would like her to look up. Her address is on page 14 of your team list.

FROM NEW YORK:

Gladys Zales and Lena Horne are co-chairmen of the NCNW Life Membership Drive for which they are planning a dinner in the future for $100 Life Members. Attendance from all over the country is expected.

Claudia Heckscher and Marion Logan were co-chairmen of the Patrons for CORE art auction on April 27th.

Florence Kennedy is the legal Counsel for the Concerned Mothers Mutual Benefit Committee. The president of this Committee is Mrs. Sidney Poitier.

Dr. Molly Harrower is on the steering committee for a Conference on Racial Reconciliation.

Sue Miller has been busy lately working with Frannie Tanenbaum on the school board election in Great Neck. Sue also went to Calhoun, Miss. in March, to work with teachers on remedial reading. She had a fascinating experience and was grateful to Dr. Roscoe Boyer of the School of Education at Old Miss. for the opportunity of continuing the work she had done at the Institute last summer.

FROM PHILADELPHIA AND WASHINGTON:

Marjorie Duckrey is the chief Program Planner of PAAC, the local Anti-Poverty Program in Philadelphia.

Billie Hetzel is working on plans for a public college in the District of Columbia. Senator Wayne Morse has already held hearings on plans for the city college. Billie also takes courses at George Washington University comparing different colleges' methods for teaching reading.

FROM MISSISSIPPI:

Ann Hewitt is in New York for a three week visit. She arrived on April 11th and we immediately enlisted her aid to serve as a representative from Mississippi to the National Committee for the support of Public Schools at their Washington Conference on April 17th-19th. She was the only representative from Mississippi to attend. She also spoke before a NCNW Region I Conference held in Brooklyn and charmed all who were there.

We were also delighted to have a visit from Kate Wilkinson in March. Kate was invited to speak at Rutgers University and once the New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania women knew that she was coming they all clamored to see her. She stayed with Hannah Levin, who made all the arrangements for her. We heard that she had a most successful visit at Fellowship House in Philadelphia. Marjorie Penney had her address a group of teachers and the Board of Fellowship House. Many of the team members came to a party at Polly Cowan's for Kate and it was good to renew acquaintances and exchange varied experiences.

A few weeks after Kate's visit we learned that the Institute at Ole Miss. had been funded for 1966. Many of you who wrote letters to the Office of Education on Behalf of the Institute will be pleased with this news.

Kenneth Dean, director of the Human Relations Committee of Jackson, Mississippi, consulted WIMS during a trip East. He is planning a conference on womens' rights for Mississippi, and turned to us for information on the women who are leaders in this field.

Joan Geiger has started a Panel of Americans in Jackson. The Panel has invitations from schools and organizations of many varieties, and endeavors to accept every request.

Elaine Crystal is the new president of Mississippians for Public Education, the organization which worked so successfully to keep the public schools open. MPE is now trying to move the state legislature to pass a compulsory school attendance law.

Clarie Harvey, director of Womanpower Unlimited, has been leading her usual busy life. She is a member of the Committee of 100 for the United Church Women, and met with them recently at Berea College, Kentucky. She reported that after three years of work, the United Church Women at the local and the state level is integrated. Clarie came to New York for a meeting of the Methodist Committee on Overseas Relief. She is one of 25 people from all over the United States on this committee. While visiting in the WIMS office she also reported on the work with the American Ethical Union in New York which brings children from the South for camping experience at interracial summer camps in the North. Pearl Drain is working with her on the Jackson part of this program.

Dionne Vivelle who will be remembered by the 1964 team members as part of WIMS Jackson staff, and by 1965 women as one of the law students working for LCDC in Jackson, was seen by Dorothy Height in California. At Miss Height's request she spoke on a panel to the west coast Y Teens at the regional conference of the YWCA. Miss Height reports that Dionne did an unusually fine job in her presentation of her participation in civil rights.

NEWS OF WIMS -- STAFF AND PROJECTS

Dorothy Height, our own leader, is taking her place as the only woman leader to serve with 28 men on the Planning Council of the White House Conference on Civil Rights. The Conference will be held the first week in June.

Polly Cowan attended a housing meeting in New York which was called by the National Institute on Religion & Race to explore the possibility of a "Summit Conference" on Fair Housing. Representatives of 12 womens' organizations attended. As a result of meetings in February and March, a large conference will be held in New York on May 5th.

Polly and Marge Gross attended the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty Convention in Washington in April. Trude Lash and Dorothy Height represented their organizations. WIMS was asked to become consultants to CCAP, and has agreed to participate in the Citizens' Crusade Rural Action Project which will try to provide grass roots groups with the resources and leaders necessary to fight poverty constructively. CCAP has called a meeting in New York in May to explore the program more fully.

The staff has acted as consultant to: the Virginia Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. This was helpful for future work in Danville, Va. We will continue to act as consultants for the Special Training Institute for the School of Education, University of Mississippi, and if it is funded, for a project planned by the University for Bolivar County, Mississippi.

WIMS Boston Project is getting under way. Louise Oswell, a social worker with an exceptionally fine background of experience, has gone on two of the three field visits made to Boston. Mrs. Oswell will remain as a consultant for WIMS Boston Project.

We have had two meetings with interracial groups where the white women were predominantly Catholic. We have had one with 15 women of Jewish backgrounds. These meetings were called with the hope of finding ways to get women to work together on constructive programs to alleviate tensions in the fields of housing and education.

We have also met with 26 civic and religious leaders, to attempt to find the direction in which we might best use our efforts to meet the needs of the inner city. Progress is slow, as it was in Jackson in the beginning, but we have hopes. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Community Relations Service, and the Office of Education are giving us encouragement; they are very much aware of the explosive

possibilities in Boston. WIMS team members nationally should note that Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, prime mover of the Boston School Committee in its archaic approach, has a plan for a national organization: "National Committee for the Protection of Neighborhood Schools."

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

A new committee called: Council on Interracial Books for Children, Inc. is being formed. WIMS hopes to work with this committee and has already proposed a project for Roxbury, Mass. We will keep you informed.

A film called: A Chance for a Change which was made at CDGM Head Start Project in Durant, Mississippi last summer was screened in April. Those of us who saw it recommend it to you. If you would be interested in a rental,call or write: Giffard Associates, 41 West 47th Street, N. Y. (212) 245-2083.

Recommended articles: "The Accommodating Whites," by Christopher Jenks in The New Republic, April, 1966, talks about the CDGM. "The Watts'Manifesto' & the McCone Report," by Bayard Rustin Commentary, March 1966 gives a good picture of the most urgent problems in urban areas. The latter is available in reprint form from Commentary, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

Elson - contact about NY - Bost area
BEE ~~& POP~~ - no way to help
~~Frato~~ Millspaugh - contact - McNamara
help from youth groups
Consignment deal w/ publishers in your area

MEMO TO PAUL ANTHONY

FROM HARRY DeLUNG, JR.

RE: BOOKS FOR ROXBURY PROJECT

I have read the material from Wednesdays in Mississippi concerning the Roxbury book proposal and have come up with several ideas that may be helpful. However, as you know all of my experience in this area has been in the South, so the usefulness of my suggestions may be somewhat limited.

The Paperback Book Project of the Southern Regional Council is an analogous program, except that our books are being purchased at cost from an Atlanta wholesale distributor and given free to various community projects in the South. If the Roxbury project could make contact with such a distributor in the Boston area, perhaps a similar arrangement could be worked out.

Our contact in Atlanta is with Mr. Edward Elson of the Atlanta News Agency, Inc. Mr. Elson has an interest in assisting projects of this sort, and I suggest that he be contacted by the Roxbury people about giving the names of similar distributors in New York or Boston that might be able to assist their program. He can be contacted at:

Atlanta News Agency, Inc.
3875 Green Industrial Way
Chamblee, Ga.

Since the Roxbury proposal is not specifically seeking funds to use in giving away books, but apparently only desires that they be made available for sale, it seems to me that a consignment arrangement could be worked out with almost any book wholesaler. As I understand these arrangements, the distributor

provides the retailer (the Roxbury project, in this case) with whatever quantity and type of books he wants; after a certain period, the retailer pays for the books that are sold and returns the rest. Meanwhile, the retailer gets additional books on the same basis. This system is fairly common among small book retailers, and it would seem that there would be no difficulty in making such a deal with a distributor in Boston.

The Books for Equal Education project, operated out of Atlanta and New York, is set up to receive used books from college students and re-distribute them to unaccredited southern Negro colleges. BEE has a shortage of good books at this point, and could not be of any direct help to the Roxbury project. However, there are two people in New York who have worked with BEE and may have contacts in the northeast that would be useful, not only in terms of book distributors, but organizations that might be able to provide any manpower needed by the project. These persons are:

Frank Millspaugh
WBAI - FM radio station
New York, N.Y.

Miss Connie McNamara
U.S. Youth Council
236 E. 46 St.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Generally, It seems to me that the Roxbury proposal is relatively modest, and they should not have much trouble developing it, once contact is made with a distributor that carries the type of books they are interested in.

Make file if there is not one.

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

147 EAST 81ST STREET, APT. 1-E
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028

MS file

June 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our thanks to you and to Mr. DeLung for the information for the Roxbury book proposal. We are xeroxing the ideas set down and sending them on to Ellen Jackson of Operation Exodus.

Mr. Millspaugh called us. We returned his call, but he will be out until Monday. We will telephone him then.

We are offering Mrs. Jackson some women who might do the research for her on distributors if she does not have the time to do this herself or within her parents committee.

Please do let us see your evaluation of the current paperback program of the Southern Regional Conference. We are going to Danville, Va. next week to consult on a "cultural enrichment" program (we don't like the title, but the Danville group seems to) and there may be a deman for a book program there too. This Danville effort is different from any we have tried. Because it is southern in orientation we will let you know if we have any success.

And thank you for your letter about Jenny Lyman.

I spoke to Patt today. She wishes thousands of people would march on Jackson! The people have not been at all shaken by recent events and need to"see it to believe it"if there is to be any impact. Ah, apathy.

Best regards,

Polly Cowan

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman

File - "Wednesdays in Mississippi"

CES
mj - files

July 25, 1966

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman
Wednesdays In Mississippi
147 East 81st Street, Apt. 1-E
New York, New York 10028

Dear Polly:

Thank you very much for a copy of the citation. The selection committee could not have made a more appropriate choice, and I think it's some indication of the contributions that Wednesdays In Mississippi has made in the names of those who made the nomination.

Still hope you will have an opportunity to come visit us some time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS

For Volunteer Service to the Community

465 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

July 11, 1966

WIMS (Wednesday in Mississippi)
c/o Mrs. Louis G. Cowan, Director
147 East 81st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Cowan:

We take great pleasure in presenting your group with the enclosed Citation and advising you that your group's name is among those being considered for the 1965 Lane Bryant Annual Awards.

The Citation itself is not an Award, but a recognition of the nomination. Its purpose is to inform you that your group is one of the candidates for the Award, and to commend you for its achievement.

Citations are selected by New York University, Graduate School of Social Work, where all nominations are subjected to specific criteria of exclusion. Citations are presented to approximately fifteen per cent of all nominees - this number meeting the rigid criteria of exclusion and surviving the preliminary screening. The final selection for the Awards is to be made by the judges whose names appear below.

Established in 1948, the two Lane Bryant Annual Awards of $1,000 are presented to an individual and to a group in the hope of encouraging voluntary participation in a wide variety of efforts that benefit the American community.

Please accept this Citation as tangible evidence of the pride and gratitude of your community in your group's achievements on its behalf.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome E. Klein
Director

cj-25
enc.

1965 AWARDS COMMITTEE: EDWARD W. BROOKE, *Attorney General, Massachusetts* ~ RALPH EMERSON MCGILL, *Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution* ~ MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, *United States Senator, Oregon* ~ GENERAL LAURIS NORSTAD, *President, Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation* ~ ROBERTA PETERS (MRS. BERTRAM FIELDS)
Staff: JEROME E. KLEIN, *Director* ~ CORINNE LATTA, *Assistant Director* ~ CELIA JACOBS, *Manager*

THE

LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS

To An Individual And A Group For Volunteer Service To The Community

CITATION

WIMS

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

---

whose outstanding service has led to active consideration by the Awards Committee for one of the two national awards to be presented in December, 1966.

AWARDS COMMITTEE

Edward W. Brooke
Attorney General, Massachusetts

Ralph Emerson McGill
Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution

Maurine B. Neuberger
U. S. Senator, Oregon

General Lauris Norstad
President, Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation

Roberta Peters

1965

Established in 1948 to inspire and encourage voluntary participation in efforts that benefit the American home and community life.

4

WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

147 East 81st Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

WIMS NEWSLETTER

July, 1966

Congratulations to all of you wherever you are! You are all the recipients of a Citation. You will find a copy of the Citation enclosed and will note that it is from Lane Bryant Annual Awards, to:"WIMS - WEDNESDAYS IN MISSISSIPPI - whose outstanding service has led to active consideration by the Awards Committee for one of the two national awards to be presented in December, 1966."

"Citations are presented to approximately fifteen percent of all nominees - this number meeting the rigid criteria of exclusion and surviving the preliminary screening...Please accept this Citation as tangible evidence of the pride and gratitude of your community in your group's achievements on its' behalf." So reads the letter from the Director of the Lane Bryant Annual Awards for Volunteer Service to the Community.

We hope that all our other news will not be anti-climactic!

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ITEMS FROM VIRGINIA:

Jane McClary writes that her community has a flourishing nursery school similar to Head Start, but financed and maintained by the local Negro organizations. Jane's new book will be published in October.

Virginia Bourne worked very hard in the primary race in her state for Armistead L. Boothe against incumbent Senator Byrd. As you all noted, the race was very close! For other news of Mrs. Bourne see the notes on Danville.

FROM BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON:

Mary-Cushing Niles has been using some of her enormous store of energy for the Friends World College Project. She is Vice-Chairman of the Trustees of the Friends World Institute, which plans to have 7 centers around the world. Her prime responsibility is for the Indian Center. Mary-Cushing also finds time for work on Civil Rights and the problems of Vietnam.

Billie Hetzel helped run a benefit for "Strike City", the tent city in Mississippi, with the community action group of the All Soul's Unitarian Church. This church is presently running a Freedom School during the summer for children and adults. Billie's last letter gave us a new address for Marguerite Cassell of Chicago, who has moved to Washington: 5617 Montgomery Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

FROM CALIFORNIA:

Several team members saw each other at the NAACP Legal, Education and Defense Fund Convocation in New York. Among them was Geraldine Woods whose subsequent letter, thanking us for sending Ellen Tarry's book, said: "It has been so good to see you fairly frequently recently (we all met again at the White House Conference). Shirley Smith Anderson called me today and I was delighted." Shirley's letter, which arrived just before Gerry's, said: "Thanks for the list of team members. I called Gerry right away... we will get together early in July."

FROM PHILADELPHIA:

Henrietta Smith was one of the community leaders from Philadelphia who sought answers to local problems in the Grier Study on Housing Segregation. The results are available through regional offices of the Anti-Defamation League, in a paperback edition of "Equality and Beyond", @ $1.45.

Marjorie Duckrey was on the sponsoring committee of the Philadelphia to Philadelphia Project art exhibit which was held in Philadelphia, Mississippi on June 4th-17th. It then traveled to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where it was on view June 19th-25th. The exhibitors all live in Philadelphia, Miss. The one photographer whose work was shown is Miss Florence Mars, whom many of you have met, and who has been a photographic consultant for the Ford Foundation.

The art exhibit brochure says: "The Philadelphia to Philadelphia Project is a program of educational, cultural and service exchange between Philadelphia, Pa. and Philadelphia, Miss. - two cities that share the same name. Its' purpose is to demonstrate that people everywhere, despite the diversity of their backgrounds, may meet, share ideas and concerns and work together in mutual trust, committed to universal ideals and values."

FROM ILLINOIS:

Selma Taub was chosen May Woman of the Month by THE LIFE newspapers in Skokie, Illinois. We agree with the newspapers and are delighted with the reports of her work in the pre-kindergarten project in Evanston, Illinois, for which she has carried the major responsibility. She is also involved in the activities of the Fair Housing Committee in Winnetka, which escorts Negro families who are seeking homes in that suburban community.

Dorothy Dawson, pursuing her skills in working with girls, is currently involved in a job with the "gangs" on the West Side of Chicago, primarily with the girls on the streets in Lawndale. She coordinates all activites helpful to girls. The "Streets Project" is part of the program of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity and the Chicago Youth Centers. Dorothy is working in liason with Dr. Martin Luther King.

FROM NEW YORK:

Gladys Zales is giving a tea at the Plaza Hotel on July 28th to involve interested persons in a brain-storming session on creating more Life Memberships for the National Council of Negro Women. Gladys is Co-Chairman, with Miss Lena Horne, of the Life Membership Drive.

Marion Logan, board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, did an heroic job of fund-raising for the Meridith March for Freedom.

Jean Benjamin has taken on a new assignment at the Citizen's Committee for Children of New York. She is Vice-Chairman of the Joint Visiting Committee which allows volunteers to work toward the improvement of New York City's welfare, legal, and health facilities.

Polly Cowan has been named liason between Citizen's Committee for Children and the New York Commission on Human Rights.

And, speaking of the Citizen's Committee, its' executive director, Trude Lash, organized a spring conference for the National Council of Women, entitled "Youth: Who Cares?"

FROM NEW JERSEY:

An "Evening with Lena" is planned for the end of July at the home of Mrs. Mary Roebling, in Trenton. This affair, which is part of the Life Membership Campaign of the National Council of Negro Women, hasEdith Savage as co-chairman with Mrs. Roebling. NCNW is in safe hands with Edith -- you all remember the benefit she ran for WIMS in Trenton last fall.

Hannah Levin is spending her summer "vacation" preparing two reports for a consulting firm, hired by Sargent Shriver. Her reports, dealing with Newark and Philipsberg, N.J., will be part of a national evaluation of the poverty programs, concentrating on the effectiveness of the "maximum feasible participation of the poor".

FROM MASSACHUSETTS:

Ruth Batson has resigned as Commissioner, Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, to become the Director of the Metropolitan Council on Educational Opportunity (METCO). This Council, which Laya Wiesner helped to organize and on whose steering committee she serves, will bus children from the inner city of Boston to the suburban schools.

FROM MINNESOTA:

When Miss Height went to Minneapolis for a regional meeting of the YWCA she called on Josie Johnson and Maxine Nathanson to assist her on a panel. They told the gathering about their experiences on the Minneapolis team, and all that they have done as a result of this trip. Miss Height reports that they made an excellent panel.

FROM MISSISSIPPI:

We must mention that the nomination for the Lane Bryant Annual Award came from Dr. Roscoe Boyer, University of Mississippi, and director of the Special Institute on Problems of School Desegregation. We are extremely grateful to him for expressing his regard in this way.

Dorothy Height is once again going to Oxford, Mississippi to lecture at the Institute this summer. More about Miss Height under the White House Conference.

Ann Hewitt, now off with her daughter, Cindy, to South America, moved about in her job as State President for Mississippi of the United Church Women. She went to Oxford and to Greenwood and,as an outgrowth of the latter, Greenwood has

initiated the Interfaith Fellowship Prayer Band, which plans to organize and develop a Greenwood Council of Church Women in the not-too-distant future. Ann and Cindy walked in the Meredith March for Freedom.

Frances Robbins, President of the Jackson UCW, is working with the United Church women on CARE AND SHARE and on WICS. Jane Schutt attended the Canadian-American Consultation on Human Rights for UCW in New York this spring.

Clarie Harvey, chairman of Womanpower Unlimited, wrote us that the Little Theatre presented shows to help send children to culture-oriented camps in the North -- a part of the Interracial Vacation Program of a Committee in Brattleboro, Vt. and the American Ethical Union in New York.

Clarie also says that there is still a great need for children's clothing. Please send it to: Mrs. Rosie Redmond, 1043 West Pearl Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

After attending the White House Conference in June, Esther Sampson spent two weeks at the University of Chicago at a Social Work Conference.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION:

White House Conference: "To Fulfill These Rights"

Polly Cowan and Marge Gross were happy to see so many WIMS team members at the conference in June. Our "boss", Dorothy I. Height, who was the only woman out of the 29 members of the planning council, worked around the clock. Others who participated in the conference were: Ruth Batson, Marie Barksdale, Virginia Bourne, Flossie Dedmond, Josie Johnson, Hannah Levin, Ruth Minor, Mildred Pitt, Peg Roach, Arnetta Wallace and Geraldine Woods. From Mississippi came our friends: Patt Derian, Esther Sampson and Clarie Harvey. Our Washington staff member, Ruth A. Sykes, was delighted to meet so many of the women she knew only by name.

Since the conference kept us all so busy, there was little opportunity to exchange impressions. WIMS staff would be delighted to hear any experiences or opinions you have stemming from the conference.

National Planning Commission, NCNW, Inc.

Dorothy Height convened a meeting of 27 leaders of the NCNW at Capohosic, in Virginia, July 8-10, to plan to: 1) train Negro women for effective community service and participation, 2) develop and carry out independent and cooperative projects for public service, 3) work for legislative, administrative and legal action to advance Civil Rights and/or combat poverty, and 4) broaden the base of involvement of women of different backgrounds to achieve these goals.

Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing both had conferences with which the WIMS staff acted as consultants and participants. These conferences were held in New York in May.

NEW PROJECTS FOR NCNW AND WIMS:

The latest communication from the Boston Project is from Rev. Rynne, newly appointed Executive Director of the Commission on Human Rights, of the Archdiocese

of Boston, who writes: "I hope in the near future to be in frequent communication with WIMS - Boston project...I am looking forward to working with you to solve the issues that are weakening our society."

The Danville, Virginia Project began in May, at the invitation of Virginia Bourne and the Young Women's Christian Association of Danville. Polly Cowan, Marge Gross and Ethel James Williams went as a team from June 14-16th. Previously, we had met with Mrs. Bourne in Washington and had been introduced to Mr. Charles Womack, a Danville businessman who is interested in this project.

WIMS hopes to assist the Danville YWCA, which lost some of its support when it became fully integrated. In a recent article in the New York Times, Howard Taubman wrote: "Generous Uncle Sam Cultivates Regions Suffering Artistic Neglect." Danville is in such a region, but to date has had no assistance from "Title III of the EASE Act of 1965, in which the Government may assist in providing vitally needed educational services not ordinarily available", including the arts. Until such money comes to Danville, WIMS and NCNW will try to provide a vehicle for cultural enrichment in conjunction with the YWCA.

Paterson, New Jersey's Council of Negro Women has invited WIMS to come on September 17th to begin a workshop on "Building Bridges of Understanding". We are in the process of planning a new format which may be useful to other communities which wish to call on WIMS.

Wednesdays In Mississippi
147 East 81 Street, Apt. 1-E
New York, N.Y. 10028

July, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Rd.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The most interesting thing about this citation is that the nomination for the award was made by Dr. Roscoe Boyer, Department of Education at the University of Mississippi, and signed by the Vice Chancellor. Ken Dean and Father Law signed it too -- but one might expect that.

Yours very sincerely,

Polly

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman

[redacted]

File - Wednesdays in Miss.

Orig ltr rtd to PA

February 21, 1967

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan, Chairman
Wednesdays in Mississippi
147 East 81 Street, Apt. 1-E
New York, New York 10028

Dear Polly:

Thank you so much for your warm and good comments about the Annual Report.

I do look forward to reading your report on the Mississippi workshop and am certain its not only interesting but well written.

Again, thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

June 26, 1967

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan
Chairman
Wednesdays in Mississippi
147 East 81st Street, Apt. 1-E
New York, New York 10028

Dear Polly:

Thank you sincerely for your contribution. Our receipt is enclosed.

Hope the material reached you in time and that you have a good meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

941 Park Avenue

Mrs. Louis G. Cowan

June 17, 1967

Dear Paul –

Thanks for the help and the forthcoming medical reports.

Enclosed is a renewal
and a little extra for
all the mailings.

Best to you,

Polly

$2.00 for New South
mj

$25.00 —
6/22/67
C.L.

June 21, 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: The Office of the Wesley Memorial Church Building

From: Southern Regional Council

:

On our clerical staff, Mrs. Mildred Flowers has replaced Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley. Miss Luel Cummings has replaced Mrs. Carmencita Jones. In addition, Miss Marva Nettles has joined our staff as clerk in the Research Office, Room 200 and Miss Frances Carnes, part-time employee, has joined the staff as clerk-receptionist.

:

September 30, 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: The Office
Wesley Memorial Building

Subject: Additions to SRC Staff

:

The following persons whose positions and home addresses are shown below have joined the SRC staff.

Machion Garrison
237 Westlake Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

(Intern in Inter-Group Relations)

Miss Faith C. Lawson
Fernbank Forest
849 Clifton Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

(Stenographer)

Billie J. Thompson
246 Westminster Drive, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 | THE AUGUSTA COURIER, NOVEMBER 4, 1957, AUGUSTA, GA., No. 532 | No. 532

Ralph McGill Deliberately Lies Again; Tries To Scare South Into Race Mixing

* *

Like Russia, U. S. Supreme Court Threw Away The Law In Its Segregation Decision, Arizona Judge Declares

4-Point Statement Of Justice Phelps Shows Washington's Greed For Power

A Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona, in a recent address to a civic club in Phoenix, has blistered the Supreme Court of the United States in language more scathing than any used by a Southerner yet.

Associate Justice M. T. Phelps says:

1. The decision in the segregation cases was based "neither upon logic nor law".

2. "That the processes followed by the Court in reaching its conclusion violate all procedural due process known to American Jurisprudence."

3. That the court based its opinion on sociological and psychological works of authors who belong to Communist-front organizations.

4."It is the design and purpose of the Court to usurp policy-making powers of the Nation and by its own unconstitutional pronouncement to create an all-powerful centralized government in Washington.

5. "When they succeed in accomlishing this end, we, the people, will be automatically under the rule of a bureaucratic despotism but little different, if any, from that now in power in Russia."

Court Raped The Law

In support of the first three propositions, Mr. Justice Phelps said:

"Regardless of what we as individuals may think about the justice or injustice of segregation, I here assert without hesitation or reservation that the decision was based neither upon logic nor law, and I further charge that the processes followed by the Court in reaching its conclusion violate all procedural due process known to American jurisprudence.

"The Court based its decision on sociology or social psychology, whatever you want to call it, and not on the law . . . It cited and quoted from certain sociological or psychological works as modern authority on the subject, the authors of which, according to the charge made by Senator Eastland of Mississippi upon the floor of the United States Senate, were members of Communist front organizations. This charge has never been denied so far as I know . . .

No Evidence Introduced

"In order to reach its conclusion, the Court did one thing that was theretofore unknown to American or Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. It considered these so-called modern authorities' without any of them being before the Court, without their books having been introduced into evidence and shown to have been recognized as authentic authority on the subjects treated. The consideration of any matter

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

Herbert Brownell has resigned as Attorney General of the United States.

That ought to be good news to every white man in the nation. I am certainly glad to be able to record that it has happened.

But we can't take any pleasure over his successor.

We get rid of Brownell, but we also have thrust upon us one William P. Rogers.

When informed that Brownell was quitting and that he would be appointed to take Brownell's place, Rogers had this to say about Brownell:

"In all major matters, we have seen eye to eye."

It is generally understood that Rogers has been the brains in the Attorney General's office. It is generally understood that he got up the civil rights bill; that he has mapped the plan of trying to crush the Southern people by the use of federal injunctions and federal troops.

So, you can put in your pipe and smoke it, Rogers is even worse than Brownell.

Rogers is another one of Tom Dewey's stoogies. He is also very close to Vice President Nixon.

Nixon and Dewey are determined to use court injunctions and federal bayonets to force race mixing in the public schools in the South.

So far as the South is concerned, there are no more vile men to be found than Nixon and Dewey.

This fellow Rogers will do their bidding.

The newspapers tell us that Rogers is one of "Tom Dewey's boys" along with Brownell, James C. Hagerty and Sherman Adams.

A man once told me that he plowed up a nest of young rattlesnakes. He watched them squirming in the fresh dirt and at first thought they were the prettiest little things that he had ever seen. Then, it occurred to him they were rattlesnakes.

In my opinion, nothing but rattlesnakes can come out of the nest which Herbert Brownell has created in the Attorney General's office.

So far as we are concerned, the whole mess of these "modern Republicans" are rattlesnakes.

So, while we cheer Mr. Brownell's exit, we can find no reason to be happy over Mr. Rogers' entrance.

But so far as the people of the South are concerned, Mr. Rogers will not scare us into submission to their vile race mixing schemes any more than Mr. Brownell scared us into them.

The people of the South will still say never and the people of the South still say that we do not intend to yield to race mixing in the next one thousand years.

We are determined upon massive resistance to their efforts and we are determined to use every weapon at our command to stave off this vile thing.

We are not going to be satisfied with just massive resistance.

So far as the Supreme Court decision ordering race mixing in the public schools is concerned, we took the same position that Abraham Lincoln took in regard to the Dred Scott decision. Here's what Lincoln said:

"Somebody has to reverse that decision, since it is made; and we mean to reverse it, and we mean to do it peaceably."

Now, that's what the people of the South mean to do.

And we do not stand alone in this determination.

White people over the nation are as determined as we are. White people everywhere are beginning to learn something about the Negro prob-

(Continued on page 3)

Loss Of Industry Is New Blackmail Scheme Of Atlanta Constitution's Editor

As usual, Ralph McGill unscrupulously and with design, is still trying to mislead the people of the South into acceptance of the mixing of the white and Negro races.

Since 1954, he has been trying to lead the people to believe that race mixing is inevitable and that it is legal, Christian and that it must come.

His latest effort is in the nature of an attempt to scare people into acceptance of his evil scheme.

Lying About Industry

In this latest effort, he tries to prove that racial tension in the South will be disastrous to our industrial development.

In his regular column in the Atlanta Constitution-Journal, of Sunday, September 29, 1957, under the heading of "The Cost of 'Little Rock'?", he said:

"One of the big question marks is whether a corporation with anywhere from $5 million to $40 million or more to invest in a new plant would come into a state where there are acute racial tensions and the possibility of violence.

Made-up Questions

"Some of the queries now being asked by these companies are 'Would a plant be likely to be bombed if it hired Negro labor and 'trouble' came? . . . Would there be picket lines and threats by citizens councils or klans? . . . Will the schools be shut down and our plant managers be unable to send their children to school?'

"Some states could give a negative answer and assurance of law-abiding people. But a long, slow questioning look at the South is certain to be the policy for at least the immediate future.

"It is not a situation beyond repair. The South does offer opportunity and a great pool of excellent labor. It is labor which learns quickly and has a pride in its job. But certainly long months of disorder, violence and racial tensions would be disastrous to industrial development."

360 New Factories

In speaking to the Rotary Club in Savannah, Georgia, on October 7, 1957, Governor Griffin said of Georgia's industrial progress:

"During 1956 a total of 360 new factories, large and small, were built costing 165 million dollars in capital expenditures. These plants are providing 11,000 new jobs for Georgians with an increase in the annual payroll of 32 million dollars . . . I am happy to announce today that Georgia has moved from fourth to third place in the nation in the establishment of heavy industries since World War II."

This development to which Governor

(Continued on Page 2)

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

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BISHOP MOORE

It is impossible for me to understand Bishop Moore of the Methodist Church.

I hope I am a good Methodist. Most of my people are members of the Methodist Church.

But how Bishop Moore can allow himself to be used as one of the organizers of the Southern Regional Council, devoted to the promotion of race mixing, is beyond my understanding.

Then, after its purpose is fully known and after it shows up with a large number of its officials and directors with long records of participation in Communist causes, or Communist-front organizations, it is inconceivable that the Bishop still permits this infamous organization to be housed in the Wesley Memorial Methodist Church building, in Atlanta.

Recently, a high-ranking official in this organization attended a communist training school at Monteagle, Tennessee which was attended by Negroes and whites who are promoting racial tension.

During all of this time, the Bishop sits idly by. He says nothing. He does not rid his church building of this filthy organization and neither does he denounce the policies and the objects of the organization.

If he does not approve of the objectives of this organization, why doesn't he disown it since he helped father it. He, along with Ralph McGill, and radical Negro leaders, were the original organizers of the Southern Regional Council.

Neither can we understand why he will permit his Sunday School literature to picture the Reverend Martin Luther King, the instigator of all the violence at Montgomery, Alabama, as an "exceptional saint".

It is a known fact that hundreds of Methodist preachers in Georgia today would be preaching against racial integration if the Bishop didn't have his foot on their necks. I have talked with many of them in confidence and I know this to be true.

Many of them do not approve of the race mixing schemes to which the Methodist Church subscribes and would like to speak out in protest in their pulpits.

But, on account of the Bishop, they dare not.

From ninety to ninety-five percent of the members of the Methodist Church in Georgia are as strong believers in segregation as you and I, and yet, the pulpits which they support are silenced by the Bishop.

The Bishop was born and reared in Georgia. He came up among the traditions of Georgia people. He knows the sentiments of Georgia people.

Privately, he assures the Methodist with whom he talks in Georgia that he is opposed to race mixing.

Then, why does he allow himself to be so used in an effort to crush and destroy the members of his own Church?

R. V. H.

More Words of Abraham Lincoln that the Race-Mixers Never Quote!

Abraham Lincoln said: "There are White men enough to marry all the White women, and black men enough to marry all the black women ... ... I do not understand that there is any place where an alteration of the social and political relations can be made except in the State Legislature. .. A separation of the races is the only perfect preventive of amalgamation."

And Abraham Lincoln, speaking in Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859, Exclaimed:

"The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and Courts, -not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."

— SEE PAGES 242 and 263 LINCOLN Encyclopedia, Archer H. Shaw, Editor. pub. MACMILLAN in New York City — 1950

M.A.M.

Loss Of Industry Is New Blackmail Scheme Of Atlanta Constitution's Editor

(Continued from Page 1)

Griffin refers happened when the whole world knew that Georgia's governor and its legislature had said that we will never practice race mixing in the South and that before we will submit to such an evil scheme that we will abolish our public school system.

McGill Knowingly Lied

The people who build these factories and these industries know that Governor Griffin and the people of Georgia mean business.

These facts McGill knew when he wrote his article on September 29th.

As a newspaperman he did know, or should have known, what the representative of one of the newest plants opened in Georgia recently said in dedication ceremonies held for the opening of a five million-dollar plant in Northeast Georgia. He stated that they came to Georgia because they liked Georgia, Georgia people and Georgia's way of life and Georgia's way of doing things.

Industry Likes Georgia

In this speech the industrialist said that instead of our way of life driving industry away from the South that it was bound to drive industry into the South.

This man knows and every other white man knows, that people today are running from the big cities of the North and West to escape the Negro problem. They are seeking places where their children can attend white schools and where they can live in white neighborhoods.

But more devastating to McGill's position is an article which was written by Jim Montgomery and appeared in the Atlanta Constitution on October 8, 1957.

Is of No Concern

In this article, Montgomery says:

"Information just obtained on both the immediate and long-range Southern expansion plans of specific firms headquartered in the North shows that not a single one has or intends to alter new plant development on account of racial problems.

"A Constitution survey of business and industrial development leaders indicates that most feel, the racial dispute will not retard Dixie's continued economic growth or long-range industrial expansion.

"These confident assertions, reflecting an attitude that 'businessmen are not sociologists,' far outnumbered expressions of frank concern.

"The president of one of America's 20 largest industrial corporations told this reporter that as far as he is concerned the disturbance in Little Rock is of a temporary nature and that it will have no effect whatsoever on his company's plans for new Southern installations.

No Plans Changed

"He said long-range economic considerations far outweigh sporadic social conflicts of a local nature.

"A Georgia Power Co. executive, who called on six new plant prospects in three Northern states shortly after federal forces where ordered into Little Rock, said all expressed interest in his (the Southern) viewpoint.

"He also reported that not one of the prospects has any intention of changing his expansion plans for any reason even remotely connected with race issues.

"Terming four of the companies 'very good prospects for Georgia right now,' he said the fifth told him it had just decided on another Dixie site, while the sixth is postponing all expansion plans for the time being for strictly economic reasons."

McGill Fails Again

And then Montgomery proceeds to discuss a report made by the Southern Association of Science and Industry on the same subject. Here's what he said about this report:

"Sporadic outbreaks of racial tension in the South have had no measurable effect on the development of industry in the region .... the South is moving ahead industrially despite the much-publicized racial controversy."

The SASI cites as "positive evidence the fact that the South has scored two consecutive record-shattering years in industrial expansion since the historic Supreme Court decision led to increased tensions."

McGill's effort to scare the people of the South was certainly answered in an article which also appeared in The Atlanta Constitution on October 8, 1957.

Big Output Seen

It quoted Donald B. Woodward, finance chairman of Vick Chemical Company, as saying that within the next 25-30 years that the gross products of the eleven Southeastern states will increase from $45 billion to more than $200 billion.

Then, again, the Atlanta Journal disputes Ralph in an editorial appearing on October 9, 1957, in which it said that racial tensions 'so far have not caused the economic havoc that some Northern interests would prefer to see."

This same editorial in The Atlanta Journal gives another quote from Donald

(Continued on Page 3)

Thurmond Wants Northern Democrats To Respect The South

South Carolina Leader Makes Demand On Heads Of National Party

Senator Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, demands that the National Democratic Party give consideration to the principles of the South Carolina Democratic Party.

In the event they fail to do so he has called on the Democrats of South Carolina to take affirmative action.

The Senator says:

"As long as we permit ourselves to be led meekly to the sacrificial altar of politics and offered up to appease the minority blocks, we deserve no respect or consideration."

Wants Positive Statement

Senator Thurmond calls upon the party officials in South Carolina to secure from "the Democratic National Committee a positive statement on whether the National party is willing to give real consideration to the views held by South Carolina Democrats.

In the event the National Democratic Committee fails to do so, then he advises the Democrats in South Carolina to take such action as they think necessary to protect the interests of the people of South Carolina.

The Senator says:

"Failing to secure proper recognition from the National party, South Carolina Democrats will have to pursue a course to meet the situation in 1960.

1956 Platforms

In this connection, the Senator said:

The 1956 political platforms of both the Democrats and the Republicans contained planks supporting the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases. Both political parties fear the bloc voting of minorities in the pivotal States.

Both parties want to be in position to claim credit for the advancement of what has been called civil rights. Both parties want to capitalize on the Supreme Court decision and on the passage of the so-called Civil Rights Bill this year. They hope to benefit in the Congressional elections of 1958 and then to extend those gains into the Presidential election of 1960.

Stevenson Is An Enemy

Mr. Stevenson, the defeated Presidential candidate of the National Democratic Party in 1952 and 1956, fully approved the action of the President in sending federal troops to Little Rock. On September 24 he declared in a statement that "the President had no choice . . . federal power must in this situation be used to put down force."

On September 29 at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, he again expressed approval of the President's action. He also criticized the President for not having taken a strong position for civil rights enforcement before the Little Rock seizure.

Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler, on September 17, 1957, declared that "the Democratic Party will not pull back" from its position approving the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. His statement was made in Raleigh, North Carolina, after a two-day conference with 60 Democratic Party officials from nine Southern States.

South Is Persecuted

Mr. Butler also stated that the possibility of a third political party being organized would not prevent the Democratic Party from taking a strong stand on civil rights. Mr. Butler criticized the President for not taking a more courageous stand on integration.

Thus the people of the South find themselves in the position of being persecuted by both political parties.

They want to offer us a sacrifice in return for the bloc votes of minorities who exert their influence through pressure and propaganda in the pivotal States of the North.

As long as we permit ourselves to be led meekly to the sacrificial altar of politics and offered up to appease the minority blocs, we deserve no respect or consideration.

The only consideration that will be given to our views will be that given to secure our votes if the national parties believe they need our support.

Republicans Are Out

In South Carolina, there is no hope in the Republican Party. But there should be hope in the South Carolina Democratic Party.

The officials of the South Carolina Democratic Party should demand that the National Party give consideration to the principles of the South Carolina Democratic Party. The National Democratic Party should be called upon to dismiss the present National Chairman. He has made it absolutely clear that he is not interested in the views of the South.

As Chairman, it is his duty to represent the interests of all Democrats in every State, not just the Democrats who want to integrate the schools. The National Democratic Party cannot truly represent the best interests of all the Democrats in every State unless its Chairman is willing to listen to the views of our people. The present Chairman has proved that he does not qualify.

Yes and No Tactics

On the same day that the National Chairman declared that the Democratic Party would not compromise on civil rights, the South Carolina State Chairman was quoted in news reports as demanding that the National Chairman resign or be fired. Two days later on September 19 the State Chairman was quoted by The Associated Press as denying that he asked for the removal of the National Chairman.

If the State Chairman demanded the resignation of the National Chairman, he should stick by that demand. If he has not made such a demand, he should now do so officially. This is no time for passive resistance. This is a time for massive resistance against the insults and disregard of the National Party.

State Democratic Parties are independent bodies and not subject to the dictation of the National Party. The State Party cannot be committed by any course of action not approved by the State Democratic Convention.

Position of Yanks

However, the officers of the State Party should secure from the Democratic National Committee a positive statement on whether the National Party is willing to give real consideration to the views held by South Carolina Democrats. The reply of the National Party should be given immediate publicity, so that every Democrat will have an opportunity to know what is to be expected from the National Party.

Then South Carolina Democrats can go to their precinct meetings and elect delegates to carry out their wishes at the County Conventions. The County Conventions can elect delegates to the State Convention who will stoutly support the principles of the South Carolina Democratic Party.

Delegates at the State Convention, composed of such real Democrats, would take appropriate action in choosing delegates to the National Convention and in other matters which might be considered.

Will Not Predict

Whatever course of action South Carolina Democrats decide upon in 1958 and in 1960 must be determined on the basis of the information available at the time of the State Convention. Due consideration must be given to the actions of the National Democratic Party between now and then.

I would not, and should not, attempt at this time to predict what course the South Carolina Democratic Party will take in the next election. As time goes by, I expect to have further comments to make on this subject.

Failing to secure proper recognition from the National Party, South Carolina Democrats will have to choose a course to meet the situation in 1960. The South Carolina Democratic Party should not hesitate to pursue whatever course is deemed to be in the best interests of the people of our State.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

lem.

They are experiencing the problem in all of the big cities in the North and in the West.

In recent years Negroes have integrated into their cities. They have taken over the downtown and central areas. When they move into these areas the white people have moved out. The white people have run to the suburbs.

They are still running, but there is a day coming when they can run no longer and when that time comes they will stand and fight just as we are fighting today.

We are getting some support from some national publications. The U. S. News & World Report and its editor, David Lawrence, have been going to bat in support of the Southern position.

The American Mercury has done likewise.

And now, the Saturday Evening Post in its issue of October 26, 1957, has issued a warning. In an editorial, the Post said:

" . . . If anybody should call for a suggestion from us, it would be a return to policies more characteristic of the President, as implied in a remark which he made about a year ago: 'When police power is . . . exercised habitually by the Federal Government, we are in a bad way.'"

Then, the Post called attention to the fact that it has been demonstrated in this nation that it is impossible to reform the habits and attitudes of the citizenry by force. The Post said:

"Our experience with prohibition demonstrated the impossibility of reforming the habits and attitudes of men by force. And prohibition was based on an amendment in the Constitution adopted by the states and supported by a Federal statute. School integration, now generally described as 'the law of the land,' rests upon the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 that all previous decisions were in error and that the Fourteenth Amendment is violated if white and Negro children attend separate schools. No statute has been passed which implements this decision. A new Supreme Court could reverse it. . ."

The Post especially warned against Ike's effort to force race mixing on the South by means of court injunctions and federal troops.

The Post said:

"However, Little Rock is no longer the issue, because the opposition to 'integration' is probably even more intense in other states in the Deep South than it is in Arkansas. The issue is the right, or at any rate the wisdom, of the Administration's effort to force this policy on the South by means of court injunctions followed by Federal military action. Surely most Americans, whatever their attitude on racial matters, must have been chilled by the news of the 'invasion of Arkansas' and the subsequent proceedings, including the use of soldiers with fixed bayonets to escort children to school. If this can happen in an effort to force immediate racial integration in the public schools of a state which needs time for adjustment to such a revolutionary policy, is any state prerogative immune from violent Federal intervention?"

These publications do not stand alone.

The Wall Street Journal denounced the use of troops at Little Rock and said that Eisenhower used the military as "last resorts first".

And the Post also said:

" . . . —it is difficult to see any escape from long years of confusion under the harsh facade of military rule."

If the government in Washington continues this kind of a policy, you can rest assured that we are in for long years of confusion under the heel of a military dictatorship because the people of the South will not submit.

The only way that the military and the courts can enforce race mixing in the public schools in the deep South is to first exterminate between ninety and ninety-five percent of the white people.

We intend to continue massive resistance.

The Southern white people will fight them from the housetops, from the swamps, from the mountains and from the seacoast. We will resist every step of the way.

And even though they put the Negroes in our schools with federal troops they can't keep them there. They can't make our teachers teach them and they can't make our children associate with them.

If this policy is to be pursued, we are beginning a race war which will last for the next thousand years unless the separation of the races is again decreed.

Now, we have got to get ready for such drastic action.

It may come to us in Georgia. It can't come to every community in the deep South because there aren't enough soldiers to put the Negroes in all the schools and keep them there nine months out of the year.

And that's what it would take.

Last week, we mapped out some of our plans of massive resistance which we are going to present to Governor Griffin, to the Attorney General, to the Georgia Commission on Education and to the State Department of Education.

Now, in addition to the things which we enumerated last week, there are some other things which we must do in Georgia and the rest of the Southern states.

For one thing, we must change our registration laws. We must have stricter qualifications for voting.

We must have qualifications for voting which will eliminate from the voting rolls some of these block votes which are put up for sale in every

(Continued on Page 4)

Loss Of Industry Is New Blackmail Scheme Of Atlanta Constitution's Editor

(Continued from Page 2)

B. Woodward, finance chairman of the Vick Chemical Company, as follows:

Southeast Expanding

"The Southeast is expanding much more rapidly than the rest of the U. S. You have here the best climate, ideal location as a trade crossroads to South America, wonderful water resources, a constant supply of cellulose, a lower amount of plant obsolescence, increasing long-term investments and savings, and an unusually good social concept favorable to private business.'

The statement of the industrialist who said that it won't be long before segregation will be forcing people into Georgia instead of forcing them out is bound to be true.

The Yankees are running from their cities now. They are hunting new locations in the country and suburbs.

As the Negroes continue to spread into their suburbs and rural areas they will head South.

Northern Segregation Illegal While Southern Is Legal

Detroit Is Example Of Yanks Ruthless Methods Of Dealing With Negro Race

There is segregation in the South and there is segregation in the North.

The only difference between the Southern style and the Northern style is that in the South it is legal and in the North it is illegal.

The situation brings to mind what a wag said during prohibition days. He said "prohibition is better than no liquor at all. The drys have the law and the wets have the liquor and everybody is happy."

State law requires segregation of the white and Negro races in the South.

Status of Segregation

State law in the Northern and Western states makes segregation illegal.

So, in the North, the Negroes have the law and the whites have segregation.

These facts are very pointedly brought home to us in a series of stories running in The Saturday Evening Post, written by a Negro.

In South 18 Years

These articles are written by Carl T. Rowan, a Negro writer who was born in the North and has lived in the South for eighteen years.

In his article, appearing in the issue of the Post magazine of October 19, 1957, Rowan says:

"From teen-age skating rink in Michigan to public school in Illinois to summer resort in Minnesota to housing development in California, racial separation is a bitter fact of life for virtually every Negro, no matter what his station in life. In most cases it is an insidious form of segregation, carried out surreptitiously in states which forbid such practices; but legal or not, it has the effect of isolating the Negro from the society to which he must adjust."

Northern Style

And, then as to the Northern style of segregation, he says:

". . . **Legal or not, it haunts the black** man from birth (where a color bar of some sort rules over most hospitals) to death (where Jim Crow's ghostly shadow blocks the gate at most cemeteries)."

Rowan graphically pictures the situation in Chicago where the agitation for race mixing started:

"For example, when Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, speaking on a national television show, deplored segregation in cities like Chicago and Detroit, Chicago officials rose up in righteous protest, especially against what they viewed as an effort to compare the status of Chicago Negroes with that of Negroes in the South.

Voluntary Segregation

" 'There is a voluntary segregation in Chicago in which members of a minority group live together because of cultural, social and other ties' said James C. Downs, Jr., Chicago housing redevelopment co-ordinator. 'It is a natural selectivity. This does not compare with the South's enforced segregation.'

" 'We feel we don't have segregation in Chicago,' said Mayor Richard Daley. 'Here we recognize every man, regardless of race, nationalistic origin or creed, and they are all entitled to their rights as provided in the United States Constitution and the Constitution of Illinois.'

"A Negro businessman cracked, 'Of course there's no segregation in Chicago. I can go anywhere on the South Side that I desire.'

Where Negroes Live

In explanation of the above quotation, the South Side of Chicago is where the Negroes live.

Rowan's description of the situation in Detroit, Michigan, pictures fairly well the situation as it exists in most of the cities outside of the South and here's what he said:

". . . **Detroit is a frightening example of the tensions and bitterness that can arise in a city where thousands of newcomers move to find themselves hemmed in by customs of residential segregation.** Inside a horseshoe boulevard, fanning out from the water front, is the black belt, which also happens to be the core of metropolitan Detroit. This separate little Negro world also is the area of blight and slums, the remains of a city threatening to decay from the inside while those who might do something about it are fleeing to the suburbs. Inside this horseshoe boulevard are ugly, drab schools that are by any measurement the worst in the city. Here you find junkyards splattered in the midst of residential areas occupied by Negroes who have neither the know-how nor the political pull to secure enforcement of the zoning ordinances. Inside the patches of ugly shacks, most of them studded with 'for rent' signs, you see kerosene burners tucked into the corners of dark, dismal rooms. You sense the musty smell of urine. You hear parents talk of their children being bitten by rats. There are at least 35,000 of these wretched structures in Detroit, and three fourths of them are occupied by Negroes.

Problem Worsens

"Each year the situation worsens. If all the new housing being built in the Detroit area this year were made available to Negroes it would be insufficient to meet their demands. Forty thousand dwelling units, on an average, are constructed annually for private sale in the Detroit area, and fewer than 400 are available to Negro families. Between 1950 and 1956, about 178,000 new homes were constructed in Detroit suburbs. Negroes were permitted to purchase about 750, most of these in a Negro community."

These examples clearly prove to any thinking person that the pattern of segregation as practiced in the South works much better than the type of segregation which is practiced North of the Mason-Dixon line.

What is happening in the North is that when the Negroes move in, the white man panics, and, fearing the evil consequences of race mixing, sells out and leaves the neighborhood.

Whites Are Leaving

Northerners and Westerners in their big cities have been running from the Negroes ever since they have started moving in.

It won't be long until the white people will find that they can no longer run from the Negro and they must stand and fight to protect their homes and their schools.

When this time comes they will face up to the situation honestly and realize that some pattern of living must be devised whereby such dissimilar races, as the Negro and white, can live together in the same community in a state of peace and harmony.

Confederate Veterans

When they do look at the situation honestly, they will come to the conclusion that the old Confederate veteran and his wife, who lived in the South during the period of Reconstruction and the period immediately thereafter, were wise beyond their years when they devised the plan of segregation.

Under this plan, white people and Negroes have lived in the same communities in the South for over ninety years in a state of peace, harmony and mutual helpfulness.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

local election.

To give you an illustration of what I am talking about, we have recently had a Mayor's race in Augusta.

Both sides were spending money to buy the Negro vote.

On Monday, before the election on Wednesday, one side decided that they needed more than half of the Negro votes. So, they had a meeting and determined that they needed $4500 more with which to buy the Negro vote.

At this meeting, they raised the $4500 and they went out and purchased the Negro vote.

They got eighty percent of the Negro vote.

The other side found it out, but they were unable to raise the money to meet the bidding of the crowd with the $4500 extra.

So, the side with the $4500 extra received approximately three thousand Negro votes while the other side received approximately 600.

This $4500 made the difference. The Negroes sold out.

We cannot condemn one side more than the other. Each side was as guilty as the other. The only difference was that one side could get the money and the other couldn't.

This thing of enabling the side with the most money to buy the Negro vote and win in local elections must be stopped.

The only way to stop it is to have stricter qualifications for voting so that these purchasable votes can be removed from the voting list.

Now, this change may also remove from the voting list some purchasable white voters.

But any man who will sell his vote, or any group that will sell their votes, should not be permitted to vote in any election in Georgia, or in any other state.

Now, we have got to go further.

The decent white people in each community must quit winking at this wholesale buying of votes during our elections.

The time has come when the candidates and politicians who buy block votes should be exposed to the community and absolutely ridden out of public office.

It is best to forget the past because too many have already been guilty.

But the time has come when we must serve notice on all of our candidates and all of our politicians that we are not going to put up with it in the future.

Now, in this article we are citing facts that we know first-hand. The facts that we have given here were obtained by principals who were engaged in the effort to get the Negro vote on both sides of the local race. We know what we are talking about.

In the fture, it shall be the policy of this paper to print the names of those who are guilty of such conduct and to give the facts and details wherever we can get them and I believe that we will be able to secure the information.

When we print it and when we expose the individuals, we will know what we are talking about and we will dare them to sue us in the Courts.

This thing of buying Negro votes must come to a stop.

It has been going on in every election since 1946 and the amount of money that is being spent in buying Negro votes is becoming greater and greater with every election.

A friend of mine tells me that he asked his cook whom she and the members of her family would support in the Mayor's race. She told him that she supposed that they would have to vote for Mr. X because some of his workers came to her house the night before and left ten dollars for the family and they thought they ought to pay them back by voting for them.

Of course, the whole scheme now is not to buy votes directly as was done in the past. They give some of these Negroes from ten to twenty-five dollars to work for their candidate, with the amount depending on the number of votes in the family. Others are paid twenty-five dollars to drive their car to and from the polls hauling voters.

The whole object is to get the votes of that particular family.

We can never expect to have decent government in any state so long as this condition is tolerated in Georgia.

Now, if I were a candidate, I would in my announcement let the Negroes know where I stand on the subject of segregation and maintaining our way of life. This would have the effect of giving practically all of the Negro vote to the other side and there could be no excuse for anybody to buy them.

But my experience is that the Negro block vote does not turn out unless somebody spends money on them. The largest number to vote in Augusta, up until this time, when no money is spent on them, has been 2200. This extra money last time brought out 3600.

As a rule, the average Negro does not turn out unless there is some money in it.

So, we have got some things to do in Georgia, and the rest of the states.

That's the reason we need to organize a council in every county in Georgia and start getting ready for the battle. If we don't, we are liable to wake up and find federal bayonets in our backyards and a military dictatorship operating the public schools in our communities.

4-Point Statement

(Continued from Page 1)

not received in evidence has from time immemorial been held to be reversible error by all courts including the United States Supreme Court. Yet the highest tribunal in the United States and presumably the most august judicial tribunal in the world based its decision upon this so-called modern authority actually not in evidence.

"No opportunity had been given by cross-examination to show either lack of authenticity of the treatises, or the character and background of the authors. Without this showing, the Court was wholly without authority to consider such writings. These alleged communistic writings were first brought into the case in the secrecy of the judges' chambers and first disclosed to defendants in the opinion of the Court. It constitutes an all time low in the disregard of procedural due process . . ."

Greed For Power

And, in support of the last two propositions, Mr. Justice Phelps said:

"THE PRESENT Supreme Court is not only resorting to the Fourteenth Amendment to strike down the reserved rights of the sovereign States but it is also extending the coverage of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution to embrace practically every business, large or small, in the nation . . .

"And I say to you in all candor that it is my honest conviction that it is the design and purpose of the Court to usurp the policy making powers of the nation and by its own unconstitutional pronouncement to create an all powerful centralized government in Washington, with the consequent destruction of every vestige of States' rights expressly and clearly reserved to the States under the provisions of the Tenth Amendment.

"When they succeed in accomplishing this end, we, the people, will be automatically under the rule of a bureaucratic despotism but little different, if any, from that now in power in Russia."

SUPREME COURT OUGHT TO BE IMPEACHED—SEE YOUR CONGRESSMAN

Encls: Augusta Courier article - 11/4/57 (BISHOP MOORE)
Thermofax copy of FIRING LINE - May 15, 1957
FIRING LINE ANALYSIS - 7/8/57
Ga. Comm. on Education smear sheet - HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL
Myles Horton's statement in defense of " " "
FBR statement re: HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL
Speech of Paul H. Douglas - The Congressional Record - July 26, 1957

November 15, 1957

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed you will find the material relative to attacks on the Council; much of which has found its way to the Board Members of the Wesley Memorial Building. Also enclosed are pertinent answers from the Council, a statement from Myles Horton of Highlander and another copy of the Douglas statement as reprinted in The Congressional Record. If you think of other material or background information which might be helpful, let us know.

We will inform you of the time of the meeting as soon as we are informed. Under any circumstances, the meeting will be held on December 9th here in the Wesley Memorial Building.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures.

COPY

THE METHODIST CHURCH

LAGRANGE DISTRICT

801 Vernon Street - Phone 4629

Lagrange, Georgia

JESSE W. VEATCH
District Superintendent

November 15, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am sure Mr. Budd and Dr. Rumble have placed in your hands certain information that I feel you should have before we meet December 9 - 2.00 p.m. at which time it was agreed that we would consider the matter of criticism that has been coming to Bishop Moore about the Southern Regional Council. If the above named gentlemen have not handed you the information I hope you will take it up with Dr. Rumble and Dr. Budd at once. I wrote Dr. Budd some weeks ago to do this but he has been busy and as of last week he had not done it.

I want you to come to our meeting and bring any friends or members of your Board of Directors you may wish to help us arrive at a fair understanding of our responsibility in this matter.

Assuring you of my very best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

(Signed)

Jesse W. Veatch, Ch.
Board of Trustees,
North Ceorgia Conference.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
RM. 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

November 15, 1957

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Bishop Moore:

As I believe you know, Dr. Clary and Dr. Long have recently discussed with me the attacks upon the Southern Regional Council and the pressures that have been brought to bear upon you and the Trustees of the Wesley Memorial Building.

It is a matter of great regret to us that the presence of the Council in the building should be used by unprincipled critics in a campaign to embarrass you and your associates. As I have said to you in earlier conversations, it seems to me clear that the false charges against the Council are not the cause of this attack, but merely one spurious pretext for an effort to misrepresent, discredit, and dictate to the leadership of the Church.

Be that as it may, if we felt that there was any honorable and workable way to prevent the Council from being abused for this purpose, we would gladly take the necessary steps. Unfortunately, as tenants of many years standing, our removal from the building under this kind of pressure is sure to be publicly construed as evidence that the charges against us were given credence -- and as an invitation to further such slanders by the extremists. The consequences would be terribly destructive on all sides, and I am convinced that nothing we could do would prevent publicity of the most injurious and disruptive sort.

The charges that have been used to suggest that the Council is not worthy to rent space in the Wesley Memorial Building are

the grossest kind of false witness against honest and patriotic citizens. I understand from Dr. Clary and Dr. Long that we will have an opportunity on December 9 to present the facts to the Trustees. We welcome and appreciate this chance to refute the evil things that have been said about us. It would be of great help to us if we might have before that time the material against the Council that has come before the Trustees; in this way, we can make certain that our presentation is complete and to the point. If you could send or have sent to us this material, we shall be most grateful.

I would also welcome an opportunity to discuss these matters further with you personally, either alone or with the participation of Dr. Clary and Dr. Long, as you would prefer.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Statements by Fred B. Routh and Myles Horton

cc: Dr. George Clary
Dr. Nat G. Long

November 20, 1957

Dr. Jesse W. Veatch
District Superintendent
The Methodist Church
801 Vernon Street
LaGrange, Georgia

Dear Dr. Veatch:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 15. We welcome and appreciate the opportunity to discuss the criticisms of the Southern Regional Council with the Board of Trustees.

I have not yet received the material which you mentioned. However, I have spoken to Dr. Rumble about the matter and he assures me that the material will be forthcoming soon.

Naturally, we are distressed that the Southern Regional Council's tenancy in the Wesley Memorial Building has occasioned difficulty for the Bishop and the Trustees. We are eager to give every assistance to a fair and proper determination of this matter.

With kindest regards and good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 18 1957

THE METHODIST CHURCH

LAGRANGE DISTRICT
801 VERNON STREET — PHONE 4629
LAGRANGE, GEORGIA

JESSE W. VEATCH
DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT

November 15, 1957-

Mr. Harold Fleming,
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am sure Mr. Budd and Dr. Rumble have placed in your hands certain information that I feel you should have before we meet ~~in~~ Dec. 9- 2:00 P.M. at which time it was agreed that we would consider the matter of criticism that has been coming to Bishop Mocre about the Southern Reginol Council. If the above named gentlemen have not handed you the information I hope you will take it up with Dr. Rumble and Dr. Budd at once. I wrote Dr. Budd some weeks ago to do this but he has been busy and as of last week he had not done it.

I want you to come to our meeting and bring any friends or members of your Board of Directors you may wish to help us arrive at a fair understanding of our responsibility in this matter.

Assuring you of my very best wishes,

I am

Sincerely,
Jesse W. Veatch
Jesse W. Veatch, Ch.
Board of Trustees,
North Georgia Conference.

M E M O R A N D U M November 20, 1957

The following list indicates the personnel employed by the Southern Regional Council at its central office, Wesley Memorial Building, Atlanta, Georgia:

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
John Constable, Director of Information
Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Sec'y-Treasurer
Machion Garrison, Intern
Faith C. Lawson, Secretary
Luel C. Cummings, Secretary
Anna Lisa Rivers, Receptionist-Clerk
Mildred Flowers, Secretary
Beverlyn Leverett, Clerk
Marge Manderson, Research Assistant
Robert Belvin, Office Boy

File

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
WESLEY MEMORIAL BUILDING
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE

November 26, 1957.

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Flemming:

Your letter dated November 15th, in which you discuss the criticisms being leveled upon some of us for having the Southern Regional Council as a tenant in the Wesley Memorial Building, is before me. I suggest that you contact the Reverend Candler Budd, who is the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, in whose hands this entire matter rests. I am taking a great deal of strong criticism because the average Methodist thinks I am responsible for the operation of the Wesley Memorial Building; that is not true. I am a tenant, like your organization. Having taken so much criticism for the Southern Regional Council being here, I certainly do not want to inherit whatever criticism that might come if you should be asked to vacate. I think this matter is the responsibility of the Board of Trustees. I am sure they will want to give you a hearing before the final decision is made. It is a perplexing problem, and I sincerely hope we may find the right solution.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Moore

Arthur J. Moore

AJM/kg

Encls: Bowden Ltr. - dtd. May 16, 1957
Veatch ltr. - dtd. November 15, 1957
Moore ltr. - dtd. November 26, 1957
HCF ltr. to Bishop - dtd. November 15, 1957
List of Trustees - Wesley Memorial Building

December 2, 1957

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Here is the latest correspondence about the matter of our tenancy in the Wesley Memorial Building. As we may have written you already, the meeting of the building's trustees, before whom we are invited to appear, is set for 2:00 p.m. next Monday, December 9.

I hope to have a prepared statement ready in draft before that time, so that you and Dr. Clement can review it in advance. I hope that you will find it possible to arrive here in time for us to have at least an hour together before the trustees' meeting. I have asked Dr. Clement to meet us in my office a little beforehand.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Encls: Bowden ltr. - May 16, 1957
Veatch ltr. - November 15, 1957
Moore ltr. - November 26, 1957
HCF ltr. - November 15, 1957
List of Trustees - Wesley Memorial Building

December 2, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

Enclosed are several pieces of correspondence about the problems surrounding our tenancy in the Wesley Memorial Building. As you will see from Dr. Veatch's letter, we are invited to be represented before the trustees of the building at their meeting at 2:00 p.m., next Monday, December 9.

Mr. Dabbs has also agreed to be present, and I am asking him to arrive in time for us to have at least a short time together before the meeting. Would it be convenient for you to meet with us in my office at 1:30 Monday? I hope to have drafted before then a prepared statement with which we can introduce our presentation; I will make every effort to have a copy of it in your hands by the end of the week.

With thanks and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

file copy
(Please Return)

STATEMENT FOR MEETING OF TRUSTEES
OF THE
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH

December 9, 1957

We wish to express our appreciation to the Board of Trustees of the North Georgia Conference for this opportunity to be heard on the charges that have been made against the Southern Regional Council. In order to get our viewpoint and factual information before you in the most concise and orderly fashion, we have prepared this statement in writing; in addition, we shall welcome such questions and informal discussion as you may wish.

It is a matter of great distress to us that the presence of the Council as a tenant in the Wesley Memorial Building should be used as an occasion to criticize and attempt to embarrass the Trustees and, even less appropriately, Bishop Moore. This campaign of false charges and harrassment was first begun in 1953 by the Rev. Blake Craft through his paper "One Methodist Voice," based largely on the "raw" files of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The campaign was later taken up by Mr. Roy Harris and more recently was echoed in a publication of the Georgia Education Commission. But the attack is of the same character as it was when Mr. Craft first launched it four and a half years ago.

Your secretary has very kindly supplied us with the current material adverse to the Council which has come to the attention of the Board of Trustees. Much of the material transmitted makes no mention of the Council, but deals with such other organizations and individuals as the National Council of Churches, the United Council of Church Women, the General Board

of Evangelism and the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church, the General Council of the Presbyterian Church, USA, Dr. Louis D. Newton, Dr. James T. Bromley, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, and many other religious groups and leaders.

The material dealing with the Council is of two sorts: (1) Reports on 23 persons who were board members of the Council as of November 12, 1956, based on the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee and prepared by the Committee at the request of Congressman James C. Davis; (2) A recent publication of the Georgia Education Commission purporting to "expose" a communist workshop at the Highlander Folk School, mentioning the presence of a Council staff member at the meeting, and making a generalized attack on the Council.

REPORTS OF THE HUAC

As to the reports of the House Un-American Activities Committee, it is of some importance to understand what these reports are and what they are supposed to mean. The Committee itself states at the top of each one: "The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated." It may be noted that the Committee does not indicate on any of these reports that the subject individual is a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler -- for the very good reason that none of them is. So that what we have are reports of alleged association of some kind, at some time usually not specified, with organizations that in the Committee's

opinion are or were to some degree infected with pro-communist influences. Judging by the Committee's own statement, it has not checked the reports for accuracy, the time and nature of the alleged association, or the background, reputation, and character of the individual involved.

This loose technique of guilt by association can be very dangerous and, put in unscrupulous hands, can be used unjustly to injure the good name of almost anybody. As you may know, it has been so used against such distinguished Americans as General George C. Marshall, former President Harry Truman, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Adlai Stevenson, Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield, and President Eisenhower himself.

As to the Council, it is worth pointing out that the House Un-American Activities Committee apparently does not take its own unevaluated reports very seriously; for the Council has never been cited by the Committee in any of its published reports or otherwise. In order to refute false charges to the contrary, we have secured a letter from the Committee's chairman, Rep. Francis E. Walter, to this effect. Surely if there were any question of the Council having any subversive tendencies, the House Committee and similar government bodies would long since have said so.

The best and most prominent example of this spurious technique is the case of alleged associations with the now defunct Southern Conference on Human Welfare. In six of the 23 reports on Council board members, this is the only association charged, and it figures in five of the other reports. We can give no better answer than to quote from an editorial in the Atlanta Constitution of May 12, 1953, when Dr. Rufus Clement first offered as a candidate for the Atlanta Board of Education. Under the title "Attack on Clement is Dirty Politics," the Constitution editorialized as follows:

Statement... 4.

*** A member of the [City Executive Committee] board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a view point to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity. Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region. ***

If any further indication of the meaninglessness of this charge is necessary, we need only consider a dinner staged by the Southern Conference in Washington during 1945 and widely reported in the newspapers at that time. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was none other than the Honorable James F. Byrnes, most recently Governor of South Carolina. Among the sponsors of the Southern Conference dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, President Truman, and many other prominent citizens. If the House Un-American Activities Committee is consistent, its files show all of these gentlemen as having been guilty of pro-communist association.

The other associations alleged in the reports secured by Congressman Davis have about the same value as indications of Communist sympathies. We are concerned here not with statistics, but with the reputations of 23 men and women, some of whom are well known to some of you. The question is whether they are of such questionable character and patriotism that their presence on the board of the Council makes it a disreputable organization. These 23 persons are as follows:

Mr. Marion A. Wright, the immediate past president of the Council, a lawyer, former president of the Alumni Associations of the University of South Carolina and the University's Law School, appointed by the Governor of South Carolina to the chairmanship of the State Library Board.

The Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, retired Bishop of the Episcopal Church, diocese of Kentucky.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, recently reelected to his second term on the Atlanta Board of Education, a member of the Advisory Commission of the United States Office of Education Survey on Higher Education for Negroes, a delegate to the World Methodist Conference of 1951, and the recipient of more appointments and honors than can be listed here.

Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University in New Orleans, Consultant to the U. S. Foreign Opng. Administration in 1954, a Civilian Advisor to the Secretary of the Navy, and a commission member of the U. S. Children's Bureau.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Board Member and Past Vice-President, National Council of Churches, former member of Central Committee, the World Council of Churches, appointed by President to the National Committee on Children and Youth, and so on.

Miss Josephine Milling, former administrator of the Fact-Finding

Movement of Georgia and past president of the Georgia League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Grace Hamilton, executive secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, a Community Chest agency, and past member of the National Board of the YWCA.

Dr. Gordon Hancock, professor of history at Virginia Union University in Richmond, and a respected Baptist minister.

Mr. Z. A. Lasky, attorney of Nashville, Tennessee, a member of the Nashville City Council since 1951, and a member of the Charter Commission for Nashville Metropolitan City.

Dr. Florence Sytz, professor in the School of Social Work of Tulane University in New Orleans.

Dr. J. L. Reddix, president of Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi, and formerly with the U. S. Farm Security Administration.

The Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick, Raleigh, North Carolina, the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, diocese of North Carolina.

Mr. Paul Christopher, labor official of Knoxville, Tennessee, advisor to the U. S. War Production Board and War Manpower Commission during World War Two, advisor to the U. S. Department of Labor, appointed by Governor Clement to the State Citizens Advisory Committee of the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, Chancellor of Virginia Union University, Richmond, former special researcher for the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, former professor of religious education at Howard University.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Professor at the University of North Carolina, the first executive director of the Council after its founding in 1944, and

an active Methodist.

Dr. H. C. Trenholm, president of the state-supported Alabama State College in Montgomery, a director of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, board member of the U. S. O.

Mr. Philip G. Hammer, president of Hammer and Company, economic consulting firm of Atlanta and the former director of the Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission.

Mr. Charles G. Gomillion, chairman of the social sciences department, Tuskegee Institute; president of the Paine College Alumni Association; secretary, Paine College Board of Trustees.

Dr. B. R. Brazeal, dean of Morehouse College, member of the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars.

Mrs. Nora J. Burnett, a housewife of Birmingham, whose only alleged offense is a 1938-39 membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, along with such dignitaries as then Lt. Governor Carmichael of Alabama, Governor Burnett Maybank of South Carolina, Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays (now president of the Southern Baptist Convention), and Bishop R. L. Lucey of the Catholic Church.

Dr. E. C. Peters, retired president of Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, associated with the Methodist Board of Missions for thirty years, and currently chairman of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Dr. M. Lafayette Harris, president of Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas, graduate of and recipient of an honorary degree from Gammon Theological Seminary, member of the Advisory Board on Teacher Education of the State of Arkansas, a director of the Little Rock Community Chest, and a past or present member of many official Methodist bodies, including the

General Board of Education, the General Conference Commission on Church Union, and the Methodist Ecumenical Conference at Oxford in 1951.

Mr. Thomas W. Young, publisher of the Journal and Guide of Norfolk, Virginia. It is hard to understand why the report on Mr. Young is included in this material, since it is wholly favorable. He appeared by invitation before the House Committee to testify that the American Negro is deeply loyal to his country and has no use for Communism or any other alien ideology. At the end of his presentation, Mr. Young was commended by the Chairman of the Committee.

No issue the critics of the Council could raise can we meet more gladly than their attacks on the characters of the above-mentioned board members. They are Southerners of integrity and distinction, and in our opinion any organization should be proud to have them as members.

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

The sheet circulated by the Georgia Education Commission attacking a Labor Day Weekend Workshop at Highlander Folk School, and seeking to link the Council with the Workshop, requires only a few brief comments. Following is the text of a memorandum written by Fred Routh, of the Council's staff, to the executive director:

M E

Since the Council has been attacked because of my participation in the Labor Day Weekend Workshop at Highlander Folk School, I think it only proper to set the matter straight.

As you know, neither I nor the Southern Regional Council had any connection, official or unofficial, with the sponsorship, planning, or direction of the conference. I was invited to participate as an individual by Myles Horton, the Director of Highlander, who asked me to lead a workshop on "The Impact of Desegregation on Community Organizations." This group met twice for two hour sessions. I can assure you that those things which we discussed were all in the best of democratic traditions; that no totalitarian ideology - either Communist or Fascist - was mentioned, nor would it have been tolerated

had it been voiced.

I also attended the worship services on Sunday morning. Again, nothing out of keeping with democratic practices was said during the services. This was the extent of my participation for I had to be back in Atlanta Sunday evening. Milton Dillon, of the Phelps Stokes Fund, and I drove back late Sunday afternoon.

Several items are important to remember about my participation:

1) I attended as an individual, not as a representative of SRC.

2) Highlander Folk School has not been listed as a subversive organization by either the Attorney General of the United States or by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

3) My own record of loyalty to the United States and to democratic ideals is unimpeachable and my opposition to Communism and tyranny in every form is unequivocal.

/s/ FREDERICK B. ROUTH

It might be added that we have every confidence in Mr. Routh's integrity and patriotism.

ORIGIN AND ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNCIL

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 38 years of constructive activity to improve race relations. The leadership and circumstances under which the Council came into being are matters of public record, readily available to any interested person. As most of you know, the Council was formed in 1944 by some of the South's finest leadership and, by invitation, became a tenant in the Wesley Memorial Building shortly thereafter. The Council has not changed its character, methods, or quality of leadership since that time. For example, almost half of the board members discussed above were members of the board in 1944.

The Council has worked exclusively through the temperate methods of fact-finding, education, and persuasion. It seeks no legislation, it carries

on no court action, it engages in no political activity, and it uses no "pressure group" tactics. It collects the facts about racial problems and progress in the South and makes those facts available to private citizens and public officials. It seeks to have white and Negro Southerners throughout the region come together in a spirit of brotherhood and mutual respect to know one another better and to reach harmonious agreements. Everything the Council does is based on the belief that while law has its role, ultimate solutions to our problems must come through the efforts of conscientious Southerners themselves.

The aims and activities of the Council are in close harmony with those of the major religious groups, including The Methodist Church. Church people have always been the backbone of this movement in the South. Moreover, the Council receives both financial and moral support from such denominational groups as the Methodist Board of Education, Board of Missions, and Woman's Division of Christian Service; the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the appropriate boards of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., and the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; several conferences of the AME Zion Church; the Disciples of Christ, Lutherans, and Congregational Churches. We have also worked closely with the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, whose executive secretary serves on our board. As a non-sectarian organization, the Council has also had support and cooperation from Jewish and Catholic groups.

It is true that the Council is "controversial," in the sense that it is concerned with problems about which there are sharp differences of opinion. Inevitably the Council has been attacked by the extreme segregationists. It has also been criticized by some who feel that it is too

conservative and "gradualist" in its approach. But any attempt to play a constructive part in this great challenging problem of our time is bound to be "controversial" in this sense. The Methodist Church itself, as well as every other major religious denomination, is beset by this kind of controversy. Such controversy is inescapable until the issue is resolved. Yet surely Southerners of good will should be willing to pay the price of controversy in order to witness to their belief that we in the South are capable of democratic and just solutions to our problems.

Certainly nothing is more foreign to the Council's philosophy than Communism, whose purposes and approach are directly opposed to ours. It may be worth mentioning that the Council has a friendly and cooperative relationship with the Department of Justice and the FBI, which are not inclined to be cordial toward communist-tainted groups. Many Southerners may disagree with the Council's point-of-view, but no fairminded person in full possession of the facts will doubt that it is a sincere and patriotic organization, responsible in both its methods and its aims.

In the situation which brings us together today, far more is at stake than merely a possible change of location by the Southern Regional Council. The question is whether the good name of reputable citizens and an honest organization can be blighted by a sustained campaign of false witness by a handful of extremists. These angry and intemperate men have already demonstrated their wish to dictate the policies of both secular and religious institutions in our state. This is yet another attempt, which, if it should succeed, can only lead to further excesses and damaging consequences to everyone involved. Rather than ending the campaign of criticism and pressure, it would inevitably encourage new and stronger attempts to interfere with the affairs of the Church

Statement... 12.

The Council is most grateful to the North Georgia Conference and to this board for the privilege of tenancy in the Wesley Memorial Building during the past thirteen years. We have been at pains not to abuse that privilege . The Council has never sought to trade on its location or to suggest in any way that its presence in the Building implied any connection with or endorsement by The Methodist Church. We have never used the name of the Building in our address - only the street number. Even our severest critics have not accused us of a single improper word or deed that would bring discredit on the building in which we are housed.

December 14, 1957

Rev. Allen Phillips
The Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Phillips:

This is to confirm our understanding, reached in yesterday's discussion, regarding the rental of additional space in the Wesley Memorial Building by the Southern Regional Council.

As I understand our agreement, the Council will retain the space it now occupies and, in addition, will rent the third-floor space formerly occupied by the YWCA. The total monthly rental will be $300.00. We understand that any redecoration or alterations will be done by the Council rather than the building.

If it is agreeable to you, we will be prepared to begin this new arrangement as of the first of January.

We are grateful to you for the help and consideration you have given us, and are looking forward to a continued pleasant association under the new arrangement.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 14, 1957

Mrs. H. B. Trimble
Box 725
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Trimble:

Since I haven't spoken with you since we learned the outcome of Monday's meeting, I want to express our heartfelt thanks for your confidence and invaluable help. The Woman's Division of Christian Service has always meant a great deal to us -- but never more than it did Monday. Your wonderful statement of support in the meeting meant more than I can say, and I am sure that it greatly helped the trustees to reach a unanimous and constructive decision.

I have written Mrs. Tillman and Mrs. Robinson expressing our appreciation to them and to the Woman's Division.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 14, 1957

Mrs. J. Fount Tillman
The Woman's Division of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
Lewisburg, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Tillman:

This is the first chance I have had to write you since we learned the outcome of the Trustees meeting on Monday. As you may already have heard from Mrs. Tilly or Mrs. Trimble, the result was all we could have hoped. The Trustees gave us a full and very courteous hearing. Although we haven't yet had any official word, we have been told informally that the Trustees present unanimously agreed that there is no substance to the charges made against the Council and we should not be asked to vacate.

Mrs. Trimble did a wonderful job of expressing the interest of the Woman's Division of Christian Service, and your fine letter to the Bishop was read to the meeting. We are ever so grateful to you for your concern and help. The Woman's Division has meant a great deal over the years to the Council and to the South as a whole. In these trying times, your support and confidence are invaluable to us.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Robinson.

With appreciation and warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf

December 16, 1957

Rev. J. W. Veatch
801 Vernon Street
LaGrange, Georgia

Dear Mr. Veatch:

I want to express my thanks and those of the Southern Regional Council for the opportunity to be represented before the last meeting of the Board of Trustees.

No one could have asked for a more generous and courteous hearing than we received.

I am returning to Mr. Budd the materials he madeavailable to us on behalf of the Board.

Assuring you of our wish to be of every service to the Turstees and with kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE Ballston, Iowa. NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Dec. 16, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you so much for your letter. I am delighted that B. R. C. is to remain in Wesley Memorial.

I was happy to make my contribution to the decision. I find that when the Christian witness rings clear and firm - it has weight.

Be assured that my concern and interest are with you in all of your undertakings for the Cause of Right.

May the abiding joys of this Blessed Season be yours.

Very sincerely,

(Mrs. E. H.) Reen C. Robinson

December 14, 1957

Mr. E. U. Robinson
P. O. Box 516
Gallatin, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Robinson:

This is the first chance I have had to write you since we learned the outcome of the Trustees meeting on Monday. As you may already have heard from Mrs. Tilly, or Mrs. Trimble, the result was all we could have hoped. The Trustees gave us a full and very courteous hearing. Although we haven't yet had any official word, we have been told informally that the Trustees present unanimously agreed that there is no substance to the charges made against the Council and that we should not be asked to vacate.

Mrs. Trimble did a wonderful job of expressing the interest of the Woman's Division of Christian Service, and Mrs. Tillman's fine letter to the Bishop was read to the meeting. The Woman's Division has meant a great deal over the years to the Council and to the South as a whole. In these trying times, your support and confidence are invaluable to us.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Tillman.

With appreciation and warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 17, 1957

Rev. W. C. Budd
Glenn Memorial Church
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Budd:

I have returned to Dr. Rumble the materials which you were kind enough to send us on behalf of the Board of Trustees.

We were most grateful for the opportunity to be represented before the Trustees and for the courtesy and consideration extended to us. I am also writing Mr. Veatch to express our appreciation.

Please call on me whenever the Council can be of assistance in this or any other matter.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MEMORANDUM January 3, 1958

To: A. L. Rivers

From: M. Flowers

Please place the following persons on our complimentary mailing list for NEW SOUTH:

Dr. Claude Haynes
Peachtree Road Methodist Church
3180 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Lester Rumble
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Nat G. Long
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. W. C. Budd
Glen Memorial Church
1976 N. Decatur Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. J. W. Veatch
801 Vernon Street
LaGrange, Georgia

Please begin mailing with the current NEW SOUTH - December/1957.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

A LETTER OF AGREEMENT

January 17, 1958

The following agreement is made between the Southern Regional Council and the manager of the Wesley Memorial Building for repairs and redecoration to be done in the third floor space recently rented by the Southern Regional Council.

It is agreed that the following listed carpentry work and painting are to be provided by the manager of the Wesley Memorial Building for the Southern Regional Council. The manager of the Wesley Memorial Building is to select the contractor who will make arrangements for all labor, materials and equipment required to do the job. Upon the satisfactory completion of the work the Southern Regional Council agrees to pay the manager of the Wesley Memorial Building for the cost of all work performed; payment not to exceed $1,000.00.

WORK AGREED UPON:

I. Carpentry Work

(a) Install two partitions, each approximately 10 x 15 feet. Partitions are to be framed with 2 x 4's and covered with

regular sheetrock, celotex squares or other material agreed upon in advance by all parties concerned.

(b) Install celotex or comparable material over windows along full length of main hallway. Material is to run from molding ledge at base of windows to ceiling.

(c) Construct bookcases on each side of radiator in each of five offices, with metal screen in front of radiators and board surfaces running wall to wall above bookcases.

(d) Partition off opening between the two rear offices, install built-in bookcase in the recess left in rear office.

(e) Cover rear fire exit door with plywood and install heavy duty slip bolt on this door.

(f) Upon mutual agreement of all parties here listed, perform any other carpentry and repair work, make any changes in the above mentioned work, or otherwise change the above specifications.

II. Painting

(a) Scrape all loose paint off walls, ceilings, and window frames; treat walls and ceilings where needed, and fill in all cracks.

(b) Paint all ceilings, walls, partitions, windows, doors, and baseboards with two coats of interior paint. One coat of paint may be used on any surfaces where it is mutually agreed to by all parties concerned.

(c) All colors are to be selected by the tenant.

Paul Anthony
for the Southern Regional Council

Allen A. Pilgrim
for the Wesley Memorial Building

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Statement of North Georgia Conference Trustees

REGARDING:

Presence of the Southern Regional Council in Wesley Memorial Church Building

Date
April, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

For circulation of, see: DABBS, James A., ltr. dtd. April 11, 1958

Wesley Memorial Methodist Church
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Allen A. Phillips, Pastor

JAckson 5-7781 Res. DR 3-3636

Jack Wilson,
Assistant Pastor
Albert Perry
Chairman Official Board
Judge James E. Webb,
Superintendent Sunday School
Mrs. R. E. Todd,
President W. S. C. S.

Announcement

Wesley Memorial Methodist Church

PRESENTS

World — Famous

Oberammergau Passion Play

Holy Week — March 23-29, Inclusive

* * * * *

The American version of the original OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY starring Val Balfour in his world-famous Christus portrayal will show at Wesley Memorial Methodist Church in downtown Atlanta during HOLY WEEK — March 23-29, inclusive. This marvelous stage presentation in 25 electrifying scenes is one of the most sought-after shows on earth and usually draws capacity audiences. There will be two performances daily: the matinee, commencing at 1:00 p.m., principally to accommodate school children, teachers and housewives, and the evening performance which starts at 8:00 p.m. (tentative time). Each performance lasts two and one-half hours. Wesley Memorial's seating capacity is 2,000. Please mark your calendar, and watch for later announcements.

ALLEN A. PHILLIPS, Pastor

"The Church with a Heart in the Heart oj Atlanta"

April 3, 1959

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Bishop Moore:

It occurred to me that you might be interested in seeing this fine statement issued by a representative group of religious leaders. As you will see, it deals with the tendency in some quarters to assail the reputations of those who seek constructive action in the South's current racial difficulties.

We were all the more gratified by the statement in that it was prepared and issued by the signers on their own initiative, unsolicited by us.

With kindest personal regards and good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
WESLEY MEMORIAL BUILDING
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE

April 6, 1959.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Harold:

I appreciate your sending me the statement issued by certain religious leaders concerning the tendency to accuse those who differ with us of being Communists. They have rendered us a service.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Moore

AJM/kg

August 17, 1960

Reverend Allen A. Phillips
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Phillips:

Since your absence on a well-deserved vacation has prevented my talking with you personally, I am taking this means of notifying you of a decision of our Executive Committee.

As you know, the Southern Regional Council has for some time had to occupy office space on two floors of the Wesley Memorial Building; with continuing expansion, the problems that this poses for our operation have become increasingly severe. In view of this, our Executive Committee regretfully decided that we should seek space that would permit more efficient operation and room for future expansion. We have now secured such space in a downtown office building and will be moving within the next few weeks.

This, then, is to serve as our official notice to the Wesley Memorial Building that our tenancy will end effective September 30, 1960.

I am sure you know that we will always be grateful to you and to the Trustees of the Building for your kindness and support over the years. It is with genuine regret that we end this relationship that has meant so much to us.

In due course, we will be writing an expression of appreciation to the Trustees. Meanwhile, we will gladly cooperate with you in every way in dealing with prospective tenants or otherwise facilitating the change.

I shall hope to have an opportunity soon to discuss these matters with you personally.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

October 26, 1960

Trustees of the Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATTN: Dr. Lester Rumble, Chairman

Gentlemen:

At their most recent meeting, the members of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council requested that we express to you our deep appreciation for the many years of friendly association which the Council enjoyed in the Wesley Memorial Building.

The difficult task which faced the Council during the past decade was made considerably lighter by your understanding and cooperation. For this assistance and understanding we are lastingly grateful.

To this formal expression of gratitude on the part of the Council, I should like to include that of the staff. We will long recall the good will of the Trustees, the friendship of the Rev. Mr. Phillips and those who served before him, and the cooperation and understanding of our fellow tenants.

We trust that in future years, when this troubled time in the South is recorded, due recognition will be

given to the courage and conviction of those who have conducted the affairs of the Wesley Memorial Church.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Rev. A. A. Phillips
Dr. Nat G. Long
Dr. W. Candler Budd
Dr. Claude Haynes

Wesley Memorial Building trustees for a term of three years, ending in 1960:

Mr. E. Ralph Paris - 680 W. Peachtree, N. W.

Dr. Nat G. Long - Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Rev. W. C. Budd - Glenn Memorial Church

The other trustees are, term ending in 1959:

Mr. Charles T. Winship - 342 Nelson St., S. W.

Mr. E. O. Kellum - 1030 Eulalia Road, N. E.

Dr. Claude Haynes - Peachtree Road Methodist Church
3180 Peachtree Rd., N. E.

Term ending in 1958:

Mr. Henry L. Bowden - Citizens and Southern Bank Building

Dr. Lester Rumble - Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Rev. J. W. Veatch - 801 Vernon St., Lagrange

WESLEY MEMORIAL BUILDING

BULLETIN

1. The safety of the tenants makes it necessary to have all entrances to the building locked at 5:30 in the evenings, EXCEPT on the evenings when Wesley Memorial Church activities act as safeguard to you and the property -- and on these evenings the doors will be locked as soon as church services are over.

   This measure is being undertaken as a safeguard to the tenants and to the property --- and your cooperation is earnestly sought. WHEN WORKING LATE, PLEASE DO NOT TAKE OFF THE NIGHT LATCH when going out for coffee, etc., but TAKE A KEY WITH YOU.

2. YOUR MAIL is often delayed reaching you because the postman often delivers it to the Church Office at Room 102 -- this is especially true when a substitute letter-carrier carries the mail, which happens once or twice a week. It gives us pleasure to be able to serve you by having the first available employee bring your mail to you -- but we think that it might be to your best interest to print your room number on your next order of envelopes and stationery.

Sincerely,

WESLEY MEMORIAL METHODIST CHURCH

P.S. A psychotic character was recently seen in the building. If anyone should see this person again, we request that they immediately phone JA 5-7781, so that Mr. McTeer can intercept him.

file copy
(Please Return)

Not to be made public or otherwise
used by S. R. C. or State Councils

HG

STATEMENT OF NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE TRUSTEES RELATIVE TO THE PRESENCE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IN WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH.

From time to time some one raises a question about the occupancy of offices in the Wesley Memorial Church building by the Southern Regional Council. In order to quiet minds disturbed because of charges of Communistic activity on the part of the organization or those who have the direction of its affairs in hand the Trustees of the North Georgia Conference are hereby issuing a statement regarding the situation.

1. The Southern Regional Council was admitted to the building in 1944. It is an Organization founded by Southern leaders interested in better racial understanding. Among its present directors are educators, churchmen, business executives and outstanding leaders in other fields. The Council has been a center of research creating materials which might be used by those concerned for educating the people of our section in race relations. It's record has been very creditable.
2. As tenants in the building the conduct of its staff has no mark of unseemly conduct against it. The organization has been prompt in handling all financial obligations and pleasant in all dealings and relationships.
3. Recently in the Fall of 1957, we as Trustees have gone into the matter of charges and innuendos about the Council with reference to its Communistic connections, and we have found nothing to substantiate such statements.
4. The Council is engaged in a research and study program in the field of Race Relations. This area of concern is a controversial nature in the United States just now. However, we feel that the creative nature of the type of work they do is not inconsistent with their continued occupancy of space in Wesley Memorial Church.

Wesley Memorial U.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Arthur J.

My dear Bishop Moore:

As I believe you know, Dr. Clary and Dr. Long have recently discussed with me the attacks upon the Southern Regional Council and the pressures that have been brought to bear upon you and the Trustees of the Wesley Memorial Building.

It is a matter of great regret to us that the presence of the Council in the building should be used by ~~such~~ unprincipled critics ~~(as Roy Harris, Blake Graft, and others)~~ in a campaign to embarrass you and your associates ~~in the North Georgia Conference~~. As I have said to you in earlier conversations, it seems to me clear that the false charges against the Council are not the cause of this attack, but merely one spurious pretext for an effort to misrepresent, discredit, and dictate to the leadership of the Church ~~(of the North Georgia Conference.)~~

Be that as it may, if we felt that there was any honorable and workable way to prevent the Council from being abused for this purpose, we would gladly take the necessary steps. Unfortunately, as tenants of many years standing, our removal from the building under this kind of pressure is sure to be publicly construed as evidence that the charges against us were given credence -- and as an invitation to further such slanders by the extremists. The consequences would be terribly destructive on all sides, and I am convinced that nothing we could do would prevent publicity of the most injurious and disruptive sort.

The charges that have been used to suggest that the Council is not worthy to rent space in the Wesley Memorial Building are the grossest kind of false witness against honest and patriotic citizens. I understand from Dr. Clary and Dr. Long that we will have an opportunity on December 9 to present the facts to the Trustees. We welcome and appreciate this chance to refute the evil things that have been said about us. It would be of great help to us if we might have before that time the material against the Council that has come before the Trustees; in this way, we can make certain that our presentation is complete and to the point. If you could send or have sent to us this material, we shall be most grateful.

I would also welcome an opportunity to discuss these matters further with you personally, either alone or with the participation of Dr. Clary and Dr. Long, as you would prefer.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

cc: Dr. George Clary
Dr. Nat G. Long

encls. Statements by Fred Routh and Myles Horton

R. McG.
JMD
REC
Meths

M. G. LOWMAN
To Be Interviewed on WCMW

Red Clergymen Authority Will Be on Air Here

One of the leading authorities on alleged Communist infiltration into American churches, M. G. Lowman, will be interviewed at 10:30 a.m. Thursday over WCMW by Ray W. Hambleton and I. G. Harman on the "Keep America Free" program.

Lowman, executive secretary of Circuit Riders, Inc., an independent national group of Methodists, has appeared on radio forums and addressed service clubs, civic organizations, religious groups, college assemblies and patriotic societies in various sections of the United States.

While in Canton, he will meet with, consult and advise local Protestant laymen concerning the attempts of the Communists to infiltrate the churches, and will discuss with them effective methods of combating such designs.

Lowman asserts that no stigma is attached to the American clergy because of overt acts of a few, any more than a stigma was attached to the 11 disciples because Judas betrayed Jesus.

Lowman, a Cincinnatian, is active in his city's civic and public affairs including projects for the physically handicapped, religious organizations and college youth. He has collaborated with various security agencies and investigating committees of the government and earlier this month appeared as a witness before the Ohio State Un-American Activities Commission.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STATEMENT OF IMPROVEMENTS

(During the past year the Southern Regional Council has made substantial improvements and repairs of the space it occupies in the Wesley Memorial Building. The following is a listing of these building improvements.)

General Repairs	$ 233.51
(floors, walls, windows, etc.)	
Carpentry Work	448.00
(partitioning & rebuilding)	
Painting and Redecorating	564.53
General Permanent Improvements	112.00
(Grills, shelving, bookcases, etc.)	
Total:	$ 1358.04

January 27, 1970

Miss Ruth Johnston
Projects Committee Chairman
West Suburban Young World Development
Committee
c/o Mr. Tom Roller
719 South Yale
Villa Park, Illinois 60181

Dear Miss Johnston:

Miss Barbara Johnson, of the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition, has forwarded your request to us.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the book, Still Hungry in America, sponsored by the Southern Regional Council. Growing out of this publication and other activities we have received a relatively large number of mostly small contributions for emergency relief. The Council dispenses these funds to local groups which have programs in providing food and medical care for children. We are attempting to do this on a nationwide basis rather than a regionwide basis since, of course, hunger is a national and not a rural problem.

Should you wish to consider our special hunger fund as the recipient of your support we would, of course, be grateful. And, as with other donors to the fund, we would pledge that no administrative or other costs would be taken from such contribution; all funds would go directly for the purpose given.

As an alternative, we would be more than happy to suggest to you several local programs which we have supported modestly and are assured are doing an effective job. This would, of course, include a capsule description of the organization and its work. Before doing this, however, I would appreciate any further guidance from you on just what type of local group or what geographical location you would prefer, since there are literally at least several hundred worthy and struggling groups with which we are familiar.

All of those connected with your Development Committee are to be commended for their concern.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

cc: Miss Barbara Johnson

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

Recd 1/22/70

John R. Kramer
Executive Director
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-9135

SRC – Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans

1/20.

Can you take care of this please, dear friends (if it is something you want to take time for) – You know more about where this money could best go than anyone else in the country – nicht wahr?

Thank you.

Barbara Johnson

No need to take time to reply –

M. Alfred Haynes, M.D., Ch.
The Rev. Ralph Abernathy
Doris Calloway
James P. Carter, M.D.
Jack Conway
Leslie W. Dunbar
Marian Wright Edelman
Jean Fairfax
Herman Gallegos
Richard Gordon
Vivian Henderson
Howard M. Metzenbaum
Martin Meyerson
Hon. Albert A. Pena, Jr.
Walter P. Reuther
Philip Sorensen
The Rev. Charles S. Spivey, Jr.
Herbert J. Waters

Rec'd - Jan. 20. 1970
B.J.

January, 1970

Gentlemen:

Last year in Villa Park, Illinois the West Suburban Chicago Young World Development Committee organized a Walk for Development. The funds generated totaled over $77,300. and were distributed among four organizations:

1. Biafra Relief Services Foundation - Biafra
2. World Education Inc. - Lucknow, India
3. Mound Bayou Development Corporation - Mississippi Delta
4. Homes of Private Enterprise - Wheaton, Ill.

We are presently planning another Walk for Development to be held on May 3, 1970.

By March 1, 1970 we must decide upon the recipients of the funds from the May, 1970 Walk. We anticipate contributions of approximately $20,000. to each of the recipients.

Can you send us information about projects which we might consider as recipients for these funds. We wish to consider self-help community projects concerned with food production, hunger, population control, socio-economic development, and which can meet the criteria on the enclosed form.

Please send all information to West Suburban Young World Development Committee, c/o Mr. Tom Roller, 719 So. Yale, Villa Park, Ill. 60181 (Phone 312-832-1670)

Sincerely,

Ruth Johnston

(Miss) Ruth Johnston
Projects Committee Chrm.
West Suburban Young World
Development Committee

P.S. We would emphasize again the urgency of a speedy response. The earlier we receive the information, the more consideration your project is likely to receive.

American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, Inc.

ROOM 437 • 1717 H STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • (202) 382-6727

PROJECT APPLICATION FORM

This form must be followed by all organizations and individuals requesting overseas or domestic project funds from the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation sponsored Walk for Development program. Copies of each application will be forwarded to the local walk committee upon request.

The AFFHF's five criteria for projects are listed as follows:

1. All aid extended from the walks must reach the recipients at the local level.

2. All projects must in some way strike at the causes of hunger and malnutrition at home and abroad.

3. All projects must be of a self-help nature.

4. All individuals, groups, and organizations charged with the administration of the projects and funds must be reliable and effective agents.

5. A well-structured proceedure for follow-up progress reports must be instituted for each project so that both the AFFHF and the donors know how the funds were spent.

It is understood that not all of the information requested below may be applicable to your particular project. We urge you to be specific and to comply with this application form as much as possible.

PLEASE OUTLINE YOUR REQUEST ON A SEPERATE SHEET OF PAPER FOLLOWING THESE HEADINGS.

Feel free to enclose any brochures, pamphlets, reports, and photographs that may be helpful. For agencies operating overseas projects, the application should be restricted to not more than three pages. We reserve the right to request further information upon the request of interested Walk committees.

GENERAL

1. Name, address, and telephone number of organization applying for funds.

2. Nature and function of organization (social welfare, religious, education, government -- federal or local -- missionary, etc. - indicate the range of your activities).

3. Precise geographical location of project (community, county, state, region, and/or country).

4. Description of social and economic conditions of area in which project is located (climate, population structure and density, crops, industry, means of livelihood, housing, medical and education facilities, diet of population -- emphasize elements most relevant to project and describe general poverty level).

OPERATION

5. Purpose and goal(s) of project.

6. Description of project (include specific details of operation - also indicate whether funds would initiate project or contribute to an on-going program).

7. Personnel (name, address, and telephone number of project supervisor, number of personnel, experience and qualifications).

8. Materials, tools, equipment (types numbers, and sources of supply).

9. Other organizations or agencies involved in the project and their responsibilities.

FINANCIAL

10. Amount of funds requested from the AFFHF (in U.S. dollars).

11. Support requested and/or promised from other sources (material and financial aid). NOTE: The AFFHF encourages applicants to seek support from various sources, including Government where applicable.

12. Itemized budget breakdown of costs (budget total must add up to amount requested in # 10). A further more detailed breakdown will be required once the amount of money is known and turned over to the project.

13. Name and address of applicant's bank and arrangements for the transfer of funds (date, phasing of payments(s), etc.).

PROGRESS REPORTS

14. The AFFHF requires reports on regular intervals once the funds have been released. Under this heading an assurance should be given that a schedule will be followed or alternatively, because of the nature of the project or some other circumstances, a different proposal for the reporting should be made.

15. Date, signature, and title of applicant.

When completed, mail this form to:

Projects Officer
American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, Inc.
1717 "H" Street, N.W.
Room 437
Washington, D. C. 20006
U.S.A.

Mr. Tom Roller
719 So. Yale
Villa Park, Ill.
60181

American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, Inc.

ROOM 437 • 1717 H STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • (202) 382-6727

Appendix "B"

CRITERIA FOR OVERSEAS PROJECTS

The primary goal of the Walk for Development Program of the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation is to educate people -- both young and old -- in communities across the U. S. on the problems of world hunger and to offer them an opportunity to become involved in an action program directed toward the alleviation of hunger. A walk's projects are an important way of teaching communities about the complexities of the hunger issue.

In order to make more effective the educational impact of the walks, all projects funded by the walks must fulfill certain criteria. First, the projects must work to eliminate the causes of hunger. It is not enough merely to ship large quantities of food overseas, alleviating only temporarily the effects of hunger. Instead, the walks must support projects that provide long-range solutions to the hunger crisis. And second, the projects must foster the spirit of self-help among the people and nations receiving assistance.

More specifically, the Foundation would like the overseas project proposals to fit into at least one of the following five categories:

1. Nutrition education and training
2. Inprovement of food production
3. Control of crop wastage and spoilage
4. Community development and leadership training
5. Population control

In addition to these technical criteria, there are also some operational criteria, that must be followed. Since it is difficult to predict at the time projects are selected how much money a walk will raise, the Foundation asks project agencies to submit project proposals that can use flexible amounts of money. There is always the possibility that a walk may fall short of a projected amount, which could seriously jeopardize the implementation of a project with fixed costs. Project agencies should, of course, notify the Foundation immediately when a project is fully funded.

Overseas project agencies are asked to agree to work with the local project committee to publicize the details of the project prior to the Walk. The local publicity committee will be extremely busy saturating the community with news about all aspects of the coming walk and will need the assistance of the agency to write effective news releases on the overseas project. The project agency can also expect to have its name well-known in the community as a result of a good publicity campaign.

And finally, and most importantly, the project agencies must commit themselves to supplying the walk committees with frequent progress reports on the projects. The exact schedule and the nature of the reports can be worked out by the agencies and the committees to their mutual convenience. The Foundation simply requires that the reports be made not less than three times per year, with the first report due 90 days after the funds are received by the agency. The Foundation will provide the form for this 90-day report.

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115 WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1969 No. 212

House of Representatives

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, there is a project called Walk for Development, which is sponsored by the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1717 H Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20006. This project raises money to help poor people and, more important, gets young people involved in the problems of their less fortunate contemporaries.

In order to make his walk useful, each participant must first persuade one or more adult sponsors to contribute to the charities, which have been announced in advance. Sponsor contributions vary. Some pay 25 cents a mile, some a dollar. Some young people walk for one sponsor, some for a hundred, some for even more.

One of these Walks for Development was held last May in DuPage County, Ill.

The difficulties of organizing this walk were described in an article which appeared in a recent issue of Good Housekeeping magazine. Because of some legal technicalities, which were troublesome but altogether proper, the money was impounded by the attorney general of Illinois for a time.

It was released, however, in time so that more than $77,000 could be turned over at Thanksgiving time to help people in Illinois, in Mississippi, in India, and in Biafra.

This is a time when many young people have been misled into violence, destruction and hate. In such a time, it is refreshing to hear of 5,000 youngsters and a few adults who would undertake a 30-mile walk. None has ever known real hunger or poverty, but their impulses are toward kindliness, wholesomeness, and charity.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following excerpts from the Good Housekeeping article in the RECORD:

THEY WALK TO FEED THE HUNGRY

(By Charles and Bonnie Remberg)

Just the day before, 3,000 young people had invaded tiny Zap, North Dakota. In a drunken orgy of window-smashing and fire-setting, they had roamed the streets and left the helpless village in shambles.

Now, more than 800 miles away, the early Sunday-morning stillness found some 5,000 teen-agers massed on a high school football field in the tranquil Chicago suburb of Villa Park, Illinois.

Tense excitement crackled through the crowd as speakers shouted from a platform to deafening cheers. Suddenly, the mob broke from the field and surged into the street. Those in the lead were running. Filling the pavement curb-to-curb, the teens headed for a middle-class residential section, where many families were still asleep.

Gleefully, a handsome eighteen-year-old named Chuck Steinbach, the driving force behind the youthful throng, leaped to the platform for a better view. "My God!" he shouted. "There's no stopping them now." For, as far as he could see, a mighty human river rolled resolutely forward. . . .

Startled homeowners who stumbled, still in nightclothes, to their picture windows may have felt apprehensive at first. But before that day last May was over, adults in Villa Park and surrounding communities realized that these young people stood in sharp contrast to their peers at Zap and other sites of recent adolescent destructiveness. Instead of hell-raising, these teen-agers were on a "Walk for Development," peacefully giving their energy to help fight widespread and growing human hunger.

Such walks began in this country about a year ago, under the auspices of the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation in Washington, D.C., a private, nonprofit organization supported by leaders in business, labor, social welfare, agriculture and education. Since then, an estimated 150,000 largely-middle-class young people, from 35 communities, ranging in size from Aurora, Iowa (population 600) to Los Angeles, have turned their "sole power" into dollars for the needy.

Each walker recruits "sponsors" to pay him, from a few cents to several dollars, for every mile he hikes over a charted 26- to 32-mile course. So the youngsters not only draw public attention to the problem of hunger but earn hard cash for a variety of imaginative self-help anti-poverty projects in the United States and abroad. Thus far, youthful walkers have raised almost $1,000,000, with more walks scheduled for this fall.

* * * * *

The Villa Park, Illinois, walk was started by high school senior Chuck Steinbach. The son of a television repairman, Chuck is a soft-spoken young man with sideburns and a Bobby Kennedy mop of brown hair, a mind keen enough to put him on the dean's list, and a personal magnetism that made him student-council president at Villa Park's sprawling Willowbrook High School. Although he grew up amidst the flowering trees and comfortable homes of Chicago's western suburbs, he has what friends call "exceptional sensitivity" for the less fortunate. "When Chuck looks at a picture of a starving kid in Biafra," says Richard Cargill, the student council's faculty adviser, "I think he *feels* hunger."

During the summer of 1968, with Biafra much in headlines, Chuck grew increasingly aware of hunger as a mounting world crisis. He read expert predictions that within the next three decades, as the world's population doubles, millions will die of famine. Already seven persons every minute are dying worldwide from malnutrition and starvation, and one child in three now living will carry for life the irreversible effects of food deficiencies. Even in the United States, the most affluent nation on the globe, government researchers estimate that at least 10,000,000 impoverished men, women and children suffer from inadequate diets. "I could see that hunger is linked to a whole range of social problems—war, racism, political chaos, poverty," Chuck recalls. "But like most other people, I didn't see how I could help."

Then at a church youth conference, he heard about the Foundation's walks. Curious, he drove to Madison, Wisconsin, and on November 16 joined in one with 5,500 other hiking youngsters.

"It was one of the most moving experiences of my life," he remembers. * * *

By early last February, Chuck Steinbach had formed a "core committee" of thirteen enthusiastic students from eleven suburban high schools and colleges to organize a Walk for Development in Villa Park and adjacent communities.

On the surface, the group seemed almost hopelessly diverse. One was a boy who spent nearly all his spare time at the library; a few had been involved in such activities as voluntarily tutoring ghetto children; several were style- and popularity-conscious youngsters whose main interests were parties and school-sponsored events, and another was a boy who had complied one of the worst disciplinary records at his high school.

All, however, were commited to a single philsophy. Explains Tom McDermott, a freshman at Elmhurst College: "We wanted to show other students that it's possible to help improve society without being disruptive and destructive. And we wanted to wake up the adult community to the problem of hunger and to communicate that kids can be responsible when given a chance to do something meaningful."

With May 11, Mother's Day, agreed upon as the walk date, the committee began attacking the problems of organization, coordination and troubleshooting, all the while scrambling to stay abreast of school obligations and part-time jobs.

From the Foundation, they obtained a long list of carefully researched foreign self-help projects needing assistance. They chose two to help: an institute in Lucknow, India, that teaches young farmers literacy and new agricultural methods, and a center in Biafra which is establishing a weaving industry for displaced persons. As part of their learning process, however, committee members themselves were to ferret out deserving domestic projects.

For more than two months, a subcommittee headed by Jan Wallinder, seventeen, followed leads supplied by social agencies, church groups and antipoverty organizations in the Chicago area. To their surprise, they discovered that hidden among the affluence of their own DuPage County (where, in Chuck's words, "Most of us equate hunger with not having a second dessert") was considerable hard-core poverty. Census statistics revealed that at least 4,300 families in the county fall below the poverty line, including some who live nineteen to a two-bedroom apartment or who exist on beans and bread in flooded basements and rat-run shacks.

Certain that publicity about such need so close to home would shock the uninformed, Jan and her group kept digging until they discovered a newly formed organization called Project HOPE. It had been started by concerned citizens in nearby Wheaton to buy and rehabilitate homes with volunteer funds and rent them cheaply to welfare mothers and their children. Then, through personal counseling from HOPE members, families could learn to utilize their own talents and resources to shake off the yoke of poverty.

As the second domestic beneficiary, the committee chose the Delta Ministry, an interfaith program aimed at making unemployed Mississippi fieldworkers economically self-sufficient.

As word of the walk spread, students from more than eighteen high schools and six colleges from throughout the western suburbs wanted to join in, so schools chairman Tom McDermott took on the massive job of organizing subcore committees in each school to handle publicity and walker registration. Other committee members tracked down amateur radio operators and rescue squads to operate a communications network on the day of the walk. Still others persuaded adults to man the thirteen checkpoints that would be set up every few miles along the route where sponsor cards could be stamped to show the mileage covered. In addition, there were hundreds of "Sole Power" lapel buttons to be made and sold to cover organizing costs; press releases to be written and news conferences conducted speaking engagements about world hunger to be lined up during a whirlwind visit by Wolf and a United Nations food expert; bank accounts to be opened; tax receipts to be distributed to contributing sponsors; toilet and food facilities for 5,000 to 10,000 walkers to be arranged.

Just laying out the 30-mile route mushroomed into a logistics nightmare. Chuck and route chairman Jill Feldmann, seventeen, spent hours driving suburban streets before settling on a course that began and ended at Willowbrook High School and twisted through five suburbs. They spent long nights poring over law books to be certain that their plans conformed with village ordinances because, as Chuck explains, "The idea was to work within the law and walk within the law." They appeared before village boards to explain their cause and persuade city officials to grant parade permits, and then they had to confer with police officials to coordinate manpower deployment and traffic control for the walk day.

Not everything went perfectly, however. "We were always fighting the fear people have of kids," Jill says. "It seems that when they think of students getting together these days, they usually think of riots." Also, the teens discovered, in some suburban areas many persons still oppose efforts to aid the poor and the sending of money overseas. Policies at some schools prohibited publiciz-

ing walk plans. Trustees on one village board delayed nearly a month before finally granting a walk permit; another town refused to okay the solicitation of sponsors. When the committee wrote to 150 area churches asking for help in making sandwiches for the walk and in spreading information about world hunger, only twenty responded. "Some kids who had never been involved in anything before were discouraged by all the doors that closed," says nineteen-year-old Cathy Johnston, who served as Chuck's coordinator. "But they learned to keep going until they found doors that opened."

By the time the walk was just ten days off, students were eagerly pursuing sponsors. Enthusiasm was high.

Then trouble surfaced that made earlier problems seem like minor annoyances.

Right-wing elements in the western suburbs suddenly began issuing a barrage of false accusations. The Foundation was a Communist front, the extremists charged, and the teen-agers were trying to "undermine a fundamental American institution" by hiking on Mother's Day. Some of the proceeds would be pocketed by the kids instead of being given to the poor, some opponents asserted, and the Foundation would keep at least 65 percent of the money raised. One critic even saw evidence of a diabolical plot in the fact the the line of walkers would temporarily block off residential driveways. A "newsletter," filled with innuendo and insinuation, was widely distributed and a telephone campaign was launched to urge parents to withdraw permission for their children to walk and sponsors to cancel their pledges.

"After all their work, the kids were pretty shook at first," recalls Mrs. Linda Eller, a suburban youth leader. "But they realized they had a responsibility to fulfill, and in the face of this intense hostility they forged ahead."

On the Friday night before Mother's Day, the committee held mass sandwich-making parties with bread, cheese and peanut butter donated by local businesses. Saturday they put up route markers and tied up scores of loose ends. That night, Chuck was so exhausted he couldn't sleep. "All that work," he kept thinking, "and tomorrow is it."

Mother's Day dawned to a cloudless sky, and by 6 A.M. young people were starting to gather on Willowbrook's grounds. White kids in hippie garb and blacks with Afro hairdos milled together with girls in bell-bottoms and sandals and boys with hiking boots and knapsacks. Kids whose parents had dropped them off in expensive cars stood talking to a boy who had walked in from Aurora, Illinois, 25 miles away. Whole families, including grandparents, stood hand in hand. Many teens had brought younger brothers and sisters. Ministers who were sponsored by their congregations, and teachers sponsored by their students, arrived to walk. One boy flashed sponsor cards bearing almost 250 names. High school track teams and college fraternities and sororities had challenged each other, and some carried hand-lettered signs reading, "30 miles on a dare, show the world how much you care." A young woman in a wheelchair and two retarded youths waited quietly for the walk to begin.

By eight o'clock, a crowd of more than 5,000 filled the school's athletic field. When core committee member Jay Lyons climbed onto a platform and shouted, "How many are going 30 today?" the responding cheer was ear-splitting.

Then a state legislator began calling out the names of schools represented. The mob was fired into action. The six track teams broke from their positions and ran into the street, with the walkers surging after them. The Walk for Development was under way.

After the initial two and one-half miles, the curb-to-curb tide of walkers reached the first checkpoint. As they swarmed around the tables where volunteers from women's clubs and civic organizations were stamping sponsor cards, the committee presented a daisy to each mother among the walkers.

By the third checkpoint, three and one-half miles away on the shore of a lake in suburban Glen Ellyn, the dropout rate was beginning to show. Relays of "toe trucks" were picking up those who could not continue, and the thinned line kept mostly on sidewalks now. Men in radio communications cars estimated that the walk stretched for more than six miles.

By the lake, many youngsters, already blistered, tied their shoes around their necks and went barefoot. A father led his two sons in leg relaxing exercises. One eager hiker, an eight-year-old girl, admitted, "This sure gets my feets sore. But," she grinned, "I'll keep going 'cause I'm worth 70 cents a mile."

It was nearly noon when the trickle of walkers arriving at the fourth checkpoint, nine miles along the route in Wheaton, swelled to a stream. Hundreds of sandwiches were served out of new garbage cans, taped with signs that said: "We're walking because some people still have to eat from these." The walkers, many limping with pain, slumped wearily to the ground to eat. A volunteer nurse applied bandages to blistered feet.

Slowly the sky darkened, and a cool rain began. Still the walkers pushed ahead.

On the way to checkpoint six, a middle-aged housewife opened her home as a restroom stop. By early afternoon, 150 kids an hour were trooping into her two bathrooms. "It's a wonderful way to spend Mother's Day," she declared. "We can all learn something from these kids. They're showing the good that can come if every person just does what he can on every need he meets."

At checkpoint eight, ten miles from the finish line, a rock band was on hand to boost morale. But, one hiker observed as he bandaged his numb and bleeding feet, "We're on automatic pilot now. The only thing that keeps us going is sheer will."

"Kids didn't even want to stop to rest," co-coordinator Cathy Johnston remembers, "because they knew their legs would tighten up and they wouldn't be able to walk." Along the way, grade-school children who wanted to help set up free water and fruit juice stands.

The track teams, running the full course, had arrived back at Willowbrook before one o'clock. At five, the rain over, walkers started limping in. Many had worn through their shoes and the soles of their socks.

After eight, as darkness fell and the temperature dropped, Chuck dispatched trucks to pick up those walkers still on the route. Not one would accept a ride.

The last walkers reached the edge of the school grounds at nine. Some students were carrying others whose legs had given out. One father was in the group with his seven-year-old son, and the eight-year-old girl with "sore feets," whose older sister had dropped out earlier, had walked the distance. One teen-age girl crossed the finish line and collapsed, sobbing, "I made it, I made it!"

That evening, the school had been rented to an adult theater group. As one of the playgoers arrived, he looked disdainfully around at the exhausted young people sprawled in his path. "Why don't you get these kids out of here?" he complained to officials. "People are coming here to see a drama."

It never struck him that his statement was the ultimate in irony.

In all, in this area where in Chuck's words, "people get in their cars to go across the street to the mailbox," 1,800 youngsters had crossed the finish line.

In the days that followed, the walkers hobbled back to their sponsors, displayed their stamped cards and collected more than $60,000.

Even more important than the money, potentially, was the human concern the walk had awakened. Some adults, alerted for the first time to poverty in DuPage County, are working to establish branches of Project HOPE in their own communities. Teachers are begininng to integrate studies of world hunger and the effects of malnutrition into their courses. Teen-agers are looking for other ways they can help combat poverty, and Chuck Steinbach and his committee are drafting a list of projects in the Chicago area that need volunteer aid. "There is a lot that Americans can do," says Bill Kokontis, a student from Maryknoll Seminary. "We have a lot of wealth—not just money, but healthy people with energy who can think and work."

Other towns, too, have found walks to be the catalysts for a wide variety of community involvement. In Eugene, Oregon, the mayor was so impressed with the responsibility of young people that he established an active youth-advisory council to his office. In Minneapolis, school curricula have been changed to deal more realistically with poverty and other social issues. In Buffalo, adult leaders have laid plans for working with teen-agers on a full range of community projects. In Denver and other cities, some teens, because of their walk experiences, have decided to pursue careers that deal with social problems.

At the next-to-last checkpoint on the Villa Park walk, a long-haired girl sat bandaging her feet.

"Do you thing we're going to make it?" her boy friend asked.

"Of couse we're going to make it," she answered. "I've got a feeling we're going to make it for a long time to come. Maybe tomorrow is going to be better, after all."

February 20, 1970

Miss Ruth Johnston
Project Committee Chairman
West Suburban Young World Development
200 N. Yale Avenue
Villa Park, Illinois

Dear Miss Johnston:

Regretably, your request for additional information about the Council's program comes at a time when we are several weeks away from having our audit and program reports for 1969. Because of time, I am sending these documents for 1968, and those for 1969 will be sent to you as soon as they are available. The 1968 documents will, however, give you some sense of our thinking, methods of operation, and total concern.

Quite candidly I don't think we would be in a position to place before you a specific proposal until we know more of your priorities, nor do I think you are in a position to make a commitment until you know more of our operation and capabilities.

If you agree with the above and must act quickly, and yet have some continuing interest in SRC being a recipient of funds, may I suggest that perhaps you reserve such commitment as you might otherwise make contingent on further exploration by both parties. Toward that end, I would be happy to meet with the group at it's earliest convenience

or preferably have you come to Atlanta so you can observe our operation and meet those on the staff who are engaged in the program.

I hope this suggestion conveys to you the respect I have for your purposes and commitment, and the long standing practices of the Council of being very thorough establishing confidence with a particular donar prior to receiving funds.

Thank you again for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

200 No. Yale Avenue
Villa Park, Illinois
Bebruary 17, 1970

Dear Sirs:

We, the Project Committee of the West Suburban (Chicago) Young World Development, have recently received your letter and book, Still Hungry in America and are very impressed. This, although is not enough information for us to really look into your project. You have left us with only a vague impression.

If you wish further consideration of your project, please send us more information including things such as; pictures, audits, where and how our funds would be spent, past history, etc. In short, we would appreciate all information possible as soon as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation thus far.

Hopefully awaiting your reply,

Ruth Johnston

Ruth Johnston

Project Committee Chairman
West Suburban Young World Development

Received 2/20/70

May 23, 1944

Mr. Walter White
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Walter:

Bucklin Moon has just paid me a visit. I have enjoyed very much this opportunity to have a chat with him, and I am having dinner with him tomorrow evening.

If you come this way, be sure to look us up. I would certainly like to hear about some of your European observations.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3 N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

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ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS, WASHINGTON BUREAU

May 15th
1944

Dear Guy:

This will introduce Bucklin Moon who is a fine person and one of my best friends. Anything you can do for him will be appreciated.

Ever sincerely,

Walter
Secretary.

Professor Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill,
North Carolina

WW:DW

July 31, 1944

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

The Southern Regional Council is interested in broadening the base of its membership. It is desirous of having on its list the names of several persons from the state of North Carolina who will be interested in helping the Southern Regional Council put over a three-way program which it is undertaking in the fall.

You may be interested in knowing the details of this program. In brief they are as this: We shall give first attention to the development of plans and programs for adjusting the return civilian and soldier in the local community. This will mean planning in the fields of education, employment and human relations. Secondly, we shall give attention to the whole problem of public safety in the South, following through on some of the programs and techniques that have been developed for promoting more satisfactory relationships between the police and the community. Third, we shall give attention to that occupation field which employs more Negroes than any other, namely, household employment. It is our hope in this connection to not only raise the standards in that field but, to clear up some of the basic problems which have made it a catchall for much of the marginal labor in this area.

We are, therefore, asking you if you will not give us a list of persons, white and colored in the state of North Carolina to whom we might make overtures in respect to membership in the Southern Regional Council. We shall be very pleased to have you do this for us if possible before the end of this summer, as we wish to have our program begin in the fall with as significant a local membership as possible.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

September 27, 1944

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Cashier
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

As he was preparing to catch a plane for Washington, Dr. Reid left your letter with me and asked me to write you.

I want you to know that we appreciate your interest in the Council and your thoughtfulness in sending us some significant names for nomination to membership. Incidentally, Mr. Spaulding and Mr. Larkins are already members, and I hope that all of the other people on your list will become members soon. We are sending them invitations today.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

October 23, 1944

Mr. Robb White, Jr.
Box 255
Spring Hill, Alabama

Dear Mr. White:

Please forgive me for not replying sooner to your letter of October 12. We have been moving our headquarters from 710 Standard Building to 432 Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue and, as you might guess, such a move is very disorganizing.

I have mailed your return postal card showing that the number of lynchings in 1943 was three and in 1944 one up to the present time. The decline of lynching almost to the vanishing point is a tribute to the work of a number of organizations as well as to the increasing enlightenment of general opinion in the South. There is no great crusade going on against lynching at present, because it is unnecessary, but I feel that it would be unwise for the opponents of lynching to relax their efforts completely, because it is very likely that we shall see an upsurge of lynchings and riots after the war.

As for the poll tax, I must confess that I, too, do not get very excited about it. It is one of several reasons why many people do not use the ballot. I think that this is borne out by a study which was made in Virginia. There the general status of Negroes is certainly much better than it is in the deep South, but one-third of the 40,000 Negroes who paid their poll tax last year did not even bother to register for voting. If the poll tax were not cumulative, as it is in several states, and if the methods for collecting it were systematic and efficient, there would not be so much objection to it.

I think that the greatest need with respect to the primary is to set fair qualifications which will protect the ballot box and to apply those qualifications rigorously to all would-be voters regardless of race. I agree with the MACON NEWS and with the Supreme Court. It seems to me that the Court has merely got around to saying something which it should have said long ago. The statement that "Communists, Populists, Farmers, and Prohibitionists" have the right to say who shall vote in their primaries is probably only partly true. If some of these tried to limit participation on grounds of <u>race</u> rather than on grounds of political belief, their position would be not only morally indefensible but just

as unconstitutional as the white primary of the Democratic party in the South. It seems to me that the smartest thing which the Democrats can do--and incidentally the best thing for their self interest in the long run--would be to set reasonable qualifications for participation in their primaries and to take in all of the qualified Negroes they could get. Otherwise, they are going to lay up trouble and perhaps extinction for themselves. The South Carolina plan may look like a good solution for the present, but the white Democrats of that state are going to regret what they have done.

We will have to get together some time and chew the rag more thoroughly.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Box 255, Spring Hill, Ala.

October 12th, 1944.

Editor Southern Frontier,

#710 Standard Building,

Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir,

It will be a favor to me, and ahelp to the cause (Ihope) if you will send me, on the enclosed postal, the number of Negroes lynched, in the Southern States, in 1943; and in 1944, to date.

For most of the years of my life, I have worked for the cause of better relations between white people and Negroes in the South. 25 of those years were in Georgia. In my opinion, the present crusade against lynching, and poll tax, and participation in white primaries, is losing good energy that could be better spent. The few lynchings of recent years ought to be evidence that the South is curing that manifest evil.

I am a white man, and I don't believe that any man who has not any financial stake in the game of government has any inherent right to vote. (In the Philippine Islands, the certificate of $1.00 paid as tax, or the equivalent in work done on some public works project, is called a"cedula". No native is required to have one. But if he has none, he is not granted the franchise. Nobody hollers "discrimination", and the rabble is not roused.)

I am a white man, in the South. Being a mugwump, unwilling to subscribe to the Primary oath, I am in the same position as a Negro. I.e., No right to vote in the Primary. Plenty of right to vote in the election. Plenty of right to organize a mugwump Party, or to resurrect a Republican Party, or a Prohibition Party. In your issue of April, you quote with approval an editorial from the Macon, Ga. News, which states pontifically, "The Supreme Court is right." Some of the best minds in America are saying;

"If the Supreme Court changed its pants as often as it changes its opinion, we wouldn't know whether to look for the seat in front or behind."

Communists, Populists, Farmers, Prohibitionists, have the right to say who shall vote in their Primaries. Why not Democrats?

Very sincerely yours,

Robb White Jr.

April 18, 1945

Dear Walter:

Just a line to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your new book, A Rising Wind. I have enjoyed it immensely. You have certainly had some rich experiences in your travels among servicemen abroad.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Mr. Walter White
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Spring Hill, Alabama,

April 21st, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,

Southern Regional Council,

Atlanta, Ga.

My dearb Mr. Johnson,

My very pleasant meeting with you in Birmingham ~~x~~ last year makes me reluctant to decline your Council's invintation to become a member of it.

We do not see at all eye to eye. You thought Henry Wallace was the answer to the Council's prayer. I thought handing over enormous sums of money to him would be a catastrophe.

You think the enawtment of laws which would upset deep-rooted Southern traditions is the way to solve problems that are centuries old. I think their enactment will do as much harm to the ultimate and permanent cause of inter-racial good will as the Prohibition law did to temperance.

Please, sir, just count me out.

Very sincerely yours,

Robb White, Jr.

(Robb White. Jr.)

May 15, 1945

Mr. Jack White
1111 Columbia Road, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for bringing to our attention the concert tour of Miss Montgomery and Miss Webster.

We are not in a position to sponsor these artists ourselves, but I shall be glad to bring the matter to the attention of several groups which might be interested.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

1111 Columbia Road, N.W.,
Washington, 9, D.C.,
May 8, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My Dear Dr. Johnson:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed brochure announcing the summer concert tour of Miss Montgomery and Miss Webster during the forthcoming season.

The artists are already scheduled for appearances at points in most of the Southern states east of the Mississippi beginning the last week in June. It has occurred to me that your organization, or affiliated groups, might be interested in presenting this fine team in connection with interracial activities while they are in the area.

I shall much appreciate hearing from you when you are at leisure and shall be glad to furnish you with further details.

Sincerely yours,

Jack R White

Jack White

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

_____, 194__

TO: GBJ

FROM: K.

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information ☐ 2. Consideration ☐
3. Signature ☐ 4. Recommendation ☐
5. Reply ☐ 6. Suggested reply ☐
7. Please circulate to desk(s) of:

Miss Clay	☐	Dr. Reid	☐
Miss Fisher	☐	Dr. Johnson	☐
_____	☐	_____	☐

8. Please return to this office. ☐
9. Please return to secretary for filing. ☐

I am referring to A. O. Summer School Director.

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to Dr. Reid

May 15, 1945

Do you suppose that Atlanta University or the Urban League or one of the churches would be interested in a recital by these artists?

May 15, 1945

Mr. Earl White
Box 25
Rayville, Louisiana

Dear Mr. White:

Your letter which was addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has come to us. This Council, which was organized in January, 1944, has taken over the work of the Interracial Commission.

I am sorry to say that I do not see any way in which your friend Frank Robinson can get Social Security payments. There are many people over 65 who are not covered by the Social Security Act at present; for example, farm workers and domestic servants are not covered, and of course this means that many poor people, white and colored, do not get the benefits. Also, if a person is his own employer, he is not entitled to the benefits. This seems to be the case with Mr. Robinson as far as I can tell from the record which you sent. This is very bad, but that's the way it is under the present law. I think that we should all work toward getting a better coverage by the Social Security law. In the meantime, I suggest that you go to your parish welfare officer and see if there is any way in which your friend can be helped.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Mr Earl White
Rayville, Ga R#25

Rayville, Ga
march 31/45

Dear Sir

I am a veterans of this Service connected discharge
cpl White Earl Hq Bty 395th CAA 38334352 C,3,425,887
Since I have been discharge and Back home I am
trying to help establish that lasting peace they
are talk about as well establish my self a veterans
I have plenty more problem to Bring you retaining to
Benefit due a negro veterans I wrote a letter some
time ago to Federal Council of Churches of new York
they refered it to the veterans administration things
in a Bad shape for to be talking peace

I am asking you to please use your influence
and see why this old Colored Friend of mine cannot
get Social Security he is due it his sight is
Bad now wife one son to go to school age 15 he need
this old age Benefit I am asking you to please
take steps without letting any of this Writing
be know you know how it is down here in the
South so I am asking you to go to work at once
and see can't you get him a check at once for $30
accordingly to social Security laws he is entitle to it
ans at once.

Yours Sincerely
Earl White

St. Paul's Ch.
Spring Hill, Alabama.

Dear Friend Johnson: June 27/45

Please send me on postal inclosed, no. of lynchings of Negroes in the South - 1944.

Enclosed is a typical reactionary view, which died aborning.

Sincerely & gratefully yrs.
Robt White Jr.

Ans. Rec'd Postal 7/6/45

St. Paul's Church,

Spring Hill, Alabama,

June 20th, 1945.

Letter to Editor,

New York Times.

Your Editorial on Poll Tax, in your issue of June 14th, is a model of restraint. Here is an effort to present the other side of the matter with corresponding restraint:

Poll Tax laws bar about ten million persons. About six million white, about four million colored. By reason of Homestead, and Income Tax, exemptions, the majority of these ten millions pay no direct and recognizable taxes. They enjoy the benefits of roads, schools, mails, police, etc. without paying for their support.

The cost of Poll Tax is less than the present advertised cost of a pint of the cheapest whiskey on the market. Besides, if a man hates to part with the cash, provision is usually made that he can do a corresponding amount of labor on the public roads. If he dislikes that idea, he may supply a substitute. If none of these appeals to him, no special disgrace attaches to him. He is merely in the company of a different ten million or more, who having paid, are too lazy, or too indifferent, or too convinced that it is useless, to exercise their privilege.

Southern Democrats were not in control of the policies of our government when we took over the Philippines. Out there, the words Poll Tax were not used. Instead, we had a thing called CEDULA. It was a piece of paper about the size of a paper dollar. It certified that its possessor had paid to the Government one dollar, and had thereby purchased the privileges of citizenship, the ballot being one of the privileges. Most of the Philipinos have a fine sporting instinct. They didn't seem to resent the idea that a chap who wanted to sit in, and take a hand in the game of government, would be required to ante up, and have a stake in the game like the rest of the players.

Rev. Robb White. jr.

June 27, 1945

Mr. J. H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

I am sorry for an unavoidable delay in replying to your letter of June 21. I have been out in the field a good part of this month, and Dr. Reid has been away on a trip to the west coast since June 3.

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Senator Hoey. I think it is a splendid letter.

I am frankly in something of a quandary as to just how much "pressure" to put upon individual members of SRC with regard to supporting the Norton FEPC bill. We have received varied reactions to our FEPC memorandum. In addition to persons who are enthusiastically for the bill and who have written letters to congressmen, there are others who say, "The Council endorsed the principle of a permanent FEPC, but this does not mean that it endorsed this particular legislation." Some of these latter wanted to see FEPC continued on its present basis until it could counteract some of the very unfavorable sentiment which has been roused in the South and until some experience with the enforcement of state FEPC laws in New York and elsewhere could be accumulated.

Here in Atlanta, a group interested in FEPC set up a special committee to promote the federal bill. We have cooperated with this committee, and I am sure that the majority of our SRC members in Atlanta signed the petition which was circulated and sent to the Georgia representatives in Congress. I do not know at present to what extent this procedure has been followed in other communities in the South.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

J. H. WHEELER
VICE PRESIDENT-CASHIER

June 21, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge receipt of your bulletin with reference to pending FEPC legislation.

It occurs to me that a large number of North Carolina citizens should write as individuals to our Congressmen and I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Senator Hoey. I have also written a similar letter to Senator Josiah W. Bailey and representative Carl Durham.

If Dr. Odum and Dr. Newbold will write to the same people, their letters should carry considerable weight. Frankly, I do not believe, that the influence of the Council will ever be felt until its members are willing to place themselves on record individually in support of whatever action we take as a group. In view of this, I am taking the liberty of suggesting that you ascertain whether or not either of these gentlemen are willing to write letters to our North Carolina representatives in Congress asking their unqualified support of pending FEPC legislation.

Very truly yours,

J. H. Wheeler

JHW/w

P. S.
I am fully aware of the position already taken by Senators Bailey and Hoey.

C
O
P
Y

June 19, 1945

Honorable Clyde R. Hoey
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am taking this opportunity to write you with reference to pending legislation providing for the establishment of a permanent FEPC. It has been a pleasure for me to hear you speak from the platform on numerous occasions when you have visited this city and I share the opinion of most Negro citizens here that you are vitally interested in equal opportunities for all of the people regardless of race or color and that when given an opportunity, you will be glad to lend a helping hand toward making our great State a land of opportunity based on the individual abilities of each of its citizens.

It is also my opinion, that you are interested in preserving the system of private enterprise and freedom for every individual to develop without the hinderances resultant from racial discrimination.

The history of our country has proven that most vital issues of this kind have required federal legislation. The regulation of commerce among the states; the abolition of slavery; wage and hour legislation; the right to vote; and social security--all have required federal action and if left to the states for enactment, would not now be the law of the land. On the other hand none of these great reforms has destroyed one jot or title of the system of private enterprise. FEPC is, indeed, another necessary instrumentality by which the freedom of all of the people must be protected as opposed to freedom for a select few.

It is hard for thinking southern Negroes to picture their Congressmen opposing social reforms which will serve to aid the economic development of the South. In the post war period, the South can hardly hope to prosper as long as efforts continue to be made in both public and private enterprise to restrain and control the economic opportunities of one-third to one-half of its entire population, simply because of race.

C
O
P
Y

June 19, 1945

Page II

Honorable Clyde R. Hoey
United States Senate

I feel that this appeal to you represents not only the point of view of approximately senvety-five thousand Negro voters in North Carolina but also the thinking of at least three hundred thousand others who will be voting within the next five years because of their newly awakened interest in matters of Government. It is, therefore, with a feeling of friendliness, that I have written this letter to you as one of the senators representing our citizenry. It is my earnest desire that you will weigh carefully, the important issues involved in the matter of a permanent FEPC and that you shall not miss the opportunity to demonstrate that out of North Carolina, there comes in actuality, the same sort of progressiveness and far-sighted thinking which we have in recent years advertised to the nation that we possess.

Very truly yours,

J. H. Wheeler

JHW/w

October 26, 1945

Miss Dorothy White
University of Texas
Division of Extension
Austin 12, Texas

Dear Miss White:

Thank you for your letter of October 22. Under separate cover we are sending the following literature:

The Southern Frontier, March and October, 1945, price 25¢ per year Bundle of 25 copies, $5.00 a year; Bundle of 50 copies, $7.50 a year; Bundle of 100 copies, $10.00 a year.
The Southern Regional Council, Its Origin and Purpose, free.
America's Tenth Man, prices as shown on inside cover.
Understanding our Neighbors, prices as shown on inside cover.
Economic Value of the Negro in the South, 5¢ each; 50¢ a dozen; $4.00 a hundred.
The South, America's Opportunity Number One, 35¢ each, 3 for $1.00.
Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States, free.
After the War, free.
It Seems Queer, free.
Black GI Comes Home, reprinted from October Southern Frontier, free.
Our Conflicting Racial Policies, reprinted from Harper's Magazine, free.

We shall be glad to send whatever free or priced material you wish. Of course, if you want a sizeable amount of free material we will appreciate your sharing the carrying charges.

You might want to take out a regular mailing list subscription for the Extension Teaching Bureau. The cost is $1.00 a year, which includes a subscription to the Southern Frontier. We shall probably have several other pamphlets by the time of the State meeting of the Texas Society for Mental Hygiene next March.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
DIVISION OF EXTENSION
AUSTIN 12

OFFICE OF
EXTENSION TEACHING BUREAU

RECEIVED
OCT 26 1945
Southern Regional Council

October 22, 1945

Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Austin-Travis County Mental Hygiene Society is arranging for the following exhibits during the year:

Regional Conference of the Texas Welfare Association
(Austin, November 21)
State Meeting of the Texas Society for Mental Hygiene
(Galveston, March 7 and 8)

Please send us a sample copy of your paper, Southern Frontier, and any other free material for distribution, advising us of the cost price of the magazine and the dates of publication.

Sincerely,

Dorothy White

DW:etr

Dorothy White

Info - Youth Camp

May 17, 1946

Mr. Walter G. White
Holcomb-Clarkton Churches
Holcomb, Missouri

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for your letter of May 14 requesting materials for a course which you are to teach at a youth camp.

Under separate cover we are sending you a package of literature which we hope will be useful to you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Packet
Brothers in Black
Repairs of the Breach
Pub. list
SIY

G.W.
5/14/46

Holcomb-Clarkton Churches
Methodist

WALTER G. WHITE, MINISTER

HOLCOMB, MISSOURI

May 14, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Having been given your address as reference for supplementary materials for a course which I am to teach this summer at a youth camp, I am at this time writing for your help.

The topic assigned is "Living As Christians With Other Races".

Should you have materials on hand which would be helpful I would appreciate your sending them to me at this time.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Walter G. White

Walter G. White

November 18, 1946

Mrs. C. H. Whetstone
1333 Lanier Boulevard N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whetstone:

I am very happy to tell you that Mrs. F. P. Drake has given you a membership in the Southern Regional Council for the year 1947. Under separate cover we are mailing you sample copies of some of our publications for 1946 which should help to acquaint you with the work of the Council.

We are a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization set up in February, 1944, to study the many problems of the South and to mobilize the people of the region to solve these problems. The Council is founded on the belief that the South faces many problems peculiar to the region and that these can best be solved by Southerners themselves, white and Negro, planning and acting together. We find opportunities for action through state and local committees, through surveys leading to planned community action, through conferences, and through publications. Each month you will receive our publication New South, which once a quarter appears in enlarged form dealing with some special subject, and other materials as they are issued.

You will find enclosed a membership card and a self-addressed envelope. Your membership dues have been paid, but we shall appreciate it if you will sign the card and return it to us as soon as possible so that we may officially enroll you as a member of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

Wh-
Wh. & Alv.

November 21, 1946

Mr. Alvin E. White
180 West 135th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for your letter of November 14. We had four days of meetings last week and, naturally, we have been pretty busy cleaning up our desks.

I am sending you herewith copies of addresses made by myself and by our Associate Director, Dr. H. L. Trigg, and a copy of the program for our annual meeting which gives a little additional information about our work. I hope that this material will be helpful to you. I shall appreciate your returning the two speeches when you are through with them.

In my speech you will see what I have to say about the major setbacks in race relations during 1946. There is also some reference to gains which were made during the year. In addition, I would like to point out the following: (1) Thousands of Negroes voted in the Democratic Primaries this year, particularly in Georgia and Texas. In Georgia it has been estimated that nearly 100,000 Negroes voted. Even in Mississippi it is estimated that 2,000 or more Negroes voted, in spite of all the anti-Negro talk and intimidation by Senator Bilbo; (2) There has been a great increase in interest in interracial activities by church groups throughout the South. The most active work is being done by Methodist women; (3) Chambers of Commerce and civic clubs are taking more and more interest in the problem of race tensions. It is becoming popular for such groups to have Committees on Race Relations and to offer their services to local officials in helping to work out various local problems; (4) A vigorous campaign against the Ku Klux Klan and similar undemocratic organizations has been waged by newspapers, churches, and agencies such as ours. The Klan and similar groups have not made anything like the headway that they made after the first World War.

Hoping that this will be of some help to you and with all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

180 West 135th Street
New York City
November 14,1946.

Rec'd -- Nov. 15

Dr. Guy B.Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson;

I would like if possible to have a copy of your annual report which, according to the AP was made at Atlanta University last week. Also, would you be good enough to comment on what in your opinion were the most serious set-backs to improved racial relations during 1946 and contrawise, what were the most important gains in that same period. I wish to incorporate these in a featurefor the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.

Thanking you for your past cooperation and hopeful of an early reply,

Very truly yours,

Alvin E. White

ALVIN E. WHITE.

- Set backs: mentioned in my speech
- Gains & some mentioned in speech.
Others -
- Negroes voted in primaries
- Incr. interest of church groups

Wh-
White, Alan

RECEIVED
DEC 12 1946
Southern Regional Council

180 West 135 St
New York
Dec 9 1946

Dear Dr Johnson

Thank you for letting me read these excellent speeches. I am sorry to have delayed so long returning them. And thanks again for your excellent summation of the good and bad sides of the race question.

I am awaiting several other replies Dr. Foreman and Dr Rott C. Wears have sent theirs.

With deepest appreciation and best wishes

Sincerely
Alan F White

Returned copy of Twiggs and Johnson's speeches to Conference on Negro Life
JHJ

August 7, '47

Hon. William McDonald Wheeler, M.C.
Alma, Georgia

My dear Congressman Wheeler,

I was delighted to see in this morning's paper that President Truman had signed the bill confirming the status of on-the-farm training as full-time institutional training.

Our Council is not a legislative agency, but I happened to be interested personally in the on-the-farm training program, from work done last year in behalf of improved services to Negro veterans. And in following this bill I learned how very influential you were in getting it through.

I am satisfied you have done veterans and the cause of good agriculture a very great service.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

W. M. (DON) WHEELER, M. C.
8TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

HOME ADDRESS:
ALMA, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE:
VETERANS' AFFAIRS

FRED WALKER
FEROL DAVIS
SECRETARIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1947
Southern Regional Council

Alma, Ga.
August 8, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to acknowledge your letter of August 7th relative to my on-the-farm training bill.

I want you to know that I appreciate very much your kind remarks concerning my efforts in getting this bill through and hope it will be of benefit to all the farm veterans of our state.

Sincerely,

Don Wheeler

wh-
White, Alvin

108-11 159th Street
Jamaica, Long Island
August 22, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr.Mitchell;

Thank you for your informative letter and material which came this morning. There is much of interest in all of it and I am going to digest all thoroughly before making any further request or statement. You may be sure that you will be called on for further information and just as soon as possible, I'll be sending you a membership for my wife and myself to help carry on the splendid work the organization is doing. Thanking you again,

Very truly yours,

Alvin E. White

Alvin E. White.

August 13, '47

Mr. Alvin E. White
108-11 159th Street
Jamaica, L.I.

Dear Mr. White,

I am glad to have your letter of August 10.

Herewith is a stacklet of our pamphlets bearing on Veterans, and Negro veterans in the South in particular. I should think you could make a good story out of what they contain. Harry Wright is in New York now, living at the Harlem YMCA. An interview with him is a story all by itself.

Negroes have had little success in getting the on-the-job training benefit.

They have lately been getting on-the-farm training in good numbers. That is a particularly helpful and workable program, just recently strengthened by Congress.

The main chance is still the vocational schools. We haven't got more than aneginning, and if we would lay them down now they would be invaluable now and later on.

Your other topic is so very broad I dont know how to break into it. Tension has grown, certainly. It reflects the very great changesin levels of living in the South. War wages, unionization, and good prices for farm products have brought changes in the well-being of the broad population that I can only compare to the earth-movings that accompany geological upheavals. In the long run these make for civilized habits straight through, but temporarily they make for friction, for employer-resentment, for farm-operator nettlements over the price and irregularity of farm help, for spread of Negro slum-dwellers, armed with better means, into housing areas formerly held by whites. The franchise is spreading in the South, to whites as well as to Negroes. Conservative forces and conservative politicoes fear the "encroachments" of the widened electorate (again, white as well as Negro), and some of these forces and men undoubtedly stir racial enmity as ameans of holding together thin s-as-they were.

If you want material for a story on the South in general, why not write us specifically what is most interesting to you, and we will try to get you some facts.

Meanwhile, if we can help in any other way, please let us know.

Incidentally, we no longer have a flourishing Veterans Services Division, but do what we can, with hardly the means, to get more of the vocational schools.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1947
Southern Regional Council

108-11 159th Street
Jamaica, Long Island
August 10,1947

Mr. Robert Mitchell
SouthernRegional Council
67 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta,Georgia.

Dear Mr.Mitchell;

During Mr.Johnson's tenure with the SRC we had quite some mutually beneficial correspondence. He was kind enough to give me material to be used in stories for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. I have been told that Mr.Harry wright did quite an exhaustive study on Negro veterans for the SRC and that his reports are available,on request. I would appreciate it if youcould send me copies of his repotts and if you have anything later, it too would be helpful--especially on Negro veterans employment.

Today's issue of the New YorkTimes had a story that the Klan was on the rise in Georgia and the reason cited was the increased interest of Negroes in politics. Would you care to comment on that statement--and what the situation is generally in the South as far as activities of this kind are concerned. If you care to give the SRC's slant on this I would be glad to incorporate that in a story for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance as well.

I would be glad to be put on your mail list for any material you send out from time to time. Thanking you in anticipation of your reply,

Very truly yours,

Alvin E. White

ALVIN E. WHITE

"LET US RAISE A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND HONEST CAN REPAIR"

WORLD REPUBLIC

INCORPORATED NOT FOR PROFIT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS - 35 EAST WACKER DRIVE - CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS
CABLE, WORLD TELEPHONE - RANDOLPH 9419

RECEIVED
NOV 6 1947
Southern Regional Council

October 27, 1947

Dear Friend,

Last month, I wrote a detailed personal letter to a few people giving the background of Mr. Henry Usborne, British Member of Parliament, and a little advance information about the trip he is now making to this country. I mentioned in closing that I would send along whatever other information I could secure which would be of interest. The results of Mr. Usborne's trip have proven to be of such keen interest that I felt compelled to disseminate them on a much wider scale.

The attached copy of Mr. Usborne's itinerary shows exactly where he spoke and when. The accompanying excerpts from one of his main speeches and a reprint of the Washington Merry-Go-Round for October 6 will convey the message he brought to America and the reception he received while here.

Sincerely yours,

David W. McCoy

David W. McCoy
Public Relations

DWM:FD
Encls.

Information on U. S. World Government
Tour of Henry C. Usborne

Arrival: LaGuardia Field, Sept. 26, 1947
Greetings Office Mayor William O'Dwyer

WELCOMING COMMITTEE

Robert M. Hutchins
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman
Clarence Street
Quentin Reynolds
Norman Cousins
Edgar Ansel Mowrer
Cord Meyer, Jr.
G. A. Borgese

ENGAGEMENTS

Sept. 27th	10 A.M.	Reception and Press Conference Carpenter Suite, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
Sept. 28th		Interview with Dr. Albert Einstein Princeton, N. J.
Sept. 29th		Washington, D.C. Luncheon American Public Relations Assoc.
	4:30	Tea American University Women
Oct. 1st		Evening Meeting Washington Cooperative Forum.
Oct. 2nd		Detroit, Michigan Joint CIO-AFL Luncheon for key labor leaders. Evening United World Federalist Rally
Oct. 3rd	12 Noon	Radio Interview
Oct. 5th		Chicago, Illinois
Oct. 6th		Greetings office Mayor Martin H. Kennelly Press Conference Luncheon Meeting, City Club
Oct. 9th		Evening Mandell Hall University of Chicago rally sponsored jointly by United World Federalists, World Republic, Committee to Frame a World Constitution.

Oct. 10th	Luncheon Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Oct. 12th	Chicago Round Table of the Air
Oct. 13th	Memphis, Tenn: Evening meeting, Memphis Public Affairs Forum.
Oct. 14th	Oak Ridge, Tenn.: Evening meeting sponsored by Association of Oak Ridge Engineers & Scientists and all Civic Clubs
Oct. 16th	St. Louis, Mo.: Evening meeting St. Louis Council on Foreign Relations (tentative)
Oct. 17th	Cambridge, Mass.: Luncheon Harvard Conference on Public Issues and Student Council (tentative)
Oct. 18th	Cleveland, Ohio: Luncheon City Club & broadcast
Oct. 20th	Los Angeles, Cal.: Evening Los Angeles Town Hall
Oct. 21st	Denver, Colo.: American Forum of the Air (tentative)
Oct. 22nd	Los Angeles, Calif.: Dinner joint sponsorship United World Federalists and other groups
Oct. 24th	San Francisco, Calif.: Dinner meeting World Affairs Council of Northern Calif.
Oct. 27th	Cambridge, Mass.: Student Assembly Mass. Institute of Technology
Oct. 29th	New York City: Dinner overseas Press Club, (provided Usborne can arrange)

GENERAL THEME OF TALKS

World Government by 1955 (with special emphasis on developments in world government movement in England and Europe)

Herald American CHICAGO
AN AMERICAN PAPER FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Merry-Go-Round

—By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6.—Most people have the idea Great Britain is so tired, she's finished. However, a young British member of Parliament, Henry Usborne, arrived in Washington the other day with more enthusiastic energy, more idealism and more persuasiveness than the proberbial go-getting American.

Usborne is a small manufacturer in the British midlands, makes machinery for laundries.

However, it was not to sell laundry equipment that he came to the USA. It was to sell the idea of a world government. And so far he has got surprisingly enthusiastic response from a lot of important people.

Greatest enthusiasm came from the atomic scientists—including Professor Einstein and Dr. Leo Szilard. Having given the world an instrument for wrecking the world, they feel they should also try to find some means of saving the world.

'They Can't Win'

"The world's leaders are deadlocked," Usborne told the atomic scientists and others in Washington. "They have reached a position where Russia is balanced off against the United States and, like a locomotive on dead center, they can't get off dead center.

"Any move the United States makes for peace, no matter how sincere," Usborne argued, "is suspected by Russia, merely because it is made by the United States.

"No matter how ardently your statesmen strive for peace, they can't win. And the statesmen of western Europe have a feeling of hopelessness too. They can't win either.

People vs. Leaders

"So maybe," continues Usborne, "that is where just the plain common people of the world can do something—the people who have to fight wars.

"Perhaps if they now step in with a mass demand for a world government—a great mass demand by millions of people, then it's possible they can do what the world's leaders cannot do."

Usborne points out that the United Nations, now split wide open and failing to function, can never solve the world's present impasse. It gets more deadlocked every time it meets.

"But if several million people in the United States, France, England and the Scandinavian countries elect their own delegates to a world conference in Geneva, then a United States of Europe of a United States of the World could gradually germinate.

Not Too Fast

Usborne figures it will take at least two years to hold a world conference; but he also figures the time to begin working toward it is now.

"I don't want the movement to grow too fast over here," Usborne explains, "because if the United States begins advocating world government too vigorously, then Russia will regard it as an American proposition.

"So let us get a start first in England, France and Scandinavia," says this indefatigable Britisher who talks with such determination that you can't help being convinced not only that Britain is not dead but that he may have the germ of an idea which can save the peace.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH MADE BY
HENRY USBORNE IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

On September 26, I arrived in New York. I flew from England at my own expense because I feel that the world today is facing an imminent and appalling catastrophe, I wanted to come here to explain to as many people as would listen to me what I thought to be the nature of the catastrophe and what I believe to be the only way by which it can be avoided. I am not sure that the American public has a correct appraisal of the situation as it is now appearing to observers on the Continent of Europe. Until a few days ago, I myself hadn't correctly appreciated this attitude.

Just before I left England, I had cables from my opposite number in France saying that he wished to come to London to inform me of some facts. He said in Europe fairly generally, and in France specifically, current opinion believes that the present Marshall diplomatic offensive is in fact the prelude to the opening of a shooting war this winter. Frenchmen believe that they are already on the brink of the catastrophe. Europeans apparently now believe that the U.S.A. proposes to start this shooting war within a very few weeks. This is certainly not the opinion which is held in the United Kingdom. In my country, we are not only too vividly aware of the danger which now faces us all and of the political dynamite which has spread around the globe, but we feel that you are a democracy; that this means that you may shout your heads off in favor of war but that you will never be able to start it even if you really wanted to do so. The strength and weakness of a democracy is that it never can start wars. It has to wait to be Pearl Harbored.

I have noticed in the last six months as I read the American press that there are two predominate trends of thought in this country. One argues that the price of peace can be paid in dollars; if you are prepared to spend dollars in Europe, then you can buy your way to peace. The other argues that the price of peace is power; that if America would only use its power to dominate the globe and prevent Russia from doing so, then peace can be maintained.

It is not surprising in a way that a rich man should think in terms of buying himself out of trouble or that a strong man should believe that he might be able to fight his way out of it. But in fact the price of peace is far greater than either of these concepts. The price of peace is justice. Now this is a fine phrase, but it happens to be true. It is a fine phrase, and it is merely a hollow mockery unless we are prepared to think its meaning through and thereafter have the guts and courage politically to implement its implications.

The price of peace is justice. Now it is obviously evident that in practice there is no such thing as justice except it be based on law. Nor is there statutory law unless there is a legislature or Congress in existence which makes it. Furthermore, in order to be effective, law must be enforced, otherwise the making of it is a waste of time. Effective enforcement implies that the power behind the law must in all circumstances be stronger than the power potential of the litigant. These things we know. In each national community over the course of years we have learned them, often at a bitter cost. But quaintly enough, internationally we appear to ignore the implications entirely. We ask our statesmen to keep world peace, and we refuse to give them those powers without which it is so evidently impossible for peace to be kept. If we want world peace it must be based on justice. We require

therefore, a world government and this must have the power and the authority to make laws applicable to individuals with the power of enforcement. Moreover, the power of enforcement available to the world authority must in all events be stronger than the power of any of the nations which might wish to oppose world law. In other words, as Bertram Russell says, "There must be one central government .... strong enough to insist on the substitution of law for anarchy". Surely these are now inescapable conclusions. Unless we are prepared to set this machinery up we shall not keep peace.

Peace is not something static which we can keep like a pet monkey in a cage of treaties. Peace is dynamic. It is the by-product of responsible government. In a community where effective law prevails, peace obtains. Where no such law exists we have anarchy, chaos, and war. The problem of peace is therefore the problem of creating responsible government. There can be no peace without justice, no justice without law, no law without legislature. This is the logic of the situation....

Now, I am over here in America to explain a political mechanism which I believe can solve our problem. Early in January, 1946, an event occurred which indicated to several of us in Parliament and Westminster that the chance of the amendment to the United Nations Charter had passed. The moment had arrived when we must of necessity try to discover some laternative route by which world government could be achieved. We could no longer expect our statesmen to do it for us. The chances of U.N. amendment have become so remote that they should be ruled out. A group of British M.P.'s got to work and started immediately to study all the proposals which were available by which world government was thought to be attainable. We examined every one. One by one we eliminated them until finally one was left. It seems at first Utopian. It involves such a gigantic task that it seems impossible to achieve in time. Yet the more we looked, the more practical and possible it seemed. After a while we began to realize that it was entirely possible and perfectly feasible. It can be done....

This is the plan. A Peoples' World Constituent Assembly will be held at Geneva in the autumn of 1950. To it representatives will be sent by all nations of the world one per million of their population. The Geneva Convention will draft the Charter of a World Government. The details of this idea are set out in the pamphlet which the British Parliamentary group has written called "The Plan in Outline; the Crusade for World Government."

If by 1951 the nations have grown together, it is our hope that one of the statesmen will pick up the Geneva Constitution and propose its adoption as a composite resolution for the amendment of the Charter of the U.N. If this were done and the Assembly were to accept it unanimously then the U.N. will evolve constitutionally from a league of sovereign states to a world government of free peoples. But if, by then, the U.N. is still deadlocked as it now appears probable, we then intend that the alternative action which we describe in "The Plan" should be taken. I am very well aware that the Plan we propose has many omissions. We shall meet many difficulties as we proceed. But I believe these details can be added later and the difficulties overcome as we reach them. I recall a statement which I believe is attributed to Admiral Mahon in which he said, "A general whose strategy is sound can afford to make tactical mistakes. No amount of tactical brilliance, however, will save a general whose strategy is unsound." I have a feeling that the strategy of the crusade for world government is sound. Undoubtedly many tactical mistakes will be made. It is our job to see that we make as few as possible.

In the last fifteen years, as a result of the work of the New Deal and of wartime prosperity, millions of the people of the South have climbed out of poverty. This is true for white people and for Negroes. The farm family with only a hundred or two hundred dollars of cash income a year is now a statistical rarity. Wages in industry and in the towns are up nearly to the national levels.

Whole classes of people who by their poverty were kept entirely out of public affairs have gained the strength to be claimants for full participation in economic, educational and political controversy. Registration for voting has grown rapidly. Trade unions have grown rapidly. The schools and colleges are crowded as never before.

All this portends modern democratic institutions for the South.

Political figures who benefited from the old narrow franchise are rushing about trying to sew up the seams of an expanding body politic. This pressure and counter-pressure are at the bottom of most events in the South today.

The little man in the South, West and North is asking for a framework of law and practice which will recognize his new stature.

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

10 E. 138th Street, #7B
New York City
February 9, 1948

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The social, educational and political patterns of the United States are undergoing a "bloodless" revolutionary change, apparently benefitting the Negro minority.

Not all of this change is in the Southern states, but most of them are occurring in that area.

In writing of this change in attitudes for Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, I would appreciate a brief statement and explanation as you see it and what it portends.

Thanking you in anticipation of your reply,

Very truly yours,

Alvin E. White

ALVIN E. WHITE

March 9, 1948

Mr. Alvin E. White
10 East 138th Street
Apartment 7B
New York, New York

Dear Mr. White:

We have been swamped with the work incident to a conference here in Atlanta February 27 on human and civil rights in the South. I enclose its findings. That explains my delay in answering your letter of February 9.

Here is a statement of my broad views on the matters raised in your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Statement (GSM);
Workshop Findings

GSM:eb

pick 4-27

39 Wh-Misc
Wharton

MILLSAPS COLLEGE
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
April 24, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The following is a report on the "Revolt" in Mississippi, in accordance with your letter of April 5. It follows the outline in your letter, and may be edited in any manner necessary.

V.L. Wharton

V.L. Wharton

Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi was one of the first of the Southern politicians to call for a "revolt" against the leadership of the Democratic Party. With his encouragement, the Mississippi Legislature repealed the law that required a voter to vote for the nominee of his party in order to continue to be a member of the party. A second piece of legislation has provided for inclusion on the November ~~election of~~ ballot of unpledged electors. The Governor has suggested that unpledged electors from the Southern states might succeed in preventing a majority for either the Democratic or the Republican candidate, and thus throw the election into the House of Representatives, where each state would have one vote. He believes that under these circumstances enough Northern conservatives might join the Southern Democrats to assure the election of a president satisfactory to the Southern "states-rights" group, or perhaps the election of a member of the Southern group.

In regard to the Democratic National Convention, there has recently been little popular interest in the possibility of the nomination of a Democratic candidate acceptable to the "states-rights" group. Supporters of Macarthur have failed to gain any significant following. Eisenhower has received some attention, especially following his stand against proposals of non-segregation for the army, but general opinion seems to be that the renomination of Truman cannot be prevented. In spite of this general opinion, the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee on April 22 adopted a resolution calling on the Southwide Conference of Democrats (to be held in Jackson on May 10) to support Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as Democratic nominee for president. There is evidence that this recommendation was regarded as an unwise and unfortunate move by some political leaders of the state.

In any case, the general plan of the Mississippi group is to arrange for the choice of "states-rights" delegates to the Democratic National Convention. If these delegates fail in their efforts to obtain a satisfactory "states-rights" plank in the platform, and the nomination of a satisfactory candidate, they, with others of like mind, are to withdraw from the convention, and proceed to prepare a states-rights platform and to nominate a states-rights candidate.

In spite of the intense activity of some political leaders, careful observation indicates that the "Revolt" has had little effect on general attitudes and behavior of Whites toward Negroes. It is true that the legislature in its recent session recommended the ratification of two amendments to the state constitution to provide further means for limitation of Negro registration and voting. One of these amendments would require the prospective registrant to be able to read and understand the constitution, rather than read or understand as at present. The other would require the prospective voter to prove to the satisfaction of the election commissioners that he has sustained a "good moral character." It is highly probable, however, that these amendments, and also the appropriation of $25,000 to fight suits for equalization of Negro education, would have been passed in any case. Altogether, qualified observers agree that there has been no really significant change in Negro-White relations or attitudes in Mississippi subsequent to the issuance of the President's civil rights proposals.

In conclusion, it is rash to make general statements about the attitudes of the white population of an entire state. The following conclusions, however, may be ventured about the present situation in Mississippi: (1) Positive action in the direction of revolt has been confined almost entirely to the professional-politician group, and to a relatively small number within that group. Others have "gone along," more-or-less willingly, but have been inclined to doubt that anything of any importance can be accomplished by the movement. (2) The general apathy of

the mass of the white population has surprised many observers. The sale of "Jeffersonian States Rights" lapel buttons has been so disappointing that no definite report on the sale has yet been published. Some observers feel that the lack of popular response to the movement was foretold by results of the special senatorial election of last summer, with the easy election of the moderate John Stennis over claimants of the mantle of Bilbo, and the very poor showing of John Rankin in the same race. These observers are inclined to believe that the political leaders most active in the revolt have failed to realize that urbanization and education have changed the attitudes of a majority of Mississippi Whites. This majority is, in general, opposed to the President's civil rights proposals, but is not so violently opposed as to be inclined to engage in any active or highly emotional campaign against the proposals.

SAMUEL F. FREEMAN, JR.
MINISTER
TELEPHONE 3-4032

JOHN W. SHANKS
CHAIRMAN OF OFFICIAL BOARD
TELEPHONE 3-3072

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

HILLCREST AND SPRUCE : TELEPHONE 3-5268

Little Rock, Arkansas

★

Delivered by hand

RECEIVED
APR 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

April 22, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southren Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

An impossibly heavy schedule has not permitted me to accept the responsibility for writing the Arkansas section of the réactions here to the so-called "Southren Revolt" and get it to you by April 25th. At the last I have taken occassion to have a visit with Harry Ashmore, eidtor of "The Arkansas Gazette"; and out of this conversation I am submitting the enclosure to be used according to your judgment.

Sincerely yours,

S. F. Freeman, Jr.

Samuel F. Freeman, Jr.

Arkansas Glympses

In Arkansas the "Southern Revolt" to President Truman's civil rights proposals is no revolt. Basicly the agitation did not come from the grass roots. One of the fundamental reasons so little response came from the people was a faulty judgment on the part of leaders at the "top levels" of political action. They did capitalize the general unrest of the whole nation characteristic of a troubled post war world. Another reason for as much response from the people of Arkansas is the one party system ever seeking to include and contain too many groups, liberal and conservative alike. This is not to suggest that the majority of Arkansas southerners today are openly and avowedly liberal.

The majority of Arkansas citizens are opposed to the civil rights proposals of the President. Reasons for this opposition vary. There are those who oppose them on Constitutional grounds. Others because of prejudice simply do not want the Negro now or ever to have these rights. Still others oppose them on the practical grounds that federal action would not only not work, but tend to prevent local action with promise of achievement.

There are signs of a changing social and political climate, making it expedient for "top men" of the party like Governor Ben Laney to tone down their expressions toward bolting the party if President Truman is renominated. The news is now portraying this pattern. Should Mr. Truman be renonimated by that time "hysterical States Rights" proponents will have come back toward the center sufficiently to save "plenty of face."

No State legislation has been passed as a result of the so-called "Revolt". Contrary to the former pattern Governor Laney will probably not be so eagre to lead in"championing a candidate acceptible to the South". The movement to draft Mr. Laney for a third term proving so unimpressive as not to accept the draft attests to this view. No steps

have been taken for Arkansas to "secede" from the National Democratic Party though some funds have been withheld from a Jackson Day Dinner. Were secession in their minds no steps would be necessary. Presumably chosen party leaders who will go to the National Convention will go uninstructed.

Several weeks ago Negroes were tending toward pessimism with all the clamor of noise sounding forth round about them. There was serious questioning in their minds concerning the goals and ends of democracy being for them. Now continuing hope is being expressed. The "Revolt" stirred from "the top" has been causing temporary set-backs in attitudes toward Negroes voting and in the availability of other rights and privileges. An exception might be discovered in the area of education. In the long run the "Revolt" may prove a stimulus toward responsible action on the part of the dominant group to widen opportunities for the minority and the poor whites.

The presence of the Negro is not a primary cause for "Revolt" reactions in the State. On the contrary the pattern of the Negroes in failing to follow radical leadership, and using available opportunities has been an important factor in blocking the march of "Revolt". Why then, has there been as much response to "Would-Be-Revolt-Leaders"? In my judgment it has come out of the soil of a post war period with the whole nation disturbed; the one party system finding it ever more difficult to include and contain liberals and conservatives; and the fact of race prejudice among the people, but not limited to the South. It is probable that candidates for various offices in immediate days ahead will attempt to make careful bids for the Negro vote. When politicians seek to widen the span of political opportunities at the base promising action at the "grass roots" has already begun. The "Southren Revolt" will yet be utilized for the march of democracy in Arkansas.

Wise Negro leaders seem to sense that this is no real "Revolt".

to the civil rights pronouncements. They know the conservative southerners hated and stood against all parts of the "New Deal Peogram" which was not to their own immediate and particular advantage. Attesting to this view of the dauntless hope for the future is the word of a leading Negro educator who recently said: "I still feel that we are well on the way toward improved conditions and human relations in Arkansas; and throughout the South. I know this is a very bold statement to make in view of the excitement which exists at the present time."

Sam F. Freeman, Jr.
April 22, 1948

Mr Fleming

RECEIVED
APR 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi
April 11, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

A brief Summary of the "revolt" stitaation in Mississippi, requested in your letter of April 5, will reach you by April 25.

Sincerely yours,

V.L. Wharton

V.L. Wharton
Fellow, S.R.C.

39-Wh. - Misc
Wheeler, John H

July 30, 1948

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

I send you separately in a roll six photostats of recent publicity which the Council has had the good fortune to get.

As you have very kindly become a member of the Finance Committee, we thought that if we could contrive to get you to look at these a bit before the meeting, the result perhaps would be some ideas useful to us on how to get the Council better known and better supported.

We have only ten sets of these, and I shall have another set on hand at the meeting of the Committee. So if you could mail this set back after you have looked at it, we should appreciate it.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

39-Wh-Mic-
Wherry, Charles D.

March 22, 1949

Mr. Charles D. Wherry
Station K, Box 184
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Wherry:

Thank you for your letter of March 3.

You are on a very useful track in trying to get movie recognition of the careers of such distinguished Negro citizens as Frederick Douglas and George Washington Carver.

One of the great lacks, in all of the South at any rate, is informational material with a wide circulation presenting fairly the very great achievements of able Negro citizens. I do hope you can persuade producers to make the great contribution they can in this way toward lessening race prejudice.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

TRANSLATION:

Since 1929 I have asked the film producers to film the life of Dr. Booker T. Washington who spoke there in years gone by.

Now I am asking them to film Frederick Douglas and Dr. George Washington Carver. I need your endorsement and comments. They came up the hard way in life and rose to Fame and became known around the world. Reply to Charles D. Wherry.

Atlanta 15 Oct 1849
L Hall

3-3-49

Sun Regional Council
~~Atlanta Ga~~

Friends

Since 1929 I have had the film Producers to film the life of Dr Booker T Washington the Wizard there is years gone by

Now I am asking them to film Frederick Douglass & Dr Geo W Carver Need your endorsement & comments they carrying the handicap in life & rose to fame & fortune ~~[illegible]~~ among the Great Poets of Chas D Thery

Zannuck's Race Pic Starts Production

by Harry Levette

HOLLYWOOD—Following the announcement last week that Darryl Zannuck, 20th Century-Fox head, had actually taken the first steps to produce the race problem picture, "Pinkie," letters from many of several hundred correspondents began pouring in to Charles Wherry, local "one-man crusader" for pictures on the lives of great Negroes.

Written principally by prominent Caucasians, from all parts of the country, they deplored the fact that Zannuck, who had been approached on the subject years ago, did not at this opportune time, take advantage of the wealth of material ready for him, and film a story based on Booker T. Washington, and George W. Carver.

That they are right is self-evident. Sparked into action no doubt by the government's enforcement of the Civil Rights measure, producers who were too timid to do so before, are preparing to make controversial pictures. Award winning "Gentlemen's Agreement" proved that a film dealing with a racial problem, could be a good box-office attraction, and at the same time get over the message of tolerence intended. There were many xciting and dramatic episodes in the livts of these great men that would appeal to the average movie fan seeking entertainment.

It was a cruel fate that struck Ralph Jordon, MGM official, with a nervous breakdown just a week after Louis B. Mayer, head of Metfo-Goldyn-Mayer studio, had told him to take up the matter of such a film with vice-president Dore Schary, who is one of the most conscitntous liberals in Hollywood, would undoubtedly have welcomed the conference that would have given him the "go" signal on a picture subject he had already approved. He had produced "Crossfire," while production chief at RKO, even over the misgivings of his superiors. It had already achieved a phenomenal success, even before he left to take his present position at MGM.

A year ago Wherry and I ever on the lookout for sucr affairs attended a dinner at UCLA, followed by a special discussion. Schary was the speaktr of the evening with a leading Rabbi, and severa lother prominent speakers on the program. The subject was "What can the motion picture industry do to htlp break down racial prejudice?" Getting the floor, during the panel discussion, I explained that the usnal wave of prejudice, and racial ttnsion that follows wars was evident again. I suggestel that pictures away from the sterotype, or burlesque but showing achievments such as Carver and Washington had made, might be informative to southern whites who tended to consider the Negro inferior.

(Hope he speaks better than writes)

Schary recalled the fact that in a few films such as "Bataan Patrol," "Sahara," colored actors including Kenneth Spencer, and others had been featured but that more should be made. "The studio that makes them, will have to be satisfied that it is taking a long gamble of making a profit, but be satisfied that it has delivered an important message on racial understanding.

He also listed some steps as having been made, toward respecting a race. Out of respect for Chinese, and Filipinos, he explainel that the usual war yells used in battle scenes against the Japanese, had been changed. Screen GI's are not aallowed to shout "Come on you yellow devils, etc." Likewise and derogatory reference to a Negro's color is avoided.

Plan Swank Resort Opening In North Palm Springs

What promises to be the finest resort of its kind for citizens of all races is undergoing minute plans at New Palm Springs, according to a news statement from Clyde J. Broadnax, well-known real estate broker, who will handle the sales of the subdivision.

"Negroes, stated Mr. Broadnax, will have priority over both business and residential lots as well as a vast number of 'first' priviledges." Sites where beautiful homes will be erected will be shown soon when elaborate transportation will be available to all prospective buyers.

The tour will include Palm Springs as well as North Palm Springs. One of the unique features of the tract will be the streets, which will be named in honor of such celebrities as the late William Nickerson, Lena Horne, Booker T. Washington, Rochester, Duke Ellington, Joe Louis, Louise Beavers, Hattie McDaniels and many others.

Complete details regarding the subdivision may be obtained by visiting the Clyde J. Broadnax Realty Company at 474 East 43rd Street or telephoning, CEntury 2-3453.

— CALIFORN

LEARN —

APPROVED FOR VETERAN AND NON-VETERAN

2-28-49

39-Wh-Misc-
Wheeler, J.H.

April 13, 1949
Dict. April 12

Mr. J. H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
116 West Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Mr. R. B. Atwood at Kentucky State College wants some more pamphlets about Mr. Spaulding.

He said he could use any number up to 800.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-wh-Misc
Wheeler, J. H.

April 11, 1949

Mr. J. H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
116 West Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

I had the enclosed letter from Miss Wil Lou Gray at Columbia, in response to a copy I sent her of the article about Mr. Spaulding.

If you have on hand undistributed copies of the reprint of the article and are looking for somewhere to place them, you might send Miss Gray such number as you find convenient.

I suppose you are acquainted with Miss Gray, who has for many years done a remarkable work in teaching literacy to adults of both races in South Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P. S. We have a similar request from President William H. Gray, at Florida A & M. He says he could use 800 to 1,000, getting them out to his students and to some parents. I am telling him that I have turned the matter over to you.

G.S.M.

39-Wh. Inse
Wheeler, John H.

May 20, 1949

Mr. John H. Wheeler
P. O. Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

We were all greatly cheered by the warm letter from Mr. Uzzle, and the nice round check for $250. Sorry about the others, but we understand.

Along with the letters in your mailing of May 17 came this one, which I take to be a life insurance matter.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39- Inter Mt.
Whittle, D.C.

June 3, 1949

Mr. D. C. Whittle
163 North Franklin Street
Delaware, Ohio

Dear Mr. Whittle:

Thank you very much for the two fine stories from the Ohio Wesleyan Transcript. We liked them a lot.

The Charlottesville members total five, as listed herewith. If you can get in touch with them and get them to add to their number and take on an active program, we would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

"PC"
please
GMM

May 20, 1949

Mr. D. C. Whittle
163 North Franklin Street
Delaware, Ohio

Dear Mr. Whittle:

Thank you for your letter of May 18, addressed to Dr. Mitchell. He is away on an out-of-town trip and we are holding it for his return at the end of next week.

I know he will be interested in reading your articles from the Ohio Wesleyan Transcript, and in writing you about opportunities for taking part in Council activities when you are in Charlottesville next year.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Ohio Wesleyan
Transcript

May 18, 1949

Florida Answers The Ku Klux Klan

By D. C. WHITTLE

(Editors note: Last week Whittle brought out the faulty social conditions of the South, illustrated by activities of the Ku Klux Klan. This week he presents, as a sequel, another side of the question —an answer to the Klan.)

While the feeling of general unrest grows in the South, active measures are being taken to halt the elements of social degeneration which work to undermine the social structure of that region.

In the state of Florida alone, the Klan activities have grown unbelievably, but Gov. Fuller Warren has launched a crusade against the Klan that is determined to halt, if not altogether demolish the Klan. He began his campaign by asking the 1949 legislature to outlaw it and "any other terrorist organization" in his state.

When a motorcade of 43 Klan-driven cars entered Tallahassee in a staged parade, Governor Warren called the Klansmen "hooded hoodlums." He said that their parade in the state capitol was a "disgusting and alarming spectacle." Then he stated, "Those covered cowards who called themselves Klansmen quite obviously have set out to terrorize minority groups in Florida as they have in a nearby state."

At this point the governor swung into action against the Klan. First he asked one of his honorary lieutenant colonels to re sign on his admittance of Klan activity.

But most significant is the wide support Warren has received in Florida, a deep Southern state. He has received wide support from the press and organized social groups like the American Legion, the Miami Post of Jewish War veterans and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The city council of Miami Beach commended Warren for his stand, and a statewide citizen's group was formed in support of his action against the Klan. The Miami city commission unanimously passed an ordinance which prohibits cross burnings & the wearing of hoods or masks. This followed the Kl[illegible]

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But most significant is the wide support Warren has received in Florida, a deep Southern state. He has received wide support from the press and organized social groups like the American Legion, the Miami Post of Jewish War veterans and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The city council of Miami Beach commended Warren for his stand, and a statewide citizen's group was formed in support of his action against the Klan. The Miami city commission unanimously passed an ordinance which prohibits cross burnings & the wearing of hoods or masks. This followed the Klan cross burnings at Miami Shores where a Negro minister had been invited to address a white congregation in observance of Brotherhood week.

The action of the Miami City commission is significant because, although Tallahassee and several Georgia communities now have ordinances outlawing the wearing of hoods or masks, Miami is the only city in the country which has prohibited the burning of crosses. Violation of this is subject to a fine of $500 or by imprisonment, or both.

This state organized fight against the Klan, which has proven itself totally un-American, stands as testimony to the fact that the people of the South are not content to have their society run by lawlessness and Klan dictatorship. There are men and women active in all walks of life who are fighting to preserve our country's firmly established democratic principles, and Florida's loyal citizens deserve the congratulations and thanks of the nation for their courage and progressive spirit.

When others take up the torch of freedom and democratic principles, then and only then, can we sing with honest sincerity, "My country tis of thee, sweet land of liberty".

Ku Klux Klan Is Symbol Of Social Neglect

By D. C. WHITTLE

While many of us study in our comparatively isolated ivory towers, problems which affect us all are being made below the Mason-Dixon line. The Ku Klux Klan has once again mounted it's white horse and the fiery cross blazes from the Ohio river to the Gulf of Mexico.

The deep meaning of the Constitution when it guaranteed that no citizen shall "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law" is growing dim in the thoughts of many Americans.

Today we are still having difficulty with this basic principle upon which our democracy is based. There is a growing tendency on the part of irresponsible individuals and groups to set themselves up as judge, jury, and executioner. Democratic and liberal citizens are often either too afraid or too indifferent to protest in the interest of justice. In many parts of the South law enforcement officers are reluctant in their duty and law is often a tongue-in-cheek proposition.

It is ignorance of the situation, however, to attribute the entire problem to the organized Klan. It is by no means directly responsible for all the acts of mob violence which occur. Its importance lies in the support it lends to a pattern of lawlessness. By its very nature the Klan is a denial of "due process" and an affront to our legal system.

In the decade between 1938-1947 only 37 people were lynched in the south and 227 persons were saved from lynching. These facts are significant in as much as they show that the Klan lynchings are decreasing since the gigantic period between 1888-1897 when 1,621 people lost their lives at the hands of violence.

Though the actual number of lynchings have decreased, the climate which produces lynchings is still with us. It is one of daily insult, intimidation, and the lesser forms of violence.

Some people have placed the blame for the spread of mob psychology on the civil rights controversy in Congress and the nation during the last year. Violence, they say, is the logical result of efforts to "interfere" with Southern practices and institutions.

But others know that this is a doubtful explanation and a contempible excuse. The remedies for the whole Southern violence and

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But others know that this is a doubtful explanation and a contempible excuse. The remedies for the whole Southern violence and unrest lie within the reach of public opinion—and change can come. It is only by a lax system of laws, a feeling of indifference or cowardice that has presented the progressive change and betterment of social conditions in the South.

Such Klan activities as have been carried out in the past year are a disgrace to the South as a region and to the nation as a whole. Looking back over the year 1948 several incidences come to light which reflect this violence and harm done by the various local Klans.

In Milledgeville, Ga., on the night of Sept. 19, three Negro educators, attending a University System meeting at Georgia State College for Women, left the city because of threats and intimidating demonstrations. KKK stickers were plastered on campus buildings. The following night a cross was burned in front of the home of the president of GSCW who was host to the educator's conference. Three months later in that same town, a cross was burned in front of the editor's home following a scathing criticism of the Klan in his newspaper. Intimidation of freedom of speech, right of assemblege, and hinderance of education.

This year in Miami Shores, Fla., on the night of Feb. 12, a cross was burned at the home of a Negro pastor invited to speak at a white church service during Brotherhood week. The threat of a hostile demonstration caused the invitation to be withdrawn.

In Columbus, Ga., Feb. 23, three Negro school boys were abducted and beaten by five white men. They were questioned about a Brotherhood week speech made at their school by a white college president. Not only has freedom of religion been hampered and made a "glittering generality" but intellectual truth and wisdom has been restricted and outlawed.

In Opelousas, La., March 6, a Negro charged with criminal assault was taken from the jail at gunpoint by three white men. He escaped while the would-be lynchers were flipping coins to decide who would kill him.

These are but a few of the many examples of Klan activity. It is not enough, however, to use this organization as a scapegoat and attribute all the outlandish happenings to it. The minds and actions of the entire society must be educated and changed to accept better standards and political reforms.

Ohio Wesleyan
Transcript

May 11, 1949

D. C. WHITTLE
163 N. Franklin Street
Delaware, Ohio

Ohio Wesleyan University
DELTA TAU DELTA

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

May 18, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sending you two articles I have recently written and published in the Ohio Wesleyan Transcript. Since the sourse of the first came from "The New South" I thought it would be of special interest to you.

I wish to thank you for sending me the New South and as soon as it is financially possible, I wish to become a member of the Southern Regional Council. I have a job on a Virginia newspaper next year, and wish to study the problems of the South closer at hand.

Could you tell me of the organization of the Southern Regional Council in or around Charlottesville, Virginia? I will be centering my work there, and would be very happy to become connected with a branch of your group there. A would appreciate information on this.

Sincerely yours,

D. C. Whittle

D. C. Whittle

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

39-Wh-Misc-
Whittle, D.C.

March 4, 1949

Mr. D. C. Whittle
163 North Franklin Street
Delaware, Ohio

Dear Mr. Whittle:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 24 and the check. We are sending out the things you kindly ordered. I send also with this a fresh one which may be mildly helpful.

The nearest we can give you to working solutions is our civil rights statement, copy enclosed. I could give you some more solutions, but it would have to be either by word of mouth, or by writing the thesis myself!

The best guy on the subversive organizations is Stetson Kennedy (Room 814, 165 West 46th Street, New York City). You know his book, Southern Exposure. You could also get some information about subversive outfits in the South from the Anti-Defamation League, 11 Pryor Street SW, Atlanta.

Ellis Arnall has a job in Washington for the moving picture producers. I guess he is a lobbyist, but he is called something more elaborate. We wish we still had him active in Georgia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

D. C. WHITTLE

163 N. Franklin Street
Delaware, Ohio

Ohio Wesleyan University
DELTA TAU DELTA

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

February 24, 1949

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

1.00 ck
MEK.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Your letter of February 14 at hand: I find that the material that you have sent me is quite interesting and I am wholeheartidly in favor with your work and I am extremely glad to see such an organization as yours at work today.

I am one of the growing numbers of Southerners who realizes the need for constructive help within the South by Southerners. At present I am finishing my last year at Ohio Wesleyan and then I hope to enter the newspaper field somewhere in the South. I am especially glad to see the names of Hodding Carter, Virginius Dabney, and Howard W. Odum among your Board of Directors. Carter especially, has been of great help to me through his book Winds of Fear. I am writing a senior essay on the problems of the modern South and the ways in which people in the South can help combat the many forces at work to retard progress there.

Could you possibly send to me any working solutions which are in effect in the South today to bring about more democracy and better social and political conditions? I have read with particuliar interest your publications list and I have checked the ones which I think will be of help to me in my research. If you have any unpublished bits of potent information I would be more than glad to have them.

You and I both share the "low-budget" problem and, being heavily drained to continue my education, I find myself constantly cutting corners. However, for an organization of your type I do want to do all I can for the support of this work and am thus sending a check to cover my pamphlets. I stress with deep regret that I am finiancially unable to remit the money for membership into the Southern Regional Council. As soon as I graduate and get a paying occupation I will quickly do so. Please consider me a faithful but free member for the next two years.

There is one more favor that I would like to ask of you. Could you please send me a list of the subversive organizations at work in the South? The ones especially against your work. I feel that it is of utmost importance to understand the agrument of the opposition and the way in which they have misshapen the minds of many in the South. If possible

Stetson Kennedy
Rec. 8-14-49 165 W. 46 St.
NYC

send me some of their actual propaganda to study. I have been extremely interested in subversive elements at work in the nation today, and being a student of public relations, have made an extended study of propaganda and the formulation of public opinion.

Sincerely yours,

D. C. Whittle

D. C. Whittle

P.S. Can you tell me what Ellis Arnall is doing now? I was interested in his comments on the South in The Shore Dimly Seen. What has he done to further the ideas he set down on paper. I have used him extensively in my papers. Also, has Hodding Carter made any significant contributions lately? Quotes!

DCW.

W - Misc

D. C. WHITTLE
MILES STANDISH HALL
30 BAY STATE ROAD
BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

November 15, 1949

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please accept my humble apologies for the long delay in becoming a member of the Southern Regional Council. I corresponded with you in February in connection with a study I was making at that time. The material that you sent me proved very useful and I have retained them for reference.

I have finally decided to return to the South and devote my full energies to the problems of the South. In thinking of the best and most practical way in which to help the socio-economic change coming about at present, I have decided upon a career in Corporation Public Relations. I feel that with business coming South in increasing numbers, there is a great need for properly trained Southerns to assist in the interpretation of the community to the corporation and the corporation to the community. There will be a great many serious problems resulting from the change from agriculture to industry which will require right-minded social interpretators.

Right now I'm a native son who has run off to live with the carpetbaggers. After I have completed my Master's degree in Public Relations and am fully equiped to tackle the situation, I'm heading South again. Unfortunately the North is the only place that I can get further academic training in this field, so for a while I must resolve to work at a distance. Meanwhile I am depending upon you and the Southern Regional Council to supply me with the all-important facts and figures necessary to keep me up to date.

Now Member
11-22-49

Since my home residence is in Charlottesville, Virginia, and my status at present is a student, may I be granted a full member instead of an associate non-voting member?

Since I'm going into business I am especially interested in any special material that you can let me have concerning the economic picture. While my knowledge at present is good on the American economic level, I sadly lack a broad background of the situation in the South. I would especially like the recent trends, new industry going south, etc. But because Public Relations concerns the social side of life, I am especially interested in continuing by study of the sociological side of the new South also.

I am wondering if you have any material relating directly to Public Relations in the South? I may want to write my thesis on this subject if I can find enough material. It would be the first paper written academically on this subject, and might be of value to Southern companies in their public relations problems. If you have anything along this line, or know of people who can help me, I would be very greatful. So far the only person I have been in touch with has been Marvin M. Black, Director of Public Relations of the University of Mississippi.

Thanking you again for the invaluable help you are giving me in my personal approach to the question of mutual interest to us both, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

D. C. Whitela

P. S. Would it be possible to obtain a few of the back numbers of NEW SOUTH?

W-Mitchell

December 6, 1949

Mr. Cary Waite
Department of Sociology
Randolph-Macon College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Cary:

Sorry we missed connections on this trip but I remain at your service at a later one.

Meanwhile, here are some leaflets to tell you and your gals what fine things we print.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

D. C. WHITTLE
MILES STANDISH HALL
30 BAY STATE ROAD
BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

February 8, 1950

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have just won a literary award on a paper I wrote last year called "Romance to Rebellion," which is a study of the old and new South. Thinking you might be interested, I am taking the opportunity to send you a copy.

I wrote this paper well over a year ago in an attempt to study the South objectively and to try to formulate some plan, if only personal, for bringing about those ideals in which I believe. I am vitally interested in the liberalization of the South and, through every means possible, try to learn about this region. This paper had to be written around literature and therefor I had to incert many quotations which may seem a bit removed from the situation. Instead of quoting living persons I had to gather my material from literary ones except in the case of Ellis Arnall.

I would be especially glad if you would read this paper in your spare time and let me have your criticisms or suggestions. It is often hard for us to obtain a true picture of our region and sometimes we hold false views. In some cases my knowledge and views have changed since writing this tome but my essential plea for liberal progress still remains as my essential message. At present I am writing an extensive thesis on "A Public Relations Guide to Understanding the New Industrial South."

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Whittle

D. C. Whittle

P.S. This copy was quickly retyped by the office secretary and therefore not up to accuracy standards so please pardon it on technical grounds. I also broadened the section on economics to incorporate a recent study.

DCW

March 2, 1950

Mr. D. C. Whittle
Miles Standish Hall
30 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Mass.

Dear Mr. Whittle:

I greatly appreciated the opportunity to read your interesting, studious and thoughtful paper Romance to Rebellion.

I am not a literary person and so can't help you from the point of literary selections. What you have used is most interesting and aptly applied. I note only two things to quarrel about.

I think you have greatly over emphasized the business about the decay of the aristocracy. Truth to tell, we hardly had an aristocracy anyway. Much of what glittered was not gold. The lives of the millions of plain people were so much more important than the sorrows of the few who were let down that it always seems to me incongruous to treat the process of decay as of great importance.

You were quite right to point to industrialization as most of our solution, but it seems to me you greatly neglect the importance of the proceeding pattern of change on the land. A stable crop program that lasted from 1867 until 1935 or there abouts is wriggling with change right now. It is touch and go whether we can come out of this decade of change with a democratically organized southern agriculture or with a type of land ownership that fastens, under democracy upon our rural parts for a long time to come. I say rural parts. The truth is, of course, that the mountains and the piedmont have a pretty decent pattern of family farm owenership, but the plantation belt does not, and the plantation belt controls the politics of all the states in the lower south. Industrilization, concentrated as it thus far proves to be, would have a hard job to democratize those states, a half of whose population is in the bonds of tenants or is working as day hands on peoples big plantations. Industry democratizes ultimately because the people employed in it can and do assert their interests. But, who can contemplate with pleasure the vision of agricultural trade unionism in the deep South. So, I think it is of the greatest importance for us to do all we can, privately and governmentally, to strengthen the pattern of family farm ownership in the lower south. Maybe you mentioned all that in some place where I skimmed, but I did not find it.

If we can solve that problem decently, we are out of the woods, we are standard and normal, and our peculiarities--storied though they are--will happily vanish away.

Do come and see us sometime when you are in this part of the world. We greatly appreciate the several kind mentions in your paper.

Sincerely

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

W-Mice-White

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 9, 1950

JUN 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

President White will see your letter of June 8 upon his return to the office next week, after an absence of several days. He will be interested in this report.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Register

(Miss) Anne Register
Secretary to the President

D. C. WHITTLE
MILES STANDISH HALL
30 BAY STATE ROAD
BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

March 8, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter and comments on my paper "Romance to Rebellion." I do agree with you that it was a little heavy on the side of the decadent social factors, but the limitation of the literary nature of the paper limited me to fiction, and there has been so much more written on the decadent side. It is often hard to obtain critical literature on the New South.

I appreciate your help and hope that it may be possible some time in the near future to talk with you personally.

Yours sincerely,

D. C. Whittle

D.C. Whittle

Wheeler

X

TELEGRAM
Nov. 16, 1950

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Mitchell by phone confirmed he will see Mrs. Furst of Independent Aid. Urges earnestly you visit her too in New York. Many thanks.

Norma Huff
Southern Regional Council

W Merrill Wheeler

November 16, 1950

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1950
Regional

Dr. Wilburt C. Davison
School of Medicine
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Davison:

This note comes to thank you for the time which you gave me yesterday with reference to the Southern Regional Council.

After leaving your office, I put in a call for Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Council and finally located him at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City. In view of your suggestion that it would be desirable for some of us to talk with Mrs. Furst, I suggested that he make an attempt to see her stating that you had suggested it would be well for him to do so. I trust that this arrangement is satisfactory to you.

Dr. Mitchell advised me that the suggested two page memorandum will be prepared immediately for Mrs. Furst and a copy of same sent to you.

Thanking you again for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Wheeler

JHW/vr

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

Mr Earl White Jan 14/53
Chairman F.E.P.C Committee of Mo
1222 N. Pendleton Hqt at 4751 Easton ave
St Louis 13 Mo

Marion A Wright
Linville Falls North Carolina
Dear Sir

I receive your letter dat Dec 11/53 saying that you was forwarding my enclosure to the Southern Regional Council Once I am Not begging But I Need Some aid like money I ask you to please do what you can at once in this stuggles equally and to all discrimitation I sending you to copie proposals asking you to please check and mail the ons at once I plaing to put F.E.P.C Candidates on the Ballot you know I will Need money my rent is $100.00 a month see what you can do at once We must elect Negroes to offices in 54 We must have them to file some on ticket ons at once

Yours Sincerely
Earl White

F.E.P.C. NOW! No IF and BUTS—

PROPOSALS FOR THE F. E. P. C. COMMITTEE OF MISSOURI

By EARL WHITE, Chairman

1. To set up a board of Directors (as many as desired by the people) and a Controller.
2. To elect an assistant chairman.
3. To elect one or more vice chairmen.
4. To elect an assistant secretary.
5. To elect an assistant treasurer.
6. To elect a co-ordinator of activities between individual executives or department heads.
7. To set up a management advisory committee.
9. To buy and operate a printing press. To buy necessary supplies, parts and labor to operate the press.
10. To plan a rally on January 20, 1954, 8 P.M. at Cornelius Baptist Church; Rev. S. L. Williams, pastor, 1035 Whittier, at Fairfax.
11. To assist with work in other states that as yet have no F.E.P.C. law.
12. Meetings will be held every Wednesday night for these and other proposals at 4751 Easton Avenue, St. Louis 13. Mo. Phones: RO. 5618, OL. 2374, RO.2942, FO. 4674, OL. 0826.

ACTION PROPOSAL

The F.E.P.C. Committee of Missouri is ready to do and act now on the unemployment compensation payment in the state o Missouri. To ease the hardships caused by lay-offs, the weekly pay benefit must be raised to thirty dollars ($30) plus four dollars ($4.00) for each child or other dependent, up until the total should reach fifty dollars ($50), to be higher later if necessary, with the pay benefit starting the day following the day of lay off. All this to be offered in the form of a Bill of Law by the people as soon as possible.

KINDLY RETURN THIS BY MAIL

Check one.

( ) I accept the above proposals.

( ) I do not approve above proposals.

Corrections or Additions

_____

_____

_____

Signed _____

Issued by F.E.P.C. Committee of Mo. 4751 Easton Avenue, St. Louis 13, Mo.

F.E.P.C. NOW! No IF and BUTS—

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KINDLY RETURN THIS BY MAIL

Check one.

( ) I accept the above proposals.

( ) I do not approve above proposals.

Corrections or Additions

_____

_____

_____

Signed _____

Issued by F.E.P.C. Committee of Mo. 4751 Easton Avenue, St. Louis 13, Mo.

January 29, 1954

Mr. Earl White
1222 North Pendleton Street
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. White:

I appreciate your writing me on the date of January 14.

As much as we sympathize with your financial difficulties, I must assure you that we have very serious troubles of our own and, with great regret, would be unable to help you in a practical way. I hope that other friends may come to your assistance.

Yours very truly,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By M. A. Wright
President

MAW:raj

bc: George Mitchell

September 22, 1953

Mr. Charles Wharton
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wharton:

I send you, separately, the 12 copies of Questions and Answers.

Do let us know how things come with the Youth Conference.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

September 23, 1953

Mr. Charles Wharton
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wharton:

I send you, separately, the 12 copies of Questions and Answers.

Do let us know how things come with your conference.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

Mr Earl White
Chairman of F.E.P.C Committee
of mo
1222 N. Pendleton
St Louis 13 mo

Nov 6/53

Mrs Marion A. Wright pres
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn ave N.E.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Madam

I am writing and sending a copies of the petition that we are filing here in the state of mo this campaign been on for 10 months as being a young Negro man I wrote this F.E.P.C Bill here in mo after they defeat me in the election 1952 Not the people I ran on the progressive party ticket for State Representative 17th I was a supporter of Mrs Bass for Vice pres so I told the people I would Not be elected in 52 But I told them I would write a F.E.P.C Bill and we was able to get a white State Senator to offered it on Jan 29/53 Senate Bill No 1 Now the Copie Registration form will able people anywhere would to line up and fight discrimination in the Bill itself local here Call for end of discrimination in the grave yard discrimination in Economic. This Bill is for all the

people Now will you please help this struggles to get set up in many states as you can to-day we have 12 state with some kind of F.E.P.C Bill it No Reason why we cannot have a federal F.E.P.C I am trying to get the F.E.P.C Committe in the State of Calif adopt this policy in that State will you please endorse this program with a written statement at once with whatever financial you can give or raise at once you may want to send the petition form back to me

Yours Sincerely
Earl White
F.E.P.C Chairman of Mo

F. E. P. C. COMMITTEE OF MISSOURI

MR. EARL WHITE, CHAIRMAN

MRS. MARY SMITH, SECRETARY

MR. KARL CURRY, TREASURER

Headquarters - 4751 Easton Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri

REGISTRATION FORM AND PETITION

To the Secretary of State of
The State of Missouri
Jefferson City, Mo.

In accordance with the provisions of Missouri Revised Statute (Ann. 1939) 12883, we have gathered ourselves together this day, November 6, 1953, to set up a F. E. P. C. Committee in the State of Missouri:

To petition and fight for passage of Senate Bill No. 1 and other related issues, local and national, for the benefit of the whole people.

To secure the return of minority parties to the ballot in Missouri as before the passage of the Hillsman Bill.

To appear before legislative committees or the governor, or other executives to plead on behalf of the people for or against any measures affecting the people's welfare.

To endorse and support candidates of its choice on the ballot at all elections.

To fight for real peace.

To promote the cause of F. E. P. C. in the interest of justice for all and against all discriminatory labor practices anywhere in the world.

This committee shall name any persons to act as counsels or agents but no person so named shall be compensated by the committee.

This committee shall be empowered to receive gifts, loans, donations and grants to pay for publications, rents, office supplies, places for lectures, recreation and accommodations of the people and all other costs of maintenance.

This committee shall furnish a record of all receipts and expenditures annually to the Secretary of State who shall make this document a public record open to the inspection of any citizen at any time, who shall prepare and keep two copies in conformity with the provisions of this committee, and who shall mail copies of this statement to any citizen upon request. All persons contributing to this committee shall be empowered to deduct such contributions when filing their personal income taxes.

SIGNED:

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE

FEPC NOW! NO IFS AND BUTS

PETITION FOR SENATE BILL No. 1

TO: The Honorable Phil M. Donnelly, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri in the General Assembly, the Attorney General, the Secretary of State, the Standing Committee of the Judiciary Committee (Senate and House);

TO: The President of the United States of America, the United States Congress, the Senators and Representatives, and the Justices of the United States Supreme Court;

TO: The Mayor and the Officials of all the Cities in Missouri;

TO: All national, state, and local labor unions; to all churches and ministers; and to all organizations that believe in real democracy —

WE, the undersigned citizens, most respectfully petition for the passage of the F E P C Bill No. 1.

WE most respectfully demand that Senate Bill No. 1 be on the ballot in the next election, local and/or State; that Senate Bill No. 1 be on all ballots until Senate Bill No. 1 becomes a law in the State of Missouri; and that affidavit forms be accepted from each voter in the City and/or the State as legal votes for F E P C Senate Bill No. 1

	Name	Precinct	Address	City or Town	State
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20.					

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE SHALL BE THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.
(Great Seal of the State of Missouri)

RETURN TO THE F E P C COMMITTEE OF MISSOURI, established to fight for this and related issues.

Chairman .....Mr. Earl White, 1222 N. Pendleton, St. Louis, Missouri
Secretary .....Mrs. Mary Smith, 4753 Easton, St. Louis, Missouri
Treasurer .....Mr. Karl Curry, 1310 Pendleton, St. Louis, Missouri

Circulated by .....

Issued by F.E.P.C. Committee of Missouri

April 19, 1954

Dr. J. N. White
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Dean White:

Many thanks for your letter of April 14, about the lecture on June 17 at 1:00 p.m. in the Yonge Laboratory Building. I'll be there, with much appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
APR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

April 14, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will confirm your correspondence with Dr. Hal G. Lewis concerning your participation in the 1954 Summer Lecture Series of the College of Education. We invite you to speak to our faculty and students at 1:00 PM, June 17 in the auditorium of the P. K. Yonge Laboratory Building. We have arranged for an honorarium of $75.00..

We hope that you will be able to be with us. We believe that your contribution will be greatly appreciated by members of our staff and our students, who, in the summer time, are mainly teachers and administrators in-service.

We shall look forward to your acceptance.

Cordially yours,

J. B. White

J. B. White, Dean
College of Education

JBW:gh

Ok. Fellowship 6/18/5 & invement today

June 15, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Dabney White
1110 Madison
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dabney and Charlotte:

That was just like old times, and I do appreciate it — the biscuits and the chicken and the picnic and the company. And imagine having Rhea and Chip and Mrs. Van Noppen!

I ride around so much and visit so many people, but hardly ever get to go to somebody else's home and be right at home. This time I did!

Affectionately,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

9 T H.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

It seems to me the YWCA is neglecting its duties of democratization?

The Exec. Com. of the S.R.C. could express their regret that certain South states have taken no step to arrange for preparing conferences of all the people concerned. (See earlier issue of Newsletter)

MAR 14 1955

White House Conference on Education

NEWSLETTER

Committee for the White House Conference on Education
Health, Education, and Welfare Building South
Washington 25, D. C. Executive 3-6300

NO. 3 March-1955

WHCE SUBCOMMITTEES FORMED

Neil H. McElroy, Chairman of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education, has announced the appointment of seven subcommittees and their chairmen. Each of six subcommittees will study a major subject scheduled as part of the agenda for the White House Conference November 28-December 1, 1955, at Washington.

A seventh subcommittee on organizations, assisted by Mrs. Henry Grattan Doyle of the WHCE staff, will work closely with national organizations cooperating with the conference program at the State and national level. This subcommittee will seek the know-how and experience of organizations in dealing with problems of the magnitude of the WHCE.

The subcommittees with their assigned topics are as follows: (The Chairmen head each list.)

WHAT SHOULD OUR SCHOOLS ACCOMPLISH?

Killian, Dr. James R., Jr.
Cowles, John S.
Horton, Mrs. Douglas
McLain, Joseph C.
McManus, William E.
Paley, William S.
Williams, Mrs. Chas.

IN WHAT WAYS CAN WE ORGANIZE OUR SCHOOL SYSTEMS MORE EFFICIENTLY & ECONOMICALLY?

Vest, Dr. H. Grant
Kline, Allan B.
Milton, Lorimer D.
Moore, Frank C.
Redmond, James F.
Sweatt, Harold W.

HOW CAN WE FINANCE OUR SCHOOLS--BUILD AND OPERATE THEM?

Moore, Ex-Lieut. Gov. Frank C.
Burke, John S.
Brown, Mrs. Rollin
Lazzio, Thomas
Sparks, Frank H.
Stratton, Jesse G.
Vest, H. Grant

HOW CAN WE OBTAIN A CONTINUING PUBLIC INTEREST IN EDUCATION?

Stratton, Jesse G.
Hayes, Albert J.
Hickey, Miss Margaret
Larsen, Roy E.
Newsom, Herschel D.

WHAT ARE OUR SCHOOL BUILDING NEEDS?

Lane, Ex-Gov. W. Preston, Jr.
Hannah, John A.
Hayes, Albert J.
McLain, Joseph C.
Mitchell, Don G.
Redmond, James F.

ORGANIZATIONS

Hickey, Miss Margaret
Ahlgren, Mrs. Oscar A.
Hayes, Albert J.
Horton, Mrs. Douglas
Larsen, Roy E.
Newsom, Herschel D.
Williams, Mrs. Chas.

HOW CAN WE GET ENOUGH GOOD TEACHERS AND KEEP THEM?

Brown, Mrs. Rollin
Ahlgren, Mrs. Oscar A.
Bunche, Dr. Ralph J.
Hargrove, James W.
Hill, Henry H.
Newsom, Herschel D.
Shull, Martha
Stewart, Potter

STATE ACTIVITIES

Fifty out of 53 States and Territories scheduled to participate in the White House Conference program have taken some action in planning and holding State conferences. Three States have not indicated whether they will hold programs. They are Arizona, Georgia and Utah. Forty-two States have appointed conference chairmen, 32 have appointed conference committees, 39 have applied for funds, 26 have scheduled conferences, and six States already have held conferences.

The following State conference chairmen have been appointed since the last issue of the WHCE Newsletter:

Alabama --Austin R. Meadows, Supt. of Education, State Dept. of Education, Montgomery 4
New Mexico --Mrs. Frances Lee, Pres., New Mexico Study School Council, San Mateo
North Dakota--Mrs. Harold Belcher, Pres., North Dakota Council on Education, Fessenden
Oregon --Rex Putnam, Supt. of Public Instruction, State Dept. of Education, Salem

INDIANA--NEW JERSEY--CONNECTICUT CONFERENCE PROGRAMS

Here are the conference plans for three States in response to inquiries on State developments. Last issue, this Newsletter carried summaries of activities for New Hampshire, Michigan and Colorado.

Indiana--Dr. Russell J. Humbert, President, DePauw University, is the Conference Chairman. William Floyd, Supt. of Schools, West Lafayette, is the Executive Secretary for the Indiana Steering Committee composed of 25 leaders representing top organizations. Preliminary plans for the conference were approved at a meeting January 21, 1955. Subcommittees were set up to consider the following subjects: How can we pay for our schools? How can we get the school facilities needed? How can we get enough good teachers--and keep them? and Public Relations. A fifth committee was set up to hear and direct interested groups. They will submit their reports to the State conference scheduled for October 13, 1955.

The Committee also will consider written reports by individuals or groups. These reports will be submitted to the conference for discussion. An editing committee will then be appointed to prepare the official report of all findings for use of the White House Conference.

New Jersey--Dr. Fred M. Raubinger, State Commissioner of Education, is the Conference Chairman, while Frank Stover, Assistant Commissioner, is the State Coordinator for the Conferences. Three regional conferences will be held prior to the State Conference in May. The General Planning Committee decided that each organization represented on its committee would submit three names of persons to serve on each of the regional planning committees. Regional conferences are scheduled for March and April. Their reports will be submitted to, and discussed by, the State conference. The regional and State conferences will be open to all interested citizens. Work groups at the State conference will vary according to the subject under discussion, and a chairman and recorder will be assigned to each group.

Connecticut -- The Connecticut Conference was held November 30 - December 1, 1954, at Hartford. Conference co-chairmen were Robert W. Hoskins, President of the Connecticut Council on Education, and William Flaherty, Deputy State Commissioner of Education. The State conference was sponsored by Gov. John Lodge, the Connecticut Council on Education, and the State Department of Education. It was also endorsed by 23 organizations throughout the State, and many of their members took an active part in the committee work.

An estimated 500 persons participated in the conference. This attendance was larger than at any of the previous state-wide conferences on education held in the past six years. The ratio of laymen to educators was three to two. Invitations were sent to state-wide organizations, chairmen of finance boards in towns and cities, and also Mayors and First Selectmen.

The conference plan called for two general sessions, an opening session and a closing one, three section meetings, and three discussion group meetings. Detailed analyses of the four main topics on the program were given at the section meetings. The four main subjects studied were program, finance, buildings, and teachers. The section meetings were designed to enable participants to identify the problems, discuss the issues involved, and to point up important aspects of the various problems.

Discussion Groups

The aim of the discussion groups was to arrive at recommendations concerning solutions of problems through Federal, State and local action, and through effective community efforts to improve educational opportunities. Definitive recommendations were sought to serve as a basis for study at the follow-up regional meetings. The eight counties in Connecticut will take part in these meetings. Four counties will hold individual conferences, and the other four will combine into two separate conferences for a total of six regional meetings.

Each regional conference will be headed by co-chairmen and assisted by a consultant from the State Department of Education. Planning details have been left to the regional committees, and the State conference suggested that these one-day meetings be held between March 15 and April 30, 1955. The printed report of the State conference is scheduled for publication by March 10, and after the participants consider it, the regional conferences may discuss whatever additional topics they desire. An opinion poll is also planned to determine the reactions of citizens to the various issues under discussion.

ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING WITH WHCE:

Here are some excerpts from periodicals published by national organizations cooperating with the conference program. They serve to illustrate how national organizations with local affiliates can help arouse interest in the White House and State conferences. Such cooperation will also help insure that State conferences will be broadly representative in accord with Public Law 530 and President Eisenhower's own recommendations.

Excerpt from National Congress of Parents and Teachers Newsletter. Message from Mrs. Newton P. Leonard, President--2/8/55

"...Since the P.T.A. is certainly a 'grass-roots' organization, with members from all races, creeds, and socio-economic backgrounds, we have an obligation to see that this membership is kept informed and given a chance to express itself regarding American education.

"The other contribution that you P.T.A. members can make is to guarantee a broad representation of parent-teacher leaders among the participants in the White House Conference on Education next November. It is my understanding that 70 per cent of the delegates to this conference will be selected by the governors of the various States. It would seem, therefore, that the best way to guarantee adequate P.T.A. representation in Washington next November would be to insure broad and competent representation at the State conferences and on any State committees that are set up to plan for the final conference. If your State leaders can make a real contribution at the State level, surely some of these participants will be named delegates to the national conference.

"...Do what you can to see that they (parent-teacher leaders) are included in State conference plans and brought to the attention of your governor as possible delegates to the White House Conference on Education at the end of the year."

National Council of Catholic Women Bulletin--1/21/55

"...If your State conference has not been held yet, you will want to seek an invitation and participation in your State conference...Contact your diocesan superintendent of schools. He will be able to tell you whether your State conference has been held, and whether, in the case where conferences already have been held, a follow-up conference will be held. In any event, you will want to discuss with him some of the most pressing problems facing education today."

Worth McClure, Executive Secretary, AASA, NEA,
THE SECRETARY'S LETTER--1/31/55

"...The White House Conference Committee--chairmen, members, and staff--is composed of open-minded persons. My guess is that the White House Conference next November will bring over 2,000 State representatives from the States. (WHCE estimates 1,400.) They are the people who will make the final decisions when the conference is held. Choose your State delegates carefully.

"Your secretary...strongly recommends that our officers and their State associations of administrators should support the State conferences on education, should join up with other constructive agencies in seeing to it that these conferences are held, that they are broadly representative, and that the delegates chosen for the White House Conference next November are also broadly representative...."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER ON WHCE

President Eisenhower, in a message to Congress February 8, said in part:

"...The legislative proposals submitted to the last Congress were offered by the Administration in the earnest conviction that education must always be close to the people; in the belief that a careful reassessment by the people themselves of the problems of education is necessary; and with a realization of the growing financial difficulties that school districts face. To encourage a nationwide examination of our schools, the 83d Congress authorized funds for Conferences on Education in the 48 States and the Territories and for a White House Conference to be held in November this year. .....the Conferences now under way.... will, I believe, arouse the American people to a community effort for schools and a community concern for education, unparalleled in our history..."

COMMITTEE FOR THE WHCE

The Committee for the White House Conference on Education will hold its third organizational meeting March 21 at Washington under the chairmanship of Neil H. McElroy. Chief topics of discussion are expected to be subcommittee assignments and work, procedures to be followed, and the agenda for the national conference Nov. 28-Dec. 1, 1955.

CHAIRMAN McELROY ADDRESSES NSBA AT ST. LOUIS--2/24/55

Mr. McElroy's concluding remarks to the National School Board Association at St. Louis are also pertinent to other organizations cooperating with the White House Conference program. He said:

"...I know you are all vitally interested in this program. We need your help both at the State and national level. Currently, you can contribute the most at your respective State levels where organizing and organizational experience is very important. And as a national organization, there is no doubt in my mind that your ultimate contribution to the success of the White House Conference will be of equal importance."

NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMISSION FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The NCCPS has extended its charter to January 31, 1956, "in order to take part in stimulating the community-conference movement and has already begun setting up a program which is designed to inspire 'a conference on education in every community.'"

CITIZENS AND THEIR SCHOOLS (CATS), official publication for NCCPS, reports the program will "dove-tail" with the White House Conference on Education. "The Commission's program will concentrate on sparking local-level talks before and after the State and national discussions," according to CATS. In cooperation with the National School Boards Association, it is expected to spearhead a program for conferences on education in communities throughout the Nation.

Mr. Larsen Announces New Group

Meanwhile, Roy E. Larsen, Chairman of the NCCPS and a member of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education, announced plans for a successor organization to NCCPS tentatively called the "National Citizens Council for the Public Schools." The Carnegie Corporation, principal source of funds for NCCPS, has announced a grant of $500,000 to finance the program of the new organization for a two-and-one-half year period. The National Citizens Council for the Public Schools is expected to continue alerting Americans to the problems of the public schools and to inspire cooperative work for their improvement, according to CATS.

NATIONAL SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION

The offices of the National School Boards Association are as follows:

Director of Projects: Maurice E. Stapley, Box 47, Bloomington, Ind.

Coordinator	Region	States
James Whitehead P. O. Box 372 New Bedford, Mass.	Northeast	Maine, N.H., Vt., Mass., R.I., Conn., N.J., Del., N.Y., Pa., Md.

Coordinator	Region	States
William Rich 225 Memorial Bldg. Nashville, Tenn.	Southeast	W. Va., Va., N.C., S.C., Ga., Fla., Ala., Miss., Tenn., Ky.
William Wettergren 319 West Swift St. St. Peter, Minn.	Midwest	Ohio, Mich., Ind., Ill., Wis., Minn., Iowa, Mo., Kans., Nebr., S. Dak., N. Dak.
Fred Thatcher Box 8986 University Station Baton Rouge, La.	Southwest	La., Ark., Okla., Tex., N. Mex., Colo.
Elmer Stanley Box 748 Olympia, Wash.	West	Ariz., Nev., Utah, Calif., Mont., Idaho, Wyo., Wash., Oreg.

NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMISSION FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The offices of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools are as follows:

Executive Director: Henry Toy, Jr., 2 West 45th Street, New York 36, N. Y.

Director	Region	States
Samuel G. Atkinson 41 Mt. Vernon St. Boston 8, Mass.	New England	Mass., N.H., Vt., Maine, Conn., R.I.
Henry Toy, Jr. 2 West 45th St. New York 36, N.Y.	New York	N.Y., Pa., Del., N.J.
Maurice D. Bement 902 Realty Bldg. 522 W. Jefferson St. Louisville 2, Ky.	Southern	Ky., W.Va., Va., Md., N.C., S.C., Ga., Ala., Fla., Miss. Tenn.
Cecil H. Hartung 645 Midland Bank Bldg. Minneapolis 1, Minn.	Midwestern	Minn., N. Dak., S. Dak., Iowa, Wis., Ill., Ind., Mich., Ohio, Nebr.
Leeds R. Lacy 1100 Fourteenth St. Denver 2, Colo.	Southwestern	Colo., Ariz., N.Mex., Kans., Ark., Okla., Mo., La., Tex.
K. H. Dobelbower Farmers & Mechanics Bldg. 1014 Eighth St. Sacramento 14, Calif.	Western	Calif., Oreg., Wash., Idaho, Nev., Mont., Wyo., Utah.

June 27, 1957

Mr. Charles D. Wherry
Station K, Box 11184
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Wherry:

Thank you for your kind letter of June 24th. I greatly appreciated the kind things you said about me and the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Although these are difficult times in the South just now, we have little doubt that the ultimate outcome will be a more democratic and productive society in which people of all races can share equally in the benefits.

I have indeed known Mrs. Longstreet for many years, as well as Miss Lillian Smith.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1 copy of "Toward The South of the Future."

Sta K,Box III84,
Los Angeles Calif,
June 24th 1957

Mr Harold Fleming,
Atlanta Ga,

Sir,

I read a wonderful story about you on my return home last evening form Mexico,you spoke well of my poor race,I sent a letter with Greetings to Miss Lillian Smith last night from Hollywood,I had read of the many many good things that she has said about my race also,and in your City,I have kept in close contact with the widow of the great General Jas Longstreet his widow,s name is Mrs Helen D,Longstreet,Have you ever heard about her?

I paid special attention about what you said about the trip overseas,and how your soldiers were treated,I am sending it on to President Eisenhower as I am writing him about something else,I hope you will continue to keep up the good work that you are doing for all the people,and please come to Calif sometimes and visit with us,we would love to have you at any time I shall not bore you with a long letter,but I just had to send you a few lines to let you how I feel toward you,

With best wishes and kind personal regards to you and your family,and May God give you health and strenght to carry on,

Very truly yours,

Charles D,Wherry.

November 8, 1957

Mr. Walter B. Wheeler
Associate Director
Public Affairs Press
419 New Jersey Avenue, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Your letter of October 29, concerning Mr. Woofter's book has been referred to me.

As you may recall, Dr. George Mitchell reviewed Mr. Woofter's book in our monthly publication NEW SOUTH prior to his retiring from the Council. Subsequently the review was published in the May issue of the publication. Through this review, we feel that our mailing list has been reached as well as we could possibly hope. Enclosed is a copy of the publication in which the review appeared.

If we can be of additional help, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Encl. (May issue of NEW SOUTH)

SC - Your recommendation?
H.

LIncoln 4-3024

Public Affairs Press

419 NEW JERSEY AVE., S.E., WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
(Almost adjacent to the United States Capitol)

October 29, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Since the members of your organization will undoubtedly be interested in Mr. Woofter's book, we will be glad to furnish you with copies of the enclosed for distribution to them.

Sincerely yours,

Walter B. Wheeler

Walter B. Wheeler
Associate Director

Encl.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT BOOK
PUBLISHED BY PUBLIC AFFAIRS PRESS

Southern Race Progress

By THOMAS J. WOOFTER

In calling attention to the significance of this book, Jonathan Daniels editor of the Raleigh (N. C.) *News and Observer*, states in the introduction:

"No book I know provides such an understandable personal approach to the segregation story in the lifetime of living men as this charming and challenging work by Dr. Thomas Woofter.

"What he has written is in a real sense the autobiography of the Southerner who. long before the Supreme Court, was concerned about the tragic lapses which so often and so long segregation shielded . . .

"Dr. Woofter is a gentleman who understands his region and its problems much better than those who give the impression that only Kluxers can understand the South. Dr. Woofter does not have to screen his helpful understanding based upon fifty years of creative labor in the fields about which he writes.

"He has, indeed, written a very quiet book but a vivid one richer in native anecdotes and homely images than in statistics. It helped me understand better this troubled South in which I live. I can think of few other books so deserving of a place on the shelf of required reading for those who would understand in depth the debate which sometimes now seems to be restricted in participation to the extremists—the defiant, the vindictive, the headlong and the stubborn.

"Dr. Woofter has written a book for America, but in it he has drawn the portrait of a Southerner—of many Southerners—who had this problem on their hearts long before any jurists put it into a decision of the Supreme Court . . ."

Written by one of the nation's leading experts on race relations, this book is particularly timely in view of recent Supreme Court decisions on segregation.

Dr. Woofter, a former President of the Population Association of America, writes with the viewpoint and background of a Southerner who has been a prominent participant in the activities of organizations which have sought to improve race relations.

Covering the interweaving economic, social, and political trends of the past fifty years, the book calls attention to the problems of Negroes and whites, the interdependence of the two races, and the progress that has been achieved in recent years. His basic approach is midway between that of extremists in the North and South.

WASHINGTON POST

"Dr. Woofter has written a book which sheds light and shuns heat on the race problem in the South . . .

"Rabble-rousers and hotheads will not like some of the author's opinions, facts and conclusions. But there is clear logic in his defining the three types of racial segregation and how the Southerner, in his less calm moments, confuses them.

"The book makes good reading because it is generously sprinkled with anecdotes and personal references. Northerners should read it to understand Southerners better. Southerners should read it to understand themselves better."

KINGSPORT (TENN.) TIMES:

"Dr. Woofter has written a readable book . . . the best part is the telling of the story of what has been done by the several organizations with which he has been connected in bringing about cooperative programs."

THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE:

"Mr. Woofter writes with a deep subjective understanding of the South's economy, yet with the objectivity of one who, along with other tolerant whites and outstanding Negro leaders, has dedicated much of his life to implementing democratic ideals, to righting wrongs, to furthering the status of the Negro and to seeing justice done after unlawful violence has gone unpunished . . . This book is a refreshing change after the many criticisms from northern writers and the retaliating defenses written by southerners."

ST. PETERSBURG (FLORIDA) TIMES:

"Readability is enhanced through a semi-autobiographic viewpoint and through liberal use of anecdotes . . . It will be valuable to those who wish to understand the present relation between the races, and how it came about."

BEAUMONT (TEXAS) JOURNAL:

"Amid the miasma of words which have flown in a turgid stream since the Supreme Court's historic desegregation order in 1952, seldom has the voice of moderation bee heard. That voice speaks through this volume . . . Autobiography, history and current events are combined here with an informality that adds largely to the book's readability. The author has done well . . . to record and explain rather than to praise or blame."

NEW ORLEANS TIMES-PICAYUNE:

"A sane approach. Should be assigned reading to all extremists."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

"Here is a man of obvious charm who lectures without haranguing and argues without rancor . . . Dr. Woofter has the perception to see that Negroes and many Southern leaders have certain outlooks which, if carefully dovetailed, can unite to support a bridge over which regional progress can travel . . . His information is in large part new. His points are well documented by eyewitness detail. His area of survey covers all of Dixie. Such evidence could easily be ignored; it should prove quite difficult to refute."

Mail this order blank to your local bookstore or to the publisher:
Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Ave., S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

Please send the books listed. Payment of _____ is enclosed.

Southern Race Progress ($3.50) by Thomas J. Woofter

Name _____

Address _____ Date _____

April 16, 1959

Reverend Dan Whitsett
Harvard-Epworth Methodist Church
1555 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dan:

It is good to hear from you in your new post.

The statement by Will Campbell and others had very good treatment by the wire services and various individual newspapers. It was certainly available to Grover Hall, though I don't know whether or not the Advertiser carried the story. The Alabama developments you mentioned are certainly discouraging. In fact, from virtually everything we hear from Alabama these days contributes to the pattern of violence, intimidation, and irrationalism that is most disturbing.

We would never make the mistake of feeling that your departure from Alabama was from any lack of concern about these problems. I know of nobody in the South who stood longer or more steadfastly for all that is good and decent in a very difficult situation.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED APR 13 1959

Harvard-Epworth Methodist Church
and
Wesley Foundation at Harvard
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Church
1555 Massachusetts Avenue
Telephone: ELiot 4-0837

Parsonage
1 Francis Avenue
Telephone: KIrkland 7-5350

April 9, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Congratulations on the release of statement of Social Action leaders on desegregation smear.

I hope you sent a release to Mr. Grover Hall, Editor, Montgomery Advertiser. I wrote him a personal letter yesterday. He was critical of the Columbus, Ga., action about refusal to hear Ralph McGill but was strangely silent on the Birmingham Laymen's (Methodist) organization who booed the young minister off the platform who said he favored segregation but dared to question some of the "white supremacy statements" of the organization. He was subsequently "fired" by his church. Another church in montgomery has recently "canceled" its revival because the evangelistic is communistic and holds views on desegregation which are"unacceptable". The Medical Director of a hospital in Tuscaloosa has been released because of threats on his life by the Klan and Councils. Apparently his white nurses waited on some Negro patients. Even the Judge advised that he le ve town for his own safety.

I moved to my present pastorate last September, at the call of the church, and not from the lack of concern on these problems.

Sincerely, Dan Whitsett

Encls: Official receipt
Will Campbell's (Denominational News Release)

April 17, 1959

Mrs. Childs White
209 Kathryn Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Nell:

On behalf of the Council and personally I should like to express our deepest thanks for your recent gift. Quite the contrary to this being a "small expression," it is to us a very significant one. We are not exactly flooded with individual contributions and when we receive them, especially from the South and our own community, they mean a great deal to us.

I am enclosing, in addition to our official receipt, a copy of a recent news release which may be of interest.

Again, our deepest appreciation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Mrs. Childs White
209 Kathryn Ave.
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is a very small expression of my feeling about the work you are doing.

Sincerely

Will

Received ck $10.00
mga

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

June 11, 1959

Mr. Dan Whitsett
1 Francis Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dan:

My apologies for responding so slowly to your telegram concerning Rev. Robert McNeill of Columbus; but the developments there caught everyone by surprise, and it has been difficult to find out anything more than was reported in the press.

Now, as you may have learned this morning, Mr. McNeill has suffered a serious heart attack, so next steps are even more uncertain.

We have known Mr. McNeill for some time. He has been active in the Georgia Council on Human Relations, and sparked the "manifesto" issued by a small group of Columbus ministers, following the Atlanta ministers' statement. He is a thoroughly fine and dedicated man, but he has certainly been no firebrand. It seems clear that the trouble all grew out of the LOOK article, which was also quite moderate in tone, but which was widely publicized.

Our information is that McNeill -- recognizing the implacable opposition of some members of his

congregation -- was planning to move about September. As far as we know, however, he had not yet accepted a specific call to another church. Of course, the summary dismissal by the special commission of the Presbytery destroyed the possibility of a voluntary move. As you will have read, McNeill's salary is to continue until September 1, unless he gets another pastorate before then.

You no doubt have the New York Times account of the dismissal, which is fairly complete; but just to be sure, I'm enclosing a copy.

There seems little that anyone outside the Presbytery can do in this situation, aside from sending private messages of sympathy and support to the McNeills. Even assuming satisfactory recovery from the heart attack, his chances of securing a good pastorate have been further damaged; the issue of health is bound to be raised in any church where there is opposition, however slight.

I have discussed this with Ed Driscoll, executive secretary of the Georgia Council of Churches, and hope soon to reach Malcolm Calhoun, who is the social action staff member for the Southern Presbyterians. Driscoll's opinion as of now is that nothing can be done by sympathetic "outsiders" until McNeill has recovered sufficiently to plan his next move and to measure the problems he faces. At that point, he may need all the help he can get in finding another pastorate, or some less demanding position if he is seriously incapacitated.

I will be glad to pass on to you further information and advice as it comes to us. Meanwhile, I'm sure a personal message to the McNeills at P. O. Box 1094, Columbus, Georgia, will be appreciated.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (NYT clipping)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA14 BA381

B CAB172 PD AR=CAMBRIDGE MASS 9 133PME= 1959 JUN 9 PM 2 19

HAROLD FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

COULD YOU SEND MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE DISMISSAL OF A GEORGIA MINISTER FROM HIS PULPIT SUNDAY AND ANY RECOMMENDATION AS TO ASSISTANCE OUR MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION MAY RENDER=

DAN WHITSETT=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Mrs. Childs White
209 Kathryn Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Nell:

Enclosed is the good Governor's letter. I'm glad that you, not I, have to defend him!

Also enclosed is a recently published pamphlet issued by a group of young Negro leaders here. Think you will find it interesting and hseful.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive ~~Director~~ assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1. (A66A pamphlet)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 27, 1944

Dr. Sanford Winston
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sanford:

Thank you for your letter of January 24. I am now living in Atlanta and I am working as Executive Director of the new Southern Regional Council, Inc. I intended to write you before I left Chapel Hill and tell you that I would have to resign as editor of the Archaelogical Society of North Carolina, but this job was thrust upon me in such a hurry that I did not have time to do all the things that I should have done.

I hardly know whom to suggest as editor in my place. I think Raymond Adams could do a very good job but he is also such a good secretary that it would be a shame to take him out of that job. Perhaps if he is promised some help he might be pursuaded to serve both as secretary and editor.

Best wishes for a very successful year for the Society. I hope to get back and see the old gang from time to time.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GBJ/j

North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering
of the
University of North Carolina
Raleigh

BASIC DIVISION OF THE COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

January 24, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

I should like to come over to Chapel Hill this Saturday, January 29, in the morning to talk over some matters regarding the North Carolina Archaeological Society. Please let me know if you will be in your office that morning and at what hour you will be free.

Sincerely,

Sanford Winston

Sanford Winston

SW-x

North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering
of the
University of North Carolina
Raleigh

BASIC DIVISION OF THE COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ans'd by note in Journal. 2-23-44

January 29, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I was interested to hear of your new position. You have a unique opportunity to do something big and it should be an interesting puzzle to work your way through the folkways and mores! I should like your advice before getting in touch with Raymond Adams. As you possibly know, Mrs. J. B. Derieux has written several articles on the Society for the papers throughout the state, and she should be a good editor since she is interested, has written quite a bit and has the time. The other question was one that I had hoped to take up with you in Chapel Hill. It seems to me that the Society could be strengthened a lot by embracing anthropology as well as archaeology. It would not hurt the archaeology one bit and should bring a broader base to the membership. On the other hand, it may be that this departs too much from the intentions of the more professionally interested archaeologists.

Get her, by all means, if you can.

I should appreciate your reaction to these points. Good luck on the new job!

Sincerely,

Sanford Winston

Sanford Winston

SW-c

March 16, 1944

Dr. Ellen Black Winston
State Commissioner of Public Welfare
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Winston:

I have just learned of your appointment as State Commissioner of Public Welfare. I think the state is fortunate in obtaining your services. I am sure that you will do a good job.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

MEREDITH COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

March 22, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I appreciate your letter with regard to the Commissionership. I understand that you are to be in Raleigh during the meeting of the Conference for Social Service, and I hope to see you then.

Sincerely yours,

Ellen Winston

Ellen Winston

EW-c

May 26, 1944

Dr. Logan Wilson
Professor of Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Wilson:

Thank you for your letter of May 22. I greatly appreciate your request that I prepare a paper on the relation of social theory to social action in the field of race relations for the next meeting of the American Sociological Society. I hate like everything to decline this invitation, but I have so much more than I can possibly take care of in this job that I feel that it would not be quite fair to the Society for me to undertake it and do a sloppy paper.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 22, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Although I do not know your new address, I trust that this letter will reach you promptly. As chairman of the theory section for the next meeting of the American Sociological Society, I want to know whether you would favor us with a paper (20-25 pages) on the relation of social theory to social action in the field of race relations. The theme of our section meeting is to be social theory in the field of race relations. Kingsley Davis and one of his colleagues at Princeton are preparing a paper which gives a systematic approach from the point of view of social structure. I have asked Ruth Benedict to do a critical resume of theoretical developments in the literature up to now, but I wrote to her just the other day and have had no reply as yet.

If you will agree to preparing a paper, this should give us a well-rounded program for the one section meeting given over to theory. I shall appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Logan Wilson

Logan Wilson
Professor of Sociology

W/g

R for Info.

July 28, 1944

Mr. Burton T. Wilson
3900 Locust Avenue
Coconut Grove 33, Florida

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Miss Elizabeth Allen of the Julius Rosenwald Fund has sent us a copy of your letter and has suggested that we write to you. We are glad to know of your interest in making it possible for Negroes to do more for themselves, and of your particular interest in the problem of housing.

We consider housing to be a very vital problem, a problem on which there should be a lot of thought and planning lest we permit it to suffer from carelessness and greed in the post-war period.

The following questions are pertinent to the housing problem. It may be that you have already investigated them. Has your State Planning Commission made any studies of sub-standard housing? Has it drawn up any specific plans for better housing in Miami and vicinity? If there is a city planning commission in Miami, what has it done toward planning for slum clearance or low cost housing projects? Who controls the planning commission? Who owns the slums? What is their attitude toward slum clearance, either as a private or a public project? Would it be possible to convince the city fathers that slums are not only a moral and social responsibility, but that in a sense they are being heavily subsidized financially by the taxpayers? Would it be possible for an informal committee composed of socially-minded persons like you to engage in a quiet crusade in behalf of plans which will make it possible for Negroes in the lower income groups to purchase their own homes?

The Southern Regional Council is interested in housing, and is at this moment considering plans for a survey of several typical areas, rural and urban. It is our hope that on the basis of this survey, we could bring out a booklet which would dramatize the housing problem in the South, and which would get people to thinking about it in a more constructive way than they have heretofore. If this plan matures, we shall certainly want the advice of businessmen like yourself.

Under separate cover we are sending some literature which we hope will be of interest to you. Will you kindly return the clippings for our

files. Please be assured of our desire to cooperate in every way we can. We hope to have the pleasure of meeting you sometime and discussing our common interests.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

P. S. You might want to get in touch with Mr. C. F. Palmer, Palmer Building, Atlanta. He is a forward-looking man who has long had an interest in better housing, and who is at present very much concerned with wise planning for the post-war period.

GBJ

No I
No II
Sibley report
I Want Crowd - 7/28/44
Ins Journal Clippings
- July 10, June 5

COPY

Burton T. Wilson
3900 Locust Avenue
Coconut Grove 33, Florida

The Julius Rosenwald Fund
Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

I am a businessman living in Coconut Grove, a suburb of Miami. I understand that your organization has, as one of its interests, the welfare of the Negroes. For the past two years, I have been studying and working on the problem in this area with special emphasis on housing and making it possible for Negroes to purchase their own homes.

At this time I feel the need of guidance and advice and I request, therefore, that you let me know if you could offer me the same.

I have lived in Miami since 1911, am white, and wish to do what I can to make it possible for Negroes to do for themselves what is now prevented by custom and prejudice.

Yours truly,

Burton T. Wilson

BURTON T. WILSON
INSURANCE AGENCY
3498 Main Highway Telephone 4-6615
P. O. Box 91 Coconut Grove Station
MIAMI 33, FLORIDA

NORTHWESTERN · MUTUAL · FIRE · ASSOCIATION

SOUTHEASTERN - DEPARTMENT - RALEIGH - NORTH CAROLINA

August 4th, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of July 28th., and the pamphlets and clippings under separate cover. I return the clippings with this letter and shall wait until I have had an opportunity to read the pamphlets before replying to your letter.

Yours very truly,

Burton T. Wilson

~~Agent~~

BTW/c
enc.
N

~~70~~
File

September 13, 1944

Mrs. C. L. Wilson
Robersonville, N. C.

My dear Mrs. Wilson:

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, our Associate Executive Director, has suggested that I send you some material in connection with community organization for race relations.

There are attached two pamphlets which were developed by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which organization has been absorbed by the Southern Regional Council. The Council is presently engaged in the development of a suggested action program for local groups. We will be glad to furnish you with a copy when it is completed.

Also, we would like to suggest that you write to the Department of Race Relations, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y. That organization has developed some excellent material on this subject.

We will be interested in knowing of your progress and hope that you will feel free to call upon us for any assistance we can render.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret L. Fisher
Director of Public Relations

MLF:j
enclosures

Cooperative Action of the Churches of America for Interracial Justice and Goodwill

Through

The Department of Race Relations of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Organized in 1921 at the instance of denominational leaders.

Program

Annual observance of Race Relations Sunday and Brotherhood Month.

Development of local interracial committees.

Stimulation of community programs for interracial understanding.

Promotion of interracial conferences to inspire and inform leaders.

Program (continued)

Joint action with denominational and interdenominational agencies in their interracial programs.

Educational work through the churches on consumers cooperatives as an interracial technique.

Placement of religious extension workers in rural communities of the Cotton Belt, in cooperation with denominations and Home Missions Council of North America.

Short-term institutes and scholarships for ministers in service.

Combatting racial discrimination in industrial and professional occupations, especially defense industries and hospitals.

Publication of factual literature on race questions.

A bi-monthly Interracial News Service, now in its twelfth year.

Channels of Operation

The agencies of the constituent denominations in The Federal Council.

Home Missions Council of North America (about 30 church boards).

National Committee of Church Women.

About 100 local and state federations and councils of churches.

Local churches, ministers, educational leaders.

Allied religious and social groups.

Some Achievements

Race Relations Sunday annually observed past 19 years by thousands in more than forty states.

Thousands of church people enlisted against lynching evil.

Representation before government agencies for impartial administration of welfare laws.

Interracial committees at work in over a hundred communities.

Series of leaflets and pamphlets published on interracial subjects.

Interdenominational-interracial institutes promoted, and short-term scholarships secured for ministers in service.

Negro rural groups reached with help from Church, agricultural and welfare agencies.

Study packets distributed for discussion of anti-Semitism and discrimination in defense industries.

DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

297 Fourth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

Department of Race Relations

~~Eva Hills Eastman~~ } ..... Co-Chairmen
~~John A. Gregg~~ }

George E. Haynes ..... Executive Secretary

~~Katherine Gardner~~ ..... ~~Associate Secretary~~

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~~Frank H. Mann~~ ..... Treasurer

Samuel McCrea Cavert ..... General Secretary

Roswell P. Barnes } ..... Associate General Secretaries
J. Quinter Miller }

Interracial Publication No. 46

Memo from IRA DeA. REID

to Miss Margaret Fisher

Mrs. C. L. Wilson of Robinsonville, North Carolina, wants to know how to organize a community for race relations. Will you write her a letter on this point or, send her some material. Mrs. Wilson attended one of the North Carolina Institutes at which I spoke.

R.

November 3, 1944

Mr. Sanford Winston
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sanford:

On July 19 I sent a memorandum to you and several others in North Carolina about the possibility of the Archaelogical Society sponsoring the publication of Dr. Frank Speck's Catawba manuscript. I wonder whether any progress has been made on this and whether the Society is at all interested in helping this work?

I am just a sort of go between in this matter and of course, I can not do much at this distance but I do hope that some of you will explore carefully the possibility of publishing the Speck manuscript in North Carolina.

I enjoyed the News Letter which came a few days ago. I hope that you have a fine annual meeting and I wish very much that I could be there.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:j

CITIZENS' FACT-FINDING MOVEMENT OF GEORGIA

A coordinating agency for studying Georgia and for stimulating its progress through the democratic process

818 FORSYTH BUILDING, ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 17, 1944

Dear Guy:

The accompanying letter is written in a spirit of high purpose, to meet what appears to me to be a responsibility which I cannot by-pass, though I should like to.

In sending a copy of the letter to Dr. Odum, I have repeated the request for the meeting to which I refer, realizing that its call would come from him as President of the Council.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Phase received at office on 11-20-44 and forwarded to me in Washington. On return to Atlanta I wrote ~~such~~ note of acknowledgment, assured her of our as proper as she is to see the Ex. C. and Board function effectively and that I hope they will set regular times of meeting, so that I am not in quandary of wondering whether I am exceeding my authority or neglecting my duty.

GBJ

CITIZENS' FACT-FINDING MOVEMENT OF GEORGIA

A coordinating agency for studying Georgia and for stimulating its progress through the democratic process

818 FORSYTH BUILDING, ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers
Georgia District, Civitan International
Georgia District, Kiwanis International
Georgia District, Lions International
Georgia District, Pilot International
Georgia District, Rotary International
Georgia Division, American Association of University of Women
Georgia Education Association

Georgia Council of Church Women
Georgia Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs
Georgia Home Demonstration Council
Georgia League of Women Voters
Georgia Library Association
Georgia Press Association
Georgia State Exchange Clubs
Georgia Farm Bureau

November 17, 1944

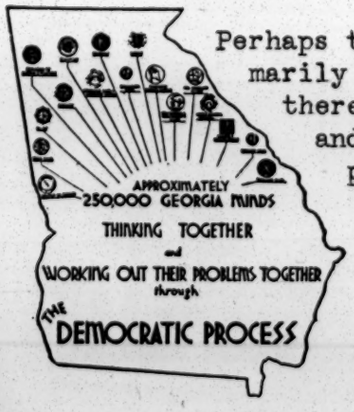
Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Bulletin of November 10 for members of the Southern Regional Council is well done, and the serial number appearing on it seems to indicate that the issue inaugurates a regular service to members which I would wholeheartedly commend.

I regret however to learn from the Bulletin, and from notice received subsequently, that no provision is being made for a meeting of the Board of Directors prior to the forthcoming meeting of the Council. Unless such a meeting is held, the Board will manifestly have no opportunity to submit proposals and recommendations to the Council, nor will it be in position to offer the leadership expected from such an elected body at a general meeting of members.

I am aware that our By-Laws require only a post-Council meeting of the Board, and that they do not call for the customary meeting of an elected board before a general meeting of members. You will recall my speaking of this when I came over to talk with you before accepting membership on the Executive Committee. But after all we adopted the By-Laws through merely hearing them read at the charter meeting. I was under the impression that you promptly recognized that without a Board meeting prior to each Council meeting we could not conduct a membership organization with any semblance of democratic procedure. I remember we discussed the fact that under Article IV, Sections 3 and 4, dealing with meetings of the Board, the situation could be readily met until the By-Laws were amended.



Perhaps the forthcoming meeting of the Council is contemplated primarily as a meeting to hear reports, but even if this is the case there is still the matter of its acting upon a proposed program and a proposed budget for the coming year. From whom will these proposals come? I note there is to be a meeting of the Executive Committee prior to that of the Council. Still this

group is only a committee of the Board with the responsibility of functioning between meetings of the latter body. Would it not be unusual procedure to have proposals come from the Executive Committee to the Council when the Board members themselves are due in Atlanta?

In meetings thus far held by the Council, the practices of business organizations and universities have been cited several times in support of procedures advocated for the Council. But we are conducting neither a business nor a university: we are carrying on a membership organization. And as long as we represent ourselves as a membership organization, we cannot too often remind ourselves, it seems to me, that in such an organization authority rests in the members; that the Board of Directors consists of their elected representatives; that the Board's Executive Committee bears this responsibility between meetings of the Board itself; and that the Administrative Staff functions only under the authority granted to it and gives leadership by means of proposals and recommendations to the Board and its Executive Committee and through them to the general membership.

Referring again to my conversation with you in your office before I accepted appointment on the Executive Committee, you will recall my asking whether you contemplated this committee as a working one, assuming the customary responsibilities of such a group, or whether you thought of it as merely a paper committee. You assured me that it was to be a functioning committee, and it was with this understanding that I accepted membership. The minutes of the initial meeting of the Executive Committee, held on March 22, state:

> "After discussion, it was suggested that the Committee meet once a month, or at least every two months, until the annual meeting in October. The fourth Wednesday in each month was tentatively agreed upon as the regular date until October."

No further meetings of this group have been held, with the exception of the one prior to the meeting of the Board on April 28, and no communication regarding their omission has been received by the members.

As a member of the Executive Committee as well as of the Board of Directors, I ask that a pre-Council meeting of the Board be held, in order that the Board may consider the agenda for the Council meeting on December 6 and that it may have the opportunity to make proposals and recommendations to the members when they come together on that day. Call for such a meeting might be issued any time through November 25 and still conform to the advance notice required in our By-Laws. If time does not permit pre-Council meetings of both the Executive Committee and the Board, I ask that the time already allotted to the Executive Committee be given over to a meeting of the Board.

I am prompted to make this request by my interest in the Southern Regional Council. For many months I have been troubled by our seeming disregard of the necessary rules of democratic procedure.

Sincerely yours,

Josephine Wilkins

cc
Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Assoc. Executive Director
Dr. Howard W. Odum, President
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Executive Committee Chairman
Dr. W. W. Alexander
Members of the Executive Committee

C
O
P
Y

Institute for Research in Social Science

The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill

November 23, 1944

Dear Miss Wilkins:

I have just received a copy of your letter to Dr. Johnson. I have not been able to get in touch with him in Washington although he will telephone me shortly. As I see it, however, it is not possible or desirable for me to call the additional meeting if our Board is as busy as I think they are and with travel situations as they are now. And, if they are as good people as I think they are, we couldn't get an adequate meeting by the 25th. We have already, I believe, urged most of them to be present on the day of committee meetings and to come prepared for the fullest and freest possible discussion.

I suggest that you bring all of this out in complete detail and with all the charm and eloquence that you have available. Hereafter then, if it is decided by the group, we can make such changes as they vote.

Cordially yours,

s/ Howard W. Odum

HOWARD W. ODUM

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Atlanta Fact Finding Commission
Atlanta, Georgia

C
O
P
Y

November 27, 1944

Dear Dr. Odum:

I say quite frankly that I feel my letter and enclosure of November 17 merited a more serious reply than yours of the 23rd.

Of course no suggestion was made for a meeting on the 25th. I simply asked that a meeting of the Board be held prior to the meeting of the Council, and, if time were a deterrent, that the meeting already scheduled for the Executive Committee be enlarged to a meeting of the full Board. None of the complications to which you refer would have surrounded such a meeting.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins

Dr. Howard W. Odum, President
Southern Regional Council
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

THE BOARD OF MISSIONS
AND CHURCH EXTENSION

THE BOARD
OF EDUCATION

THE JOINT DEPARTMENT
OF
MISSIONARY EDUCATION
THE METHODIST CHURCH
CORLISS P. HARGRAVES, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
810 BROADWAY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

October 19, 1944

Williams' letter filed
in requests for information

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 11th.

Thank you very much for the nice list of persons to whom we may refer for information relating to the "Christianity and Race" emphasis and for your prompt attention to our request.

Mr. Williams is out of the city at the present time but on his return I am sure some of these people will hear from us.

Again thanking you and with our best wishes, we are

Yours sincerely,

Allie Lamed

Secretary to Mr. Williams

L.

November 29, 1944

Mr. Sanford Winston
University of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sanford:

Thank you for your letter of November 16. I have been away from the office for the past week, else I would have written you at once.

I think you are quite right in saying that the Archeological Society should give Douglas Rights' manuscript priority and that the Society might be very helpful with publicity in case Speck's manuscript is published.

I have received a copy of the programs of the various society meetings which are to be held in Raleigh on December 6 & 7. Unfortunately, the annual meeting of our Council takes place on December 6 and I will not be able to be with you for the Archeological Society meeting. Please extend my greetings to the group. I hope you have a very successful meeting.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering
of the
University of North Carolina
Raleigh

BASIC DIVISION OF THE COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 16, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I delayed writing you in regard to Dr. Frank Speck's Catawba manuscript until I could talk it over with some of our friends. We all seem to have about the same reaction.

Douglas Rights, as you may remember, has completed a book which is manuscript form and he expects to publish it shortly. We all feel that if any help is given he deserves it from our society, since the North Carolina Archeological Society owes so much to him, as you will agree. On the other hand, if Speck's manuscript is ever published we ought to be able to give it quite a bit of publicity.

We are getting up a rather nice program for the December meeting and will send it to you soon in the hopes that some how or other you might be able to come.

Sincerely,

Sanford Winston

Sanford Winston

SW:na

C
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December 18, 1944

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement
of Georgia
818 Forsyth Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Wilkins:

One of the things that interested me at the last Member Meeting of the Southern Regional Council was the extent of Negro woman participation in the meeting. Frankly, I am somewhat distraught over the fact that there are so few of the younger Negro women who are interested in these problems of social reconstruction with which we are concerned.

I wonder if you would be willing to help the Council bring together in Atlanta a group of intelligent Negro women who might be brought into the field of social action within the near future. We are asking you and Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton to get together on the names of a group of women who might be called together at the Council's office for the purpose of discussing ways in which they might cooperate in the programs that are now being initiated and carried on by women generally in the South and especially by white women. Will you mind getting in contact with Mrs. Hamilton and arranging for such a call, if this at all interests you.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:rha

Send letter to
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
to Atlanta

April 26, 1945

Mrs. Henry Wilson
Powe Street
Morganton, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

I am very glad to learn from Miss Clay of the Southern Regional Council office that you are interested in the field of race relations and the general betterment of all groups in your community. Being a Presbyterian minister, I've known something of the leadership of your husband in such affairs and now I am glad to have learned such as this from Miss Clay about you.

In connection with my work as Director of the State Interracial Commission, I am also Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Council of Churches. The latter position gives me an opportunity of working primarily with the ministers of the state. I have attempted, therefore, in every way possible to get these church leaders to take the responsibility, inaugurating programs for better race relationships in the respective communities across the state.

Sometime ago you will remember that Dr. F. S. Love directed a visitation Evangelism program in your community. I was glad to have word from Dr. Love that this program was the most successful venture in the creation of better racial relationships than any in which he had ever participated before. He spoke very highly of the Morganton situation. Perhaps as a result of such things like this you are ready to move forward with some kind of organization that will seek to do more than alleviate racial conflicts. I am convinced that in every community in North Carolina we need organized efforts to work along these lines rather than just waiting for the situation to take care of itself.

I do not claim to be any authority on this matter, but, I have had an opportunity to see the effectiveness of the work of many groups across the state. For this reason, I should be very glad to come to Morganton if you felt that there was sufficient interest among certain groups.

I am a Commissioner to the General Assembly and there is a possibility that I could stop off on my way up, Thrusday morning, May 24th. This is only a suggestion, however, and perhaps you do not need the visit of "outsiders." With that latter thought in mind, I am sending you under separate cover, certain information which I think might be of interest to you.

Please let me know if there are ways in which you think I might be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

EJA/ejr
cc: Miss Emily Clay

Ernest J. Arnold

DESIGNED TO SERVE ALL–THROUGH OTHERS

The North Carolina Council of Churches

College Station

Durham, N. C.

ITS PURPOSE

—to promote fellowship and mutual understanding among the followers of Christ constituting the several Communions of North Carolina.

—to serve as a medium of interchurch advice and counsel on matters affecting the progress of Christianity in the State.

—to associate the Communions in such joint service as may achieve more effectively the objectives of the Christian religion.

ITS PROGRAM

—the program of your own local church —coupled with that of thousands like it with common interests.

Together: to make a strong religious impact upon our state, nation, and the world. For its areas of interest and service, open leaflet.

ITS NEEDS

—active leadership and financial support from those who believe that the opportunities and tasks of the Church are so vast that they require the combined strength and resources of all moral and spiritual forces.

Dedicated

to the task of serving the religious forces of North Carolina enabling them to do better **together** the things they can't do as effectively **separately**

The North Carolina Council of Churches

A FEW OF ITS AREAS OF INTEREST AND SERVICE

Christian Education—to implement the development of Christian character:

Through teaching the Bible in the public schools, a movement fostered by the Council. Starting with 816 students in six communities in 1937, it today reaches more than 22,000 students with 100 full or part-time teachers—a phenomenal growth.

Through Leadership Education, in counselling seminars for returning service men, Missions to Christian Teachers, and a strong fellowship among denominational leaders.

Evangelism—to promote a well-rounded ministry:

Through Convocations, Preaching Missions, Seminars on Worship.

Through observances of "World Day of Prayer," "World-Wide Communion Sunday" and other special days.

Through local visitation evangelism emphases.

Human Relations and Education—to develop sentiment and plans:

For the continual promotion of improved racial relationships.

For the establishment of a chaplaincy for all our public institutions.

For the establishment of a narcotics education program in the public schools.

International Relations—to focus the attention of churchmen:

On proposals for peace coming out of such conferences as Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta.

On a continuing ministry to service men and women in camps and camp communities.

On war relief and overseas reconstruction.

Information and Publication—to broaden the scope of religious news:

Through a weekly summarization and release of the "News of the Churches" to the papers of the state through the **Church News Service.**

Through weekly broadcasts of "The Churches Make News."

Radio Ministry—to elevate standards of religious broadcasting:

Through the release of well prepared transcriptions.

Through the development of a code of ethics for stations and participants.

Through encouragement of local and denominational talent.

Other Areas of Interest—in such fields as Rural Life and Work, Music, Recreation, Visual Education, etc., the Council maintains keen interest and active leadership.

The North Carolina Council of Churches is officially constituted by 13 participating major denominations who annually name their representatives. These leaders map the full program and determine the policies of this cooperative movement. It is they who direct all of the above areas of interest.

THE ONLY COORDINATING AGENCY OF PROTESTANT FORCES IN NORTH CAROLINA

April 24, 1945

Mrs. Henry Wilson
Powe Street
Morganton, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

Several days ago, in response to your request of April 16, we mailed you five copies of the booklet entitled THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE, with the leaflet describing the program adopted for 1945. We were glad to send these with our compliments. Your check for $1.00 is, therefore, being returned herewith. As I am not sure that the report of the Conference of Southern Church Women was included in the package, I am enclosing a copy now.

So far we have not developed local or state units of the Council, our feeling being that whenever possible it is desirable for us to work through already existing organizations, including local and state interracial committees. Instead of giving you suggestions for organizing a local committee, therefore, we are asking the Rev. Ernest J. Arnold, Director of the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation, College Station, Durham, to get in touch with you. Mr. Arnold is also a member of the Southern Regional Council.

Please be sure to let us know whenever we can be of service to you, for we are anxious to give every possible assistance to interested local and state groups.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Copy to
Rev. Ernest J. Arnold

April 24, 1945

The Rev. Ernest J. Arnold
College Station
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Arnold:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a letter which we have had from Mrs. Henry Wilson of Morganton, North Carolina, who is a member of our Council. A copy of our reply is enclosed, also.

Won't you please get in touch with Mrs. Wilson at your earliest convenience and give her suggestions for organizing a local group in Morganton? Sometime ago Mrs. Wilson wrote that both she and her husband were very much concerned over the race problem and that they would like to do what they could to improve the situation. I know that she will appreciate any help you can give her, and we shall, of course, be glad to cooperate in any way possible.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Enclosures

Return to Eliz

CK
$1.00
4/17/45

MRS. HENRY WILSON
POWE STREET
MORGANTON, N. C.

April 16, 1945

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N E
Atlanta, Ga.,

Dear sirs,

Please send me ~~two~~ 5 five of the original booklets describing the origins of the S.R.C. — containing the report of the Durham conference.

Also send me the statement of activities recommended to church women by the recent Conference of Church Women.

Also write me the name and address of our S. C. director

of the S.P.C. — the state committee.

I should also like to know how a local unit gets started.

Yours truly

Mrs. Henry Wilson

~~Stamps~~ Check is ~~are~~ enclosed to cover booklets.

May 23, 1945

Mrs. Henry Wilson
Powe Street
Morganton, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

I certainly owe you an apology. Your good letter of many weeks ago got misplaced in my voluminous file, and I am very embarrassed about it.

It was good of you to send us the book reviews and your thoughts about some of the situations in Burke County. I wish that more of our members would take as much interest in these things as you and your husband do.

The taxation problem is indeed a tough one. As I see it, the South is gradually going to be pushed into the position of bringing the educational facilities for Negroes up to something like equality with the facilities for whites, and this is going to cost a lot of money. The Southern states are already spending from 35 to 50 percent of their tax income for education, and their schools are still not comparable on the average with schools in the North. Bringing the per capita expenses for Negro schools up to equality with the white schools would mean that some of the Southern states would be paying two-thirds of their total tax income for education. As I see it, the only real hope lies in an increasing prosperity which will greatly boost the income of people in the South so that tax income can be increased proportionately without heavily increasing tax rates. The South now has the best chance that it has ever had for a new industrial expansion and a better balanced economy for all of its people. If it misses this opportunity, we shall not see the solution of the problem of educational inequalities in our generation.

In the meantime, the assistance of voluntary organizations such as PTA's will be invaluable in easing up some of the glaring deficiencies in the Negro schools. These services, in effect, are a substitute for taxation; that is, they help to raise money from people who have money and apply it to Negro schools.

There is certainly a need for some kind of liaison committee between the white and colored PTA's, not only on the state level but on the local level. It probably should not be called a race relations committee, but simply a coordinating or liaison committee between the two organizations. I wonder whether any progress on this has been made since you wrote us.

Under separate cover, we are sending some extra copies of Council publications with the thought that you might spread them around where they will do the most good. We are trying to increase the membership of the Council, and

we would appreciate your sending us the names of people in your county who would make good members.

We appreciate your interpst and your cooperation, and we promise to do better about our correspondence next time.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover

10 No. 1s
5 No. 2s
INKs, 5 March Frontiers
5 1945s

m

MRS. HENRY WILSON
POWE STREET
MORGANTON, N. C.

March 5, 1945.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta,
Ga.,

Dear sirs:

I am sending you two reviews from today's New York Times Book Review which you will no doubt see, but I thought they might be of interest to you, particularly the one "A Rising Wind," by Walter White.

As a member of the S.R.C. I am deeply interested in anything that concerns racial problems. One thing I should like you to clear up for me, (my husband and I have talked it over): when the greatest majority of Negroes are not tax-payers, how can the white people (industries and tax payers) meet the obligation of carrying the support of so many? It is, we are sure, an obligation that white people want to meet, but how can they do it as quickly as it should be done?

As president of our local white P.T.A. I have helped -- our organization has helped -- to cooperate in getting a Federal project cafeteria started at the local Negro School (Olive Hill,) which, by the way, is the only

MRS. HENRY WILSON
POWE STREET
MORGANTON, N. C.

Negro High School in Burke county. Two buses travel a distance of 40 miles each day picking up students for this High School. The Health Nurse, sponsored by our P.T.A. and the town and school board, also serves the Olive Hill School, and they participate in all the health projects our schools do, including the pre-school clinic.

I think on the whole the feeling between white and colored people in this town and county is good. They have a section of our excellent and growing Grace Hospital, with clinic and dispensary. (We have only one hospital here and all doctors and agencies cooperate in it, which we think is a fine thing.)

Our school board is exceedingly progressive minded toward the Olive Hill School and so is our city superintendant. They are always anxious to help over there in any way they can. Local white Girl Scout agencies have also been helping to put on a program in that school. Our library board last year started a branch for Negroes, and the Olive Hill School library has long been one of the pet projects of our white city librarian.

Many of our white churches are helpful to the Negroes, as are individual ministers. I happen to know that my own minister, Rev.

MRS. HENRY WILSON
POWE STREET
MORGANTON, N. C.

Joseph B. Clower, of the First Presbyterian Church is deeply interested in race relations, though as a recent comer to Morganton, he cannot yet do anything which might be called "radical" by critics. I often give him your bulletins and reports.

My husband and I were talking tonight about wishing we could get a little negro business block started,--a decently run café, drug store or soda fountain, barber shop, pressing club and beauty parlor and picture show. At present such facilities as they have of this kind are widely scattered. They have no movie of their own, but are permitted to use balconies at the two white movies.

A recreational survey on which I served a year or so ago persuaded the town to buy for a future Negro school a beautiful tract of land overlooking our mountains and close to the Negro section and not too far out. We hope it can be made into a recreation ground for them when the war is over. Negroes participated in the planning of a recreation program for the town put on by civic clubs last summer, but we were not successful in getting a place for them to swim. It was hard to find one for ourselves. Such lakes or rivers as we have are distant or not suited for swimming, and we have no pools.

MRS. HENRY WILSON
POWE STREET
MORGANTON, N. C.

The Negroes here have a so-called "Civic League", founded by an exceptionally fine minister who served a number of churches in this area, -- you may have heard of him,-- Dr. Tross. But he has gone now. This Civic League is made up of some of the best Negroes in town and the colored folks I ask tell me that it is representative and non-partisan. (Sometimes we get rather involved in local Negro church rivalries here in attempting to do something, but I am told this is all right.) I and two other white women were asked to serve in an advisory capacity on this board, but they have never called us to a meeting. I thought they would be a good nucleus for connection with the S.R.C. I sent one of the leaders one of your booklets, but he never did comment.

If you have any suggestions or material that would be helpful to us, I should be glad to have it.

Yours truly,

Dell Bernhardt Wilson

Mrs. Henry Wilson.

MRS. HENRY WILSON
POWE STREET
MORGANTON, N. C.

P.S. Our state Congress of Parents and Teachers has never had a chairman of Race Relations (or whatever it would be called.) I think this would be a helpful liason between the white Congress and that of the Negro P.T.A. After our state president, Mr. Charlie Phillips, visited me recently I suggested to him that we have such an office on the state board. He said he didn't know why it had not been done before and that he would try to get it started before he retires in May. It is a job I should love myself, and I'd try very hard to fulfill it, but I couldn't do it because it would require too much travelling and being away from home. We have three boys and they need me. My husband said he thought it should be a man -- or a person more mature than I, -- a compliment I appreciated as I am forty two.

D.B.W.

August 31, 1945

Mr. William B. Wisdom
American Bank Building
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Wisdom:

Under separate cover I am sending you some literature published by the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Monte M. Lemann, of New Orleans, who is a member of the Council, has suggested that you might be interested in our publications.

The Southern Regional Council is a voluntary membership organization, operating in thirteen southern states. It is trying to do a job of popular education and constructive action on the South's social, economic, and political problems.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

#1, 2, 3, 4, June and July Southern Frontier,
Publication list, order blank

mb 9/4/45

September 26, 1945

Mr. Aubrey Williams, Publisher and Editor
Southern Farmer
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Williams:

The Southern Regional Council would like to subscribe to Southern Farmer. Please enter us on your list and bill us for one year's subscription.

We would appreciate having information on your advertising rates, as we are interested in submitting a small advertisement concerning the Council and our recent publication The South - America's Opportunity Number One.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Mr. Williams' name placed on Complimentary mailing list.
IBT

SOUTHERN FARMER

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

September 21, 1945

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Thank you very much for sending me "The South", America's opportunity No. 1.

Sincerely yours,

Aubrey Williams

AW/bv

AUBREY WILLIAMS
Publisher and Editor
Southern Farmer
Montgomery, Alabama

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1945
Southern Regional Council

BURTON T. WILSON
3900 LOQUAT AVENUE
COCONUT GROVE STATION
MIAMI 33, FLORIDA

October 1, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Thank you for your letter of September 3rd. I was unable to obtain any hotel reservations in Atlanta on my trip south recently, so it was necessary for me to continue on my way and so miss calling on you.

It is my hope that I shall again be in Atlanta within another twelve months and that I shall see you at that time.

Yours truly,

Burton T. Wilson

BTW/bg

October 16, 1945

Miss Ethel Winfield
1111 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Miss Winfield:

Thank you for your inquiry concerning material which might be helpful in the preparation of your talk on "Problems of the Southern Region".

We have just published a booklet entitled THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One, which I believe will be helpful to you. It contains authoritative articles on agriculture, industry, labor, housing, freight rates, etc. We are sending this along with several other pieces of literature under separate cover.

Here are some books which you might want to look up at the public library: Howard W. Odum, Southern Regions; Van Sickle, Planning for the South; David Lillienthal, Democracy on the March. Dr. Rupert Vance, of the University of North Carolina has a brand new book called All These People, published by the University of North Carolina Press.

As for articles, I think that one of the best which has appeared recently was "Revolution Down South" by Governor Ellis Arnall, in Collier's, July 28, 1945.

Cordially yours,

C.W.

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

10/19/45

GBJ:IBT

CONSECRATING THE CENTENNIAL TO CHRIST

Woman's Missionary Union

AUXILIARY TO SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

W.M.U. MAGAZINES
ROYAL SERVICE
World Comrades
The WINDOW of Y.W.A.

1111 COMER BUILDING • BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

October 12, 1945

Rush Request

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3

Dear Friends:

A woman's club here in Birmingham is studying as its year's theme "Regional Development of the Changing American Nation." They have asked me to discuss Problems of the Southern Region, and since they have not given me much time for preparation I am hoping you can help me by sending some rather succinct material on the subject.

Even a list of articles that I might be able to find in magazine files at our public library would be very gratefully received - or suggestion as to one very good book along that line.

An early reply will be deeply appreciated. I enclose 10¢ in stamps for postage on any pamphlets you might be able to send me.

Sincerely yours,

Ethel Winfield

Address: 1111 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.

MRS. F. W. ARMSTRONG, PRESIDENT, PLATTSBURG, MO. — MISS KATHLEEN MALLORY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY — MRS. W. J. COX, TREASURER, 235 PATTERSON ST., MEMPHIS 11, TENN. — MRS. WILFRED C. TYLER, RECORDING SECRETARY — MRS. J. FURNISS LEE, ASSISTANT RECORDING SECRETARY — MISS JULIETTE MATHER, YOUNG PEOPLE'S SECRETARY — MISS ETHEL WINFIELD, ASSISTANT TO EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, SECRETARY OF LITERATURE DEPARTMENT — MISS MARY CHRISTIAN, W. M. U. REPRESENTATIVE — MRS. EDGAR GODBOLD, SOUTHWIDE COMMUNITY MISSIONS CHAIRMAN — MRS. UNA ROBERTS LAWRENCE, SOUTHWIDE MISSION STUDY CHAIRMAN — MRS. CLYDE V. HICKERSON, SOUTHWIDE STEWARDSHIP CHAIRMAN — MR. J. I. BISHOP, ROYAL AMBASSADOR SECRETARY — MISS RACHEL COLVIN, ART EDITOR

Send: "The South — 2 frontiers."
Alexander, respondent

Refer to ~~[illegible]~~
Gov. Arnall's article in Collier's

Vera Sickle — Planning for The South.

Vance —

November 8, 1945

Miss Ethna Beulah Winston
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Winston:

Your letter of November 6 addressed to me contained a contribution for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Being uncertain as to whether you intended the contribution for the Southern Regional Council or for the Southern Conference I am returning it to you. The two organizations are frequently confused.

We would be pleased to have you as a member of the Council and we are enclosing an invitation. The dues are $1.00 a year.

We had a very pleasant visit with Miss Mabel Carney when she was here in the summer. She is a good friend and supporter of the work which we are trying to do.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

P. S. The headquarters of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are 506-507 Presbyterian Building, Nashville 3, Tennessee. The Georgia branch, known as the Committee for Georgia is located in the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce Building, 33 Pryor Street, N.E.

GBJ:

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 6, 1945

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a small contribution toward the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This is in keeping with a promise made to Miss Dorothy Parker many weeks ago - also in accord with plans made with Miss Mabel Carney when she was here last summer. I wish this might be eventually increased.

Sincerely yours,

Ethna Beulah Winston

January 22, 1946

Dr. George A. Wieland
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Wieland:

In 1942, just prior to the convention at Cleveland, you were kind enough to send me a mimeographed document which contained the name and location of all parishes and missions for Negroes in the United States. It also gave the name of the priest or other person serving in each case. If you have this information, will you kindly send me a copy? It will aid me tremendously in my travels throughout the Southern states.

I was in Jacksonville, Florida last week. The visit was made profitable and pleasant with the assistance of Archdeacon Satterwhite and Archdeacon Culmer.

Please let me thank you for your excellent report on the Bishop Payne Divinity School which you presented at the December meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Institute. It faced the reality in the situation, and I am sure that something constructive will come out of it.

With every good wish, I am

Yours very cordially,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:m

March 15, 1946

Miss M. A. Willcox
63 Oakwood Road
Newtonville 60, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Willcox:

Thank you for your note of March 7. We shall get in touch with our good friend, Mrs. Attwood Martin of Louisville, to see if she can interest Miss Juliet Pirtle in the Council.

We find that Miss Marian Benedict of Sweet Briar College is not on our membership list.

Tell your friends who don't like the idea of a non-voting membership in SRC that the main thing is moral support. If we had voting members in New England, the Midwest, and the Pacific states, not one per cent of them would show up to cast a vote, and still their names would be counted against a quorum in their absence. Some day we may abolish the quorum and extend the voting membership to the whole nation, but at present we think the limitation on voting is reasonable enough.

It is always good to hear from you. Highest regards and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:jm

MISS M. A. WILLCOX
63 OAKWOOD ROAD
NEWTONVILLE 60, MASS.

March 7,1946.

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr Johnson,

I need not tell you that I am not likely to have many friends in New England who would care to join an organization in which (very properly) they are not allowed a vote.

But I spend the month of August with a group of Episcopal women some of whom come from the South.One of them to whom I spoke about the SRC last summer told me that she would talk it over with her friend,George Madden Martin (Mrs Attwood R. Martin,) 1304 Eastern Parkway,Louisville,Kentucky. If you can interest Mrs Martin,she will do more than I could with Miss Juliet Pirtle, also of Louisville.

If you will let me know whether Miss Marian Benedict,Sweet Briar Cooleg,Sweet Briar, Va. is on your list,I shall be much obliged. A post card - "That name is not on our list" will suffice.

Very truly yours,

M. A. Willcox

August 2, 1946

Mr. F. C. Willcoxon
Junius Ward Johnson Memorial
Young Men's Christian Association
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Willcoxon:

Dr. Johnson has been so busy this week that he did not have time to answer your letter as he wanted to. He is preparing to leave for meetings in New York and Chicago and has asked me to send you some material which might be of help in preparing your forum discussion.

I am sending the material under separate cover. You may keep all of it except that stamped "Southern Regional Council," which I took from our files. Besides the material I am sending, you might find these issues of New South helpful:

February, "Brothers or Bombs", by Dr. Harold L. Trigg;
March, "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation";
June, "Wanted: A Healthy South

I trust that you will find this material helpful. If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

July 25, 1946

Mr. F. C. Willcoxon
Y. M. C. A.
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Willcoxon:

Dr. Johnson is out of the city for a few days, but your letter of July 22 will have his attention as soon as he returns.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

JOHN O. RAWORTH, PRES.

F. C. WILLCOXON, GEN'L SEC'Y

JUNIUS WARD JOHNSON MEMORIAL

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI

YMCA

July 22, 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 24 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am to participate in a Forum for three programs - subject: "What Are the Basic Issues in the Race Problem in the South and What Can We As Christian Citizens Do About It?"

Will you write me what you think the issues are and suggest something we can do about them? I want your personal help on this program. Do you have condensed information and statistics I might use?

Thanking you for your help, I am

Sincerely yours,

F. C. Willcoxon

F. C. Willcoxon

FCW:bh

August 15, 1946

Mr. A.L.M. Wiggins
Hartsville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

For some time I have been wanting to write you and express my appreciation for the copy of the address which you delivered last April before the Pee Dee Regional Conference of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work. Your address is a splendid statement of a progressive point of view, and I hope that you will give us permission to quote from it in some future issue of our monthly paper, New South.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the July issue of New South, entitled "Wanted: A Healthy South". I believe it will be of interest to you. I wonder whether you saw our March issue, entitled "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," which was written by Dr. Rupert Vance of the University of North Carolina. If you would like to have a copy, please let us know.

The trend of politics and of race relations is anything but encouraging right now, but we feel that there is more need than ever for organizations like ours, which are trying to do a constructive job in behalf of better understanding and social progress in the South.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

8/15/46

September 10, 1946

Mr. Howard C. Wilkinson
First Methodist Church
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wilkinson:

Miss Emily Clay, our Secretary-Treasurer, is away on vacation. In her absence I am writing to ask your apology for having sent you a second notice of 1946 dues. We have re-checked our records, and you are quite right: you have paid. Through some error, your payment was not posted in the files which we used in compiling the second notice list.

Please accept our thanks for your check and our apology for our mistake in sending the second notice.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EMILY H. CLAY
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 5, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 7 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

Recently several of our members have sent in their dues with notes telling us that our notices arrived at a time when they were unusually busy and had, therefore, been overlooked. Thinking that this may be the case with others whose dues have not been received, we are taking the liberty of reminding you of our letter of May 23, with which a notice and a stamped return envelope were enclosed.

When the Council meets on November 13, we hope to be able to report 100 per cent payment of dues. We hope, too, that every member who can possibly do so will add a contribution toward the general budget. This is your Council. It needs your support. Whatever you send at this time will help to advance the program and will be greatly appreciated by those of us who must see that the bills are paid.

NOW -- before this reminder is laid aside -- won't you please write a check and send it to us at once? In so doing you will help us to reach our goal: ALL DUES PAID BY NOVEMBER 13!

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

1st March
Ch 2, N.C.

P. S. In some instances dues for the year 1945 have not yet been received (and, in a very few, even 1944 dues have not been paid). It was ruled by the members that persons whose dues are not paid for twenty-four months are not members in good standing. Those who have not paid for former years will find a notation on the card which accompanies this letter.

September 6, 1946

Dear Friends:

Pl.

There must be an error at some point. I have a cancelled check, dated May 30, 1946, on which I had marked "1946 membership dues", and which was endorsed by stamp as follows: "For deposit Southern Regional Council, Inc." It was cleared through the First National Bank of Atlanta.

Cordially,

Howard C. Wilkinson

September 13, 1946

Mr, F. C. Willcoxon
Y.M.C.A.
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Willcoxon:

Thank you for you check for $10.00 covering your 1946 dues and an additional contribution. We greatly appreciate this gift. This contribution will be a great help to our current budget.

Receipt is enclosed.

Cordially yours,

INEZ B. TILLISON

November 22, 1946

Dr. Melvin J. Williams
Professor of Sociology
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dr. Williams:

It will be perfectly satisfactory for your class to visit us here on December 10, rather than on the 3rd as originally planned.

I am planning to be in town on that date, and am looking forward to having your sociology class obtain some first-hand information on what the Southern Regional Council is trying to do.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to R.R.

- Write Williams OK.
- Send out Staff memo on change of date to Dec. 10

WESLEYAN COLLEGE
THE FIRST CHARTERED COLLEGE FOR WOMEN
MACON, GEORGIA

November 20, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 19 saying that you would be able to arrange for a visit by my students to the Council office. An unexpected event has been placed on our campus calander which makes it impossible for the group to come on December 2-3. We are therefore postponing our tour until December 9-10. We would like very much to come at 10:00 o'clock on December 10. Unless I hear otherwise, I will have the group of about 30 girls at your office at this time. But if this is not convenient, we could arrange to come sometime Monday afternoon, December 9.

If you prefer some other time to the morning of December 10, kindly advise me so that I can reshuffle the schedule to suit your convenience.

Thanking you for your interest and cooperation in making our tour a success,

Very cordially yours,

Melvin J. Williams

Melvin J. Williams
Prof. of Sociology.

WESLEYAN COLLEGE

THE FIRST CHARTERED COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

MACON, GEORGIA

November 13, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

11-19-46
98. g.
replied
we look forward
to your visit
accepted for
Hemson at
10 am
Dec 3

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I am planning a sociological field trip to Atlanta on December 2-3, at which time I would like very much for my students, about 30, to have an opportunity to visit the Council office and learn about the program and work of the Council. I wonder if we could possible have the benefit of the experience and work of you and your staff, or part of your staff, on the morning of December 3?

The type of program that I have in mind would involve a resume of the program of the Council, its aims, and methods of carrying out its objectives, some of the functions carried on through the Council, its relation to other agencies in the various phases of its program, a brief survey of the type of studies sponsored by the Council, and any other educational or informative topics related to the work of the Council in which sociology majors and students might be interested.

We could spend as much time during the morning as might be required to cover in some detail the program which you might be able to arrange. In fact we are spending Monday night in Atlanta and could be avaialble as early as you would like, but we have planned to be at the U. S. Prison for the afternoon. We would therefore have to leave your office in time to have lunch and get to the Prison by about 1:00 pm.

I cannot tell you how much such an opportunity willmean to my students. They are very serious in outlook. Many of them have studied Odum's works in regional sociology, and they have all had at least 9-24 hours in sociology and related work in the field of Economics and Psychology. Most all of the students are seniors and juniors. More than half of them will have had a course in Race Relations I think they are prepared for such a meeting and that they will all profit tremendously by this opportunity, if it can be arranged.

Hoping to hear from you at an early date, and looking forward to visiting personally with you while we are in Atlanta,

Very cordially yours,

Melvin J. Williams

Melvin J. Williams.
Prof. of Sociology.

P. S. I know Mrs. Johnson very well, having been associated with her on several occasions in connection with the Ga. Conference on Soc. Welf. I received my doctorate from Duke, and taught at Albion College before coming to Wesleyan to head the Department.

MJW.

STATE OF FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

COLIN ENGLISH
SUPERINTENDENT

TALLAHASSEE

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

November 27, 1946

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I failed to include my check in my letter to you last week. Here it is.

$2.00 Due for [illegible]

Sincerely yours

D. E. Williams

D. E. Williams
Supervisor of Instruction

DEW/gs
Encl.

November 27, 1946

Mr. D. E. Williams
State Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Williams:

Welcome to membership in the Southern Regional Council! We are delighted to have you with us.

Did you forget to enclose the check, or did the Gremlins swipe it?

I shall be getting in touch with you soon about our cooperation on the education project. I had some hope of driving down to Tallahassee during the Thanksgiving holidays, to combine business and fishing, but it looks like that is out.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

STATE OF FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

COLIN ENGLISH
SUPERINTENDENT

TALLAHASSEE

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1946
Southern Regional Council

November 21, 1946

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Enclosed herewith is my check for $2.00, annual membership fee for the State Division and the Southern Council. I compliment you on what you are doing and the way you are doing it. Come to see us when you are in Florida again.

With kindest wishes, I am

Sincerely yours

D. E. Williams

D. E. Williams
Supervisor of Instruction

DEW/gs

Ck not enclosed!

January 2, 1947

Dr. Melvin J. Williams
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dr. Williams:

Thank you for your letter of December 16. We appreciate your gracious comments concerning the visit which you and your student group paid to the Council last month.

For our part, we certainly enjoyed the occasion and we hope that you will repeat such visits from time to time. We shall be glad to talk over with you at any time the matter of cooperation with you in connection with your research projects at Wesleyan College.

Highest regards and greetings for the New Year.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

WESLEYAN COLLEGE
CHARTERED 1836
MACON, GEORGIA

December 16, 1946

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I want to thank you again for the program which you arranged for my students. Our visit to your agency has been very enlightening and it has furnished food for thought and discussion ever since we came back. In fact the students are still talking about the new ideas which they received and the interesting aspects of dealing constructively with the social problems which you are working with.

I feel that the sort of program which you arranged for us is vitally needed today for growing students and it is invaluable as a teaching aid.

Kindly pass on our appreciation to the members of your staff who gave their time and insight into making our visit a success.

I am very interested in working out some program of cooperation with you in connection with our research projects her at the college. I will try to visit with you sometime in the near future to talk over this possibility and to learn more about what we can do to tie our educational program with the aims of the Council.

I hope that we will be able to visit you on other occassions either in the Spring or next Fall.

Cordially yours,

Melvin J. Williams

Melvin J. Williams
Professor of Sociology

MJW:jm

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. NE $

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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 2, 1947

Mr. D. E. Williams

State Department of Education

Tallahassee, Florida

Sorry to have to postpone trip account of illness in family.

Guy B. Johnson

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. N.E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

December 31, 1946

Mr. D. E. Williams
State Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida

Arriving by train Friday 1:30 P.M. Hope to be there til Saturday evening.

Guy B. Johnson

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(54)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

QA68

1946 DEC 31 PM 1 02

QLZ268 18=JM TALLAHASSEE FLO 31 1145A

GUY B JOHNSON=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC

TU ATLA=

PLEASE WIRE DAY OF ARRIVAL AND OTHER NECESSARY INFORMATION

FOR MY PLANNING MOST EFFECTIVE USE OF YOUR TIME=

D E WILLIAMS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 13, 1947

Mr. J. Roffe Wike, 2nd
65 Holder Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Wike:

Thank you very much for your good letter and for the return of the material which we sent you sometime ago. I am very glad that you found the material useful in your research.

One demagogue has been removed from our midst and it looks as if another may be taken on to his reward, if any, in the near future. However, here in Georgia we are faced with the real possibility that the younger Talmadge may become our next Governor. If you have been following the situation, you know how ridiculous it is. Only Gilbert & Sullivan could do justice to it!

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

J. ROFFE WIKE, 2ND
235 BEECH HILL ROAD
WYNNEWOOD, PENNA.

RECEIVED
JAN 7 1947
South ional Council

Sunday Jan. 5, 1946

Dear Mr. Johnson,

I want to apologize to you for not returning your manuscript sooner, but I finished my paper just before Christmas vacation, and now that the vacation is just about over, I have time to sit down and write you as well as to mail back your manuscript.

I want to thank you first of all for your generous assistance - the literature, and especially your personal letter and manuscript were extremely helpful.

The paper was a very interesting one for which to do research; it was, however, difficult to obtain unbiased information on the liberal groups. Your letter gave one of the few frank evaluations of these groups that I found. Ralph Bunche in "Programs, Ideologies, etc. of Negro Betterment and Interracial Groups" - written as part of the Myrdal survey gave, I thought, an excellent unbiased view of these groups; his final evaluation was rather gloomy however.

I praised the work of the labor unions, especially the C.I.O. and the Southern Farmer Tenant Union, and emphasized their potential importance. I also praised the work of the Southern Regional

J. ROFFE WIKE, 2ND
235 BEECH HILL ROAD
WYNNEWOOD, PENNA.

Council and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; I feel that these two groups will have greater value in the long run than some of the more left-of-Northern groups. Your idea that the South must save itself is the only intelligent way, I believe, to view the problem as it stands today. I don't think prejudice as it exists in many places today not only in the South, but in the North as well, can be eradicated by Federal law. I believe we all want to see the changes come immediately

but realize how impossible such sudden and immediate change is.

Again I would like to thank you for your personal interest. I also hope that the new year - '47, will see greater progress economically and politically in the South and greater international understanding everywhere as well as the gradual eddance, by one means or another of Talmadges and Bilbos -

Very Truly yours,

J. Raffe Wike II

January 15, 1947

Miss Dorothy E. Cook
The H. W. Wilson Co.
956-972 University Avenue
New York 52, New York

Dear Miss Cook:

Thank you for your letter of January 3, which was delayed in reaching us because of our change of address.

I am enclosing the check-sheet which you sent me and have made the necessary corrections in our pamphlet notice. Please note that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council in 1944 and that our present address is 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta. If the Commission on Interracial Cooperation is listed, I suggest that it be followed by "See Southern Regional Council".

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF INDEXES AND REFERENCE WORKS
950-972 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
NEW YORK 52, N.Y.

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STANDARD CATALOG FOR HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES
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CHILDREN'S CATALOG
-
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-
ESSAY INDEX
-
REFERENCE SHELF
-
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WILSON LIBRARY BULLETIN

January 3, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

This company is now at work on the 1947 edition of the STANDARD CATALOG FOR HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES. We are enclosing a list of some of your publications which are included in the 1942 Catalog and its Supplements.

We are very anxious to have correct information about new editions, out of print books and prices, since incorrect facts prove an inconvenience to publishers as well as to librarians who purchase largely through our Catalog. We are therefore enclosing directions for checking, and hope you will find it possible to have some accurate assistant check and return the enclosed list to us as soon as possible.

The newer books will be considered later, this list containing only older titles which are to be reconsidered for inclusion.

Your prompt reply to this will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy E. Cook

Dorothy E. Cook, Editor
Standard Catalog Series
THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

DEC:EJR

Return a copy to her

January 21, 1947

Mr. W.B. Wicker
Sanford, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wicker.

I was quite proud to read in the News and Observer that your school had achieved a Southern Association rating. When I think back almost twenty years (20) when I first visited you, I am much more able to appreciate the splendid progress that has been made in the colored schools in Lee county since you and Mrs. Wicker have been there.

I wish to congratulate you, the school officials, the parents, teachers and students who have been instrumental in meriting this social recognition.

Sincerely yours,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

January 23, 1947

Mrs. Robert Williams
1300 Riverside Drive
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Williams:

At last here are the figures on number of white and Negro children 14 years of age and under for Georgia and the thirteen Southern states listed in one of the tables. I hope that you will find the figures usable; percentages are given as being more meaningful. Mr. James Slade, the research assistant who compiled the figures, used the 1940 Census, Volume II, in case you have need to go to the source.

I promised to send you the name of the president of the Gainesville Interracial Commission. He is Mr. E. D. Kenyon, a lawyer. I am sure that he will be happy to talk to you about the local group. Membership in the local committee makes you also a member of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

We shall be very happy to have you join the Southern Regional Council, also, if you care to join both organizations. The Georgia Committee is an affiliate of the Council, but membership is not interchangeable. The Council carries on a program broader than race relations, as the enclosed leaflet will show you. Members of the Georgia Committee receive all Council publications, however.

We hope that you will call on us again if we can be of service to you. It was a pleasure to have you in the office the other day.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price

TOTAL POPULATION 14 YEARS OLD OR UNDER, BY 13 SOUTHERN STATES,
BY RACE, 1940

Race	State												
	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	Ky.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	Okla.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.
All Classes	916,158	604,115	475,529	957,187	864,049	702,439	712,631	1,161,219	682,883	640,685	856,003	1,796,567	766,832
Native white	578,691	451,713	336,412	595,434	811,576	429,655	337,721	804,694	609,287	332,260	716,622	1,521,747	557,951
Foreign born	88	69	647	121	155	230	77	151	163	59	122	2,657	330
Negro	337,166	152,058	138,138	361,451	52,286	271,471	373,603	346,462	50,350	307,837	139,211	271,329	208,314
Other races	213	275	332	181	32	1,083	1,130	9,912	23,083	526	48	834	237

PERCENT OF WHITES AND NEGROES OF TOTAL POPULATION
14 YEARS OLD AND UNDER IN THE SOUTHERN REGION, 1940

Whites			Negroes		
Total Population of the Region	14 years old and under		Total Population of the Region	14 years old and under	
	Number	Percent of total pop. of region		Number	Percent of total pop. of region
27,752,087	8,126,518*	29.28	9,261,000**	3,009,676	32.49

*Foreign born whites and "other races" are combined with the native white total.
**Total Negro population here is presented in "round numbers".

Source of all figures: Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Vol. II, "Characteristics of the Population"

THE 14-YEAR OLD AND UNDER POPULATION OF GEORGIA

1. Of Georgia's total population, 30.64 percent are 14 years old and under.

2. The native whites constitute 62.20 percent of this total 14-year old population or under.

3. Negroes constitute 37.76 percent of this total 14-year old and under population.

4. Only .04 percent of the total 14-year old and under population are foreign born whites or "other races".

5. Of all the Negroes in Georgia, 33.42 percent are 14 years old and under.

6. In the white population of Georgia (including about 300 foreign born and "other races" in the calculation), 29.22 percent are children 14 years old or under.

CHILDREN IN THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES UP TO AND INCLUDING 14 YEARS OF AGE, BY RACE, IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL POPULATION (OF THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES), 1940

Age class and race	Total Population Number	Total Population Percent 14 years of age and under
ALL AGE CLASSES	37,013,087	30.09
Children 14 years of age and under	11,136,297	100.00
Native born whites	8,083.763	72.59
Negroes	3,009,676	27.02
Foreign Born whites and other races	42,755	.39

No. of colored children in foundling
in relation to total population
no white ch. —

W.S.
1/4 —

Mrs. Robert Williams
1300 Riverside Dr.
Gainesville

she bought Color, Class & Personality,
ABC's of Scrapbooking
& Sam her son
helpers,

M.P.
1-47

The job of the C. S. R. Sec. see guide

~~Her own peculiar work.~~

Chm. Comm on C. S. R.

member of Program and Finance Committee

aim of department.

January 27, 1947

The Rev. Peyton R. Williams
Christ Church
Ninth and Broad
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you very much for writing me about Mr. Raymond Brooks. I recently had a letter from him in which he enclosed some material on his education and work experience. I have written him that just at present we are not able to enlarge our staff but that, as soon as we have worked out some financial problems, we might be able to consider him. Mr. Brooks seems to be a very able person and I am sure he could be helpful to us.

However, one of our greatest needs right now is a dynamic and forceful person, who can go into the field and work, not only on program but on financial promotion. If we could find just the right kind of person, we would probably take the risk on his being able to raise enough money the first year to pay for his salary and expenses. I am a bit doubtful whether Mr. Brooks is the right man for this particular job. I am hoping to have a chance to see him when I come to Nashville.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Christ Church
THE REVEREND PEYTON R. WILLIAMS, Rector
Ninth and Broad
Nashville 3, Tennessee

RECEIVED
JAN 20 1947
Southern Regional Council

January 18, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn St., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I understand that Mr. Raymond Brooks is applying to you for a position on the staff of Southern Regional Council. I have known Mr. Brooks since my coming here to Christ Church as Rector, a little over two years ago. He was, as you know, with the Labor Department in Public Relations work. From every indication that I can find, Mr. Brooks has again and again demonstrated his ability in the field of research and analysis and preparation of material for public relations. I believe he has the capacity to see different points of view, analyse them and drive through to a sound position and present that position well. Indeed, I have seen some of the letters of commendation in which these qualities were pretty strongly stressed.

I am of the opinion that he has in each instance moved from one job to a better, except of course, with the curtailing of the field offices in the Labor Department he was out of a job.

I must say that Mr. Brooks' greatest draw back is his inability to sell himself, not having a particularly prepossessing presence. However, on the basis of performance he has sold himself well to those who have gotten to know him. Some of the letters referred to above went well beyond the routine letters of recommendation. If you are considering him, I should hope that he would bring along with him to the interview, these documents.

His personal character is sound and his approach to social problems the type which is thoroughly in accord with S.R.C.

I do hope that you might find that he is the type of person you need at this point.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Peyton R. Williams

Peyton R. Williams

PRW:M

February 11, 1947

The Rev. Howard C. Wilkinson
First Methodist Church
Charlotte 2, North Carolina
Dear Rev.
Dear Mr. Wilkinson:

Thank you for your check for $2.00 which was received February 7. A receipt is attached hereto.

Answering your question concerning income tax deductions, dues and contributions to the Southern Regional Council are deductible from income tax returns. Since the Council is chartered as an eleemosynary institution, you may list on your return any amounts sent SRC as "contributions to an organization operated for charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes."

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Ines B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

IBT:k

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RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 29, 1947

To: The Members of the Southern Regional Council

Your membership dues for 1947 are now payable. We are counting on your continued support during this year.

Won't you please send us your check to cover your 1947 dues of $2.00, and any additional contribution you feel you can send.

Please use the card and self-addressed envelope which are enclosed for your convenience.

Cordially yours,
Inez B. Tillison
(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

Encl.

Dear Friends:
Can you tell me if the $2.00 membership is deductible for federal income tax purposes?

-Howard Wilkinson

A Brotherhood of men and women pledged to Specialized Service, deriving their inspiration from The Theosophical Society . , . . .

Founded by Dr. Besant in 1908

THEOSOPHICAL ORDER OF SERVICE

Chief Brother in U.S.A., ESTHER C. RENSHAW

Krotona, Ojai, California

PEACE & RECONSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT
MRS. DIANA G. WINSLOW, Head Brother
816 1st Street
Coronado, California

2/20/47

New Member

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
#63 Auburn Ave.N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:-

As National Head of the department of Peace & Reconstruction of the T.O.S. I am very much interested in your work. Our Chief Brother, Miss Renshaw, has from time to time sent me your literature and copies of your magazine. As the work of this department lies along parallel lines I would appreciate being put on your mailing list. To that end I am enclosing my check for two dollars ($2.00) so that I may become an Associate of the Council.

I was born in Tennessee so I know how important your work is and I shall be happy to direct my workers to your organization as one way they can help reconstruction and reach true world peace.

Yours for a peaceful world!

With cordial goodwill,

Diana G. Winslow

RECEIVED FEB 21 1947 Southern

A UNION OF THOSE WHO LOVE FOR THE SERVICE OF ALL WHO SUFFER

F-Ll

Lee County Training School
Sanford, North Carolina
February 21, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Incoporated
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

I wish to thank you for your letter in which you congratulated me and others for working to achieve the Southern Association Rating. I feel that the school has made some progress in the past 20 years and your leadership and guidance in its program was a great factor in this progress. We are still grateful to you for the work that you have done to bring the schools of North Carolina to the place where they are. You certainly did a great work in this state and we all miss you.

I trust that your work is going well and that Mrs. Trigg and the other members of your family are well and happy. Give my regards to all the family.

May I thank you again for your kind letter.

Yours very truly,
W. B. Wicker
W.B.Wicker, Prin.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., 63 AUBURN AVE.? N.E.

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FEBRUARY 24, 1947

MR. F. C. WILCOXON
SECRETARY Y.M.C.A.
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. M. E. TILLY WILL REPRESENT US AT JACKSON MEETING WEDNESDAY

GUY B. JOHNSON

The Church & Southland Advocate

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Pastor Calvary Presbyterian Church
44 Circle St.
Phone 6198
Asheville, N. C.

DR. J. L. TILLEY, Pres.
Florida Normal & Industrial College
St. Augustine, Fla.

DR. W. C. BROWN
Pastor First Nazareth Baptist
Inst. Church
Corner Pine and Hazzard
Asheville, N. C.
3 Walton St.
Phone 4881

REV. E. W. DIXON
Publisher and Editor

MRS. NELL L. WILLIAMS, Ass't. Mgr. - Executive Sec'y.

OFFICE 333 HILLIARD AVE. PHONE 9178 RES. 6594

ASHEVILLE, N. C.

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Pastor St. James A.M.E. Church
134 Broad St.
Asheville, N. C.

February 27

1 9 4 7

Miss Inez B. Tillison
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

pd.

Dear Madame:

I am sorry for the delay in sending my dues for 1947.

Enclosed you will find a check for the sum of four dollars ($4.00). Two dollars ($2.00) is for membership fee of Executive Sec'y, Miss N. Lark Williams, 44 Clingman Ave., Asheville, N. C.

new member

With best wishes I am,

Yours truly,

E. W. Dixon (N.L.W.)
E. W. Dixon

EWD:nlw

(Encl.)

March 28, 1947

Dr. Melvin Williams
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dr. Williams:

I want to thank you for the very enjoyable visit with your classes on Tuesday, and for the privilege of speaking to the College Assembly.

It was a unique occasion. I am sure it required some courage and some careful building up to such an occasion on your part. You are doing some splendid work there in a quiet effective way. Changes in minds are slow and tedious. Results come, however, in due time.

We hope to have another visit from you during the Spring. Please bring the two other young men of the staff along.

With every good wish and highest personal regard, I am

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

April 8, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Williams
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Williams:

I am sending the statement to Teachers College, Columbia University today. I hope it will help you in your further efforts to secure a p position.

I haven't seen a News Letter in some months. Is it still being published?

We are having real spring weather and I am quite happy. Hope all goes well with you. Mrs. Trigg joins me in kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina
March 24, 1947

Dr. H. L. Trigg
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

I am enclosing a blank, on which please make a statement about the quality of my work which was directed by you at this institution. A rating of my personality and intelligence is also requested.

My efforts are to bring my record up to date in the employment office at Columbia University.

In this last quarter of my work here, I am "coming in on a wing and a prayer."

Please extend my regards to Mrs. Trigg and the Family.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Williams

WESLEYAN COLLEGE
CHARTERED 1836
MACON, GEORGIA

April 14, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Gerogia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I appreciate your very fine letter of March 28. You are very stimulating in your comments upon what we are trying to do, and most kind.

We who are trying to produce wholesome feelings and understanding between different racial groups are encouraged by your outlook. We feel that your visit was most enlightening. We look forward to having you come again and help us out from time to time.

The way things look now, I hardly believe I will be able to bring any students up this Spring, though it might work out that I can.

I had a very nice visit to Knoxville last week. I was with Dr. Johnson for a short while.

Give my regards to the other members of the staff, and rest assured that all our students are gratefully indebted to you for your sincere efforts and stimulation.

Very cordially yours,

Melvin J. Williams

Melvin J. Williams
Prof. of Sociology.

April 23, 1947

Miss Mary Willey, Secretary
Children's Interracial Organization, Inc.
1313 - 28th Avenue North
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Miss Willey:

I am answering your letter of April 13 to Mrs. Inez Tillison, as she is no longer with the Council.

We have no record of the donor of your membership in the Southern Regional Council. Your name was listed on a form like the enclosed, and we assumed that you had sent it in yourself. The only lead which we have on who might have given you the membership is a note dated April 17 from Mrs. E. C. Brown, Treasurer of the Children's Interracial Organization of St. Petersburg. She sent us a check for $5.00, saying that when she sent in the check for "our" subscription earlier, she failed to include the $5.00 donation. Perhaps Mrs. Brown intended your membership to represent that of the Children's Interracial Committee, as we do not list organizations as SRC members. You might check with her about it.

At any rate we are delighted to have your membership in the Council. The Florida Division is quite active and will welcome your participation. Mrs. William C. White of St. Petersburg is field representative of the Florida Division of SRC.

We hope this letter will help to throw light on who gave you the membership.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Membership Secretary

RECEIVED
APR 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

1313-28 Ave. N.
St. Petersburg, Florida
April 13-1947

Dear Mrs. Pillison:

Thank you very much for your letter welcoming me as a member of Southern Regional Council, and the receipt for my annual dues.

Indeed I am very glad to be a member of such a splendid organization, but I have no idea to whom I am indebted for the gift of

membership, for it has come as a surprise to me.

If you can enlighten me I will be very glad.

Yours very sincerely
Mary G. Milley

Miss Mary Milley
Sec. Children's Inter-
national Organization, Inc.

April 24, 1947

Miss Mary A. Willcox
45 Leighton Road
Wellesley 81, Mass.

Dear Miss Willcox:

Thank you for your check for $8.00. It is most encouraging to know that the Council has your continuing interest and support.

I believe you will be interested in knowing that since our annual meeting in November our membership has increased at the rate of seventy persons a month. Now, with this backing and the groundwork which has been laid during these past three years, we are hopeful that the Council's broadened program will be felt more forcefully throughout our Southern States.

Please always let us have the benefit of any comments, suggestions, or criticisms you may have concerning our work.

Cordially yours,

Anna S. Warwick
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

ASW:r

MISS MARY A. WILLCOX
45 LEIGHTON ROAD
WELLESLEY 81, MASSACHUSETTS

April 15,1947.

Dear Southern Regional Council,

In Febrary I sent you a cheque for $2.00.

Since then my finances have straightened out more then seemed possible. I am therefore glad to remit the remaining portion of my usual contribution of $10.00 - a cheque for $8.00.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Willcox

May 8, 1947

Mr. Frank W. Williams
Box 4134, Station #5
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mr. Williams:

I enclose copies of a leaflet just prepared by the Council on services to Negro veterans in Florida.

We are grateful for your efforts in furthering the interest of citizens and agencies in the state in the needs of the Negro veterans.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

May 14, 1947

Mr. E. K. Williams
113 Albany Avenue
Brooklyn 13, New York

Dear Mr. Williams:

You can't tell how grateful I am for your letter of April 13, and for the guide and bibliography which you were kind enough to send me. This will be of great service to me in view of the fact that I will be returning to college work sometime in the future.

It seems that I shall not be able to visit New York until June 17, I hope to see you then.

Mrs. Trigg joins me in regards to you and Mrs. Williams.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

113 Albany Avenue
Brooklyn 13, New York
April 13, 1947

Dr. H. L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Trigg:

You will find enclosed some bibliographical material which may be of value to you. I shall send more material at a later date.

I shall look forward to seeing you here next month.

Mrs. Williams sends her regard to you and Mrs. Trigg. Please give my regards to Mrs. Trigg.

With every good wish, I am

Very sincerely yours,

E. K. Williams

E. K. Williams

Enclosed.

May 14, 1947

Dr. Ellen Winston
State Board of Public Welfare
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Winston:

I am very grateful for your kind letter of May 3, and am glad that you enjoyed my remarks at Asheville on the previous Monday.

I also thank you for telling Mrs. Latham about my tribute to Mr. Latham. He was the inspiration of my early teaching days. I shall always be grateful to him for lessons in school administration that he gave me. He was an educational statesman of the highest rate.

I trust that your work goes well. With every good wish, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

THE NORTH CAROLINA
STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE
RALEIGH, N. C.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE

ELLEN WINSTON
COMMISSIONER

May 3, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I was indeed glad that I had the opportunity to hear your address last Monday afternoon in Asheville. It was certainly outstanding among the many talks made in connection with the Conference. I told Mrs. Latham about your tribute to Mr. Latham and she was greatly pleased.

Sincerely,

Ellen Winston

Ellen Winston
Commissioner

EW/f

Box 174, Cary, North Carolina
September 6, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 8 1947

Miss Margaret Price, Membership Secretary
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

In answer to your recent letter I wish to state that I am pleased to accept membership in your organization which I have long admired. May the good work gain speed and force! My affiliation with the North Carolina Commission for Interracial Cooperation is of singular gratification to me, and I shall feel likewise about being a member of the Council.

Please note that I am Mrs., rather than Mr.

Sincerely yours,

Eddie W. Wilson

(Mrs. Eddie W. Wilson)

THE GOURD IN FOLK LITERATURE

By
EDDIE W. WILSON

The Gourd Society of America
ETHNOGRAPHICAL SERIES No. 3

The Gourd Society of America
Horticultural Hall, Boston, Mass.
1946

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I. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE GOURD
II. THE GOURD IN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE
III. THE GOURD IN SYMBOLISM AND CEREMONY
IV. THE GOURD IN ART AND MUSIC
V. THE GOURD IN NATURAL SCIENCE
VI. THE GOURD IN DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL
VII. THE GOURD IN AMERICAN HISTORY
VIII. THE GOURD IN MYTH AND FABLE
IX. THE GOURD IN POETRY
X. THE GOURD IN PROSE-FICTION AND ESSAY
XI. THE GOURD IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
XII. THE GOURD HERE AND THERE

The Gourd Society of America offers in the present volume its third contribution to the study of GOURDS in ethnic cultures. Its scope is general, not confined to any particular people or area. Those who can see the broader horizons of scientific research will find no difficulty in understanding why "The Gourd in Folk Literature" is as much a part of the purpose of the Ethnographic Series as the preceding monographs, No. 1, "Gourds of the Southeastern Indians," by Dr. Frank G. Speck, and No. 2, "Gourd Growers of the South Seas," by Mr. Ernest S. Dodge.

Folk-lore research has now come to be treated as a branch of the history of science in the making. Folk-lore as oral literature is a mouthpiece of cultural tradition. Perpetuated in written poetry and prose, it is an outgrowth of the story of man's thought about things to be used. The dignity of the Old World classics in cultural thought lends itself beautifully to the study of GOURDS, to a degree indeed little realized by the kind of writers who ordinarily think of objects of domestic value along lines of material economy.

Mrs. Wilson, however, is sensitive to the non-material aspects of such themes. She shows in an admirable, even if not an inexhaustible, collection of references and quotations from Old and New World classics how ancient and modern peoples have resorted to GOURDS for inspiration as allegories and symbols of imaginative expression.

Chinese Vase of white Chienlung porcelain, shaped as a gourd contracted at middle (hulu). Entirely covered with an elaborate design of trailing gourds (of same shape as vase) with conventional scroll-like leaves and bats outlined in gold and shaded partly in gold and partly in silver upon a dull olive green ground. Period, 1736-1796. Height 8 inches.

Courtesy of U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.

W-Misc

(See SRC Member - Resignations also.)

C

O

P

Y

SENATE CHAMBER

State of Tennessee

Nashville

Erin, Tenn.
Odtober 23, 1947

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sirs:

This refers to your letter of October 1, with statement enclosed.

I do not consider myself a member any longer or I would have long since paid dues. I was one of the original "one hundred" meeting in Atlanta with good intentions. Since the change of policy does not meet with my approval I do not care to be a party to the organization any longer. What has become of Mr. Ralph McGill, Bishop Moore and others who helped in the first organization? I think I have done as much for the colored people as any one in your organization and will continue to do so but not under your plan.

Yours truly,

W. H. Wiseman.

1 Pks — B.P.O.
W-Misc

December 13, '47

Mr. J. Finley Wilson
1813 Vernon Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wilson,

You will recall your kindness in permitting me a brief visit at Mr. Mays' home when you were in Atlanta a few weeks ago.

The President of our Council, Mr. Paul Williams, of Richmond, will be with me in Washington on Thursday, December 18. We want to call on you, and see whether we can interest the Elks in contributing to some of the things the Council is doing.

I could be reached at the Cosmos Club, 1520 H. Street, N.W., for any message from you as to a time that would be suitable. Otherwise, we'll phone you, and try to arrange a time when you or Judge Houston could see us.

Very truly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

1 Elks - B.P.O.

J. FINLEY WILSON, Grand Exalted Ruler
1813 Vernon Street, Northwest
Washington 13, D. C.

JAMES E. KELLEY, Grand Secretary
800 12th Street, North
Birmingham, Ala.

THOMAS E. GREENE, Grand Treasurer
289 Scott Avenue
Akron, Ohio

W- Misc

JOSEPH A. BROWN, Grand Esteemed Leading Knight
305 Convent Avenue, New York, N. Y.
HERBERT E. JONES, Grand Esteemed Loyal Knight
503 You St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
ROBERT H. JOHNSON, Grand Esteemed Lecturing Knight
727 South 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
DR. SIMPSON A. SMITH, Grand Inner Guard
1645 9th Ave., Huntington, W. Va.
JAY CHAVIS, Grand Esquire
1323 Souh L St., Tacoma, Washington
SAMUEL D. HOLSEY, Grand Tiler
146 Pear St., Reading, Pa.
PERRY W. HOWARD, Grand Legal Adviser
613 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
PERRY B. JACKSON, Asst. Grand Legal Advisor
2407 East 89th Srteet, Cleveland, Ohio

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434 Boas St., Harrisburg, Pa.
CHARLES A. OLIVER
77 College Creek Terrace, Annapolis, Md.

GRAND AUDITORS
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54 W. 140th St., Apt. 33, New York City
JAMES T. COPPER
4141 Indiana Avenue, Chicago Illinois
SAMUEL B. MITCHELL
245 W. 137th St. New York, N.Y.

IMPROVED BENEVOLENT and PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD

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J. FINLEY WILSON
POST OFFICE BOX 1824
Telephone DUpont 1171
Washington. 13, D. C.

WM. C. HUESTON, Commissioner of Education
1915 14th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

HOBSON E. REYNOLDS
Director of Civil Liberties
1416 Broad St., Philadlephia, Pa.

DR. CARTER MARSHALL
Grand Medical Director
198 Dixwell Street, New Haven, Conn.

J. MERCER BURRELL
Director of Junior Elks
23 Howard St., Newark, N. J.

DR. E. T. BELSAW
Executive Secretary Health Commission
500 Dauphin St., Mobile, Ala.

JOHN U. STROTHER
Grand Master Social Session
1212 Ninth St., Augusta, Ga.

CHARLES E. HALL, Statistician
617 U St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

J. A. JACKSON
Director of Economics
26 Broadway, New York City

JOHN MINKINS, Grand Reporter
Box 660,
Providence, Rhode Island

FRANK ELLIS, Director of Athletics
171 Renwick Place, Syracuse, N. Y.

December 15,1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of December 13 reached me today on my return from Detroit and I want to thank you for the same.

I am very much interested in your letter, however Judge Hueston is in Florida and delivered the Memorial Address yesterday at St Petersburg. He will hardly return before about the 24th.

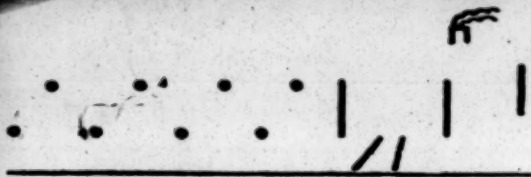
If I am not called out of the city, I shall be happy to give you a ring at the Cosmos Club 1520 H St., N.W. next Thursday.

Again thanking you for your letter and for your visit in Atlanta, and wishing for you continued success, I remain

Yours sincerely & fraternally,

J. Finley Wilson
Grand Exalted Ruler.

JFW.r



DOODLER PAD

Dr. Mitchell:

Any point in sending this woman a copy of "Housing in the South"?

I just ran across this letter and it occurred to me she might like one.

EB

COMPLIMENTS
CULLOM & GHERTNER CO.—Printers, Publishers, Lithographers—Nashville

~~W~~
~~Women's Foundation~~
39-WH-misc-
Women's
Foundation

February 17, 1948

Mrs. Dwight B. Hutchinson
Assistant to the President
The Woman's Foundation, Inc.
10 East 40th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Hutchinson:

Mr. Paul Williams asked me to answer your very kind letter to him of February 4 which accompanied the booklet, Houses for Family Living. Mr. Williams handed the booklet on to me. We are just now turning out a pamphlet on housing in the South and will make good use of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

The Woman's Foundation, Inc.

"To engage in the study of the problems of the American Home and of the American Woman and to disseminate knowledge of tested solutions of such problems."

10 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York
MUrray Hill 5-0723

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Mrs. A. L. D. Warner
Dr. James M. Wood

Dr. James M. Wood, *President*

February 4, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Mr. Williams:

As a member of the Board of Trustees of the National Conference on Family Life, I am sure you will be interested in the enclosed booklet, HOUSES FOR FAMILY LIVING, which the Woman's Foundation has just published.

There was called at Rye, New York, in November 1946, a conference of architects, community planners, housing officials, home economists, pediatricians and public health doctors, family relations counselors, sociologists and other experts. Representatives of each field worked out their ideas of the family's needs in the home. The result is this booklet designed to stimulate progressive thinking along the lines of family housing.

We would welcome suggestions for achieving the widest possible readership to attain this end. If you think of specific groups or persons who could benefit by the booklet, we would be happy to supply it in quantities at less than the cost of production.

I hope the complimentary copy enclosed will be useful to you.

Sincerely,

Nell Hutchinson

Mrs. Dwight B. Hutchinson
Assistant to the President

Wh — Wiser

April 21, 1948

Mr. Art Wiser
Macedonia Co-op Community
Clarkesville, Georgia

Dear Art:

Thanks for the invitation for Tuesday night, April 27. I can make it by a squeak. I have to talk in Atlanta at three-thirty in the afternoon, but I should be quite through by four-thirty and can then head for Macedonia. My Rolls-Royce is not speedy, and it will push me to get to the schoolhouse by seven, but I ought to be able to do it. Bear with me if I am seven-thirty arriving.

I shall be on my way toward Richmond and will put in two or three hours more of traveling after your meeting.

I can't bring any of the family because I have no way of getting them back, and in any case I was going to leave them for the Richmond trip.

I may have one of the young ladies here in the office with me, Mrs. Elizabeth Britton, she being also one desiring Richmond.

Will you write me with a map of where the schoolhouse is? I think I could find Macedonia Church, but the only things I am dead sure of are White Pines and the dairy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

macedonia co-op community clarkesville georgia

April 19, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. George -

Good to get your note.

We wonder how Tuesday night, April 27 would suit you. Could you - and that includes the family - come up for an early supper, about 5:30, and then a meeting at 7:00. We'd have the meeting up in the school house and would hope that quite a few of our neighbors would come.

Since that will leave it fairly late at night, I'm sure we could arrange the beds and bedding for all of you to spend the night here if you would prefer that.

Come early enough in the afternoon for the girls to look around. Besides the new crop of infants, there have been many changes.

Best to the family.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur Wiser

39-Wh - Wirth, Louis

July 2, 1948

Mr. Louis Wirth
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Louis:

If sometime this Summer you could spare Joe Lohman for a week or ten days, I should like to travel with him to two or three places in the South and explore the possibilities of following up on Gunnar Myrdal's suggestion at the final Rosenwald meeting about a police academy in the South.

I should be glad to pay his travel while he is in this part of the world.

I am tied up in late August, but am otherwise apt to be free.

Any chance of this?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

39-WG-MMC
Williams, Aubrey

September 20, '48

Mr. Aubrey Williams
The Southern Farmer
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Aubrey,

Here is the full text of the statement the Executive Committee of the SRC released for yesterday's papers. It got printed in full in the Birmingham News-Age-Herald and in the Chattanooga Times, and perhaps elsewhere. Good coverage in shorter stories.

We think it's good sense. I hope you will like it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

39-Wh-Misc.-
Williams, Aubrey

SOUTHERN FARMER
MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

AUBREY WILLIAMS
PUBLISHER

September 21, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Thank you very much for sending me "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy." I am running a rewrite of this in the Southern Farmer, coming out next week. I think it is the best thing I've seen so far from your organization. Congratulations!

Sincerely,

Aubrey Williams
Publisher

AW:mk

39 - Wh - Misc -
Winston, Catherine

October 11, 1948

Miss Catherine Winston
123 Willow Spring Road
Baltimore 22, Maryland

Dear Cathy:

Nice to have word from you. I will keep looking around for the kind of job you would like.

You are a good egg, and should be used.

If you aren't at Highlander for the celebration, you will be much missed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

123 Willow Spring Road
Baltimore 22, Maryland
October 8, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

As you probably know I am on leave from Highlander. I've been in Canada with Zilphia's sister for most of the summer but now I'm in the market for a job.

This is just a note to ask if you know ofany openings.

I hear that you are to be at Highlander for the dedication of the new library building. It's wonderful that two of the buildings are completed. I'd love to be there for the big day.

Warmest regards to your family.

Sincerely,

Cathy

Catherine Winston

39 - Wh - Misc -
Winston, Cathey

December 1, 1948

Miss Cathey Winston
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Dear Cathey:

Copies of that housing pamphlet are flapping around Highlander, but here is a fresh one.

For anybody else there is a charge of twenty cents--but to you, it is scott-free!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE

November 26, 1948

Dear George:

Tom Ludwig tells me that the Southern Regional Council has a pamphlet on Southern rural housing. Would you please have one sent to me? Let me know if there is a charge.

Tom is out of the hospital now and stopped by the school on his way to Alabama.

Sincerely,

Cathey Winston

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

39 - WH - misc -
Winston, Catherine

January 12, 1949

Miss Catherine Winston
Southern Farmer
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Cathey:

Rural housing is a long, long story, and I don't know how to put it into a letter.

Any chance of getting Aubrey to send you over here for some interviews about it?

The truth is, you ought to go to Washington and talk to various people I could tell you to talk to. One of the head guys is Ray Smith, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture. Another man is Charles Smith.

My recollection is that the TEW bill in the form in which it finally passed the Senate, was a good bill on rural housing. It gave straight credit for farmers who could swing straight credit, and it gave a subsidy for repairs to sharecrop shacks, which repairs would make them habitable without making sweet new houses and excuse for raising farm rents. It also had in it some work to be done by local public housing authorities.

The thing to do is to find a way to get houses without giving the plantation system a shot in the arm. Incidentally, I've got a fat file on rural housing which could be useful to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

—OVER ONE MILLION SUBSCRIBERS

Southern Farmer

Published Monthly 108th Year

AUBREY WILLIAMS
Publisher

MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

January 5, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I saw a copy of the Southern Regional Council's Washington letter and like it very much. The pamphlet on Housing in the South is excellent. Thanks for sending it to me.

We are interested in pushing farm housing and have been working on an article which would propose legislation for a rural housing program. Would it be asking too much to ask you to list some of the provisions you think should be in such legislation?

I don't know what the new housing bill says about farm housing, but the section on farm housing in the TEW bill introduced in the 80th Congress had several serious weaknesses, I thought.

Any suggestions you have will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Catherine

Catherine Winston

RECEIVED
JAN 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

39-Wh-Misc-
Wilmer, Dr. C. B.

February 1, 1949

Dr. C. B. Wilmer
84 Davis Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Dr. Wilmer:

I very greatly enjoyed the brief visit with you the other day, and appreciate the conversation with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

39-WA-Misc - Winters, Rev Arthur, S.V.D.

February 2, 1949

Rev. Arthur Winters, S.V.D.
St. Augustine's Seminary
Bay Saint Louis, Mississippi

Dear Father Winters:

We greatly appreciate the excerpt from our civil rights statement in the January issue of St. Augustine's Messenger. To my mind you picked the heart of the statement.

It was also most kind of you to list the several pamphlets. Sale of them brings us most welcome help.

I do hope that on some future trip to the Gulf Coast I can stop and make the acquaintance of you and others at the Seminary.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Wh-Misc - Winters, Arthur C., SVD

ST. AUGUSTINE'S MESSENGER

"THE MAGAZINE WITH A MESSAGE"

Associate Editor
Rev. Arthur C. Winters, S.V.D.

Editor-in-Chief
Rev. Clarence J. Howard, S.V.D.

Business Manager
Very Rev. Joseph Busch, S.V.D.

BAY SAINT LOUIS, MISSISSIPPI

NEWS, VIEWS AND PICTURES OF THE NEGRO MISSIONS

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your two letters of appreciation recently received. We are only too glad to help all we can to make the Council and its publications better known. God bless your work.

Very sincerely yours in Christ,

Arthur C. Winters, S.V.D.

RECEIVED
FEB 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

39 - Wh - Misc -
Williams, Stillman P

March 4, 1949

Mr. and Mrs. S. P. Williams
Organisation Mondiale de la Sante
Palais des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Muriel and Stilly:

It was thoughtful of you to remember the Council in that hectic week before you left.

We are already missing you swell people in Atlanta. UNF has got me rushing about beating the drums for the forthcoming National Executive Council meeting. Wish you-all could be here for it.

I'll be counting on hearing all the news of you as it gets to us here in the provinces.

The very best of luck always.

Harold C. Fleming

39 - Wh - Misc.
Wilson, James H.

April 26, 1949

Mr. James H. Wilson, Jr., Chairman
Public Affairs Clinic
Emory University
Georgia

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Thank you for your letter of April 22.

I will mark off June 2, 3, and 4 as the time when the Clinic will meet this year.

GSM calendar noted
MET

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

April 22, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Church Bldg.
Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You recall that Emory's first Public Affairs Clinic was held June 11 to 13 last year. Some ninety-five participants--alumni and others--spent Friday night, Saturday, and part of Sunday talking together and submitting to a sort of "clinical analysis" certain problems of the day, particularly those related to the South.

Chairman Grady Clay, Jr. promised in his letter of invitation that the Clinic would not be a pressure group, a political rally, nor a series of long-winded addresses. His promises were kept. There was only one formal address; the participants contributed their own experiences and ideas.

For the topic of this year's Clinic, the Planning Committee has selected "Educational Problems of the Southeast". The dates are June 2, 3, and 4. By meeting at this time, the Clinic can tie its program into the plans for alumni and commencement week at Emory. Saturday, June 4, is Alumni Day with an address at 11 o'clock and a luncheon following. In the evening the Honorable Alben Barkley speaks at the College Commencement.

Detailed plans for this year's program of the Clinic will be sent you in a few weeks. In the meantime, the committee hopes that you will mark these dates on your calendar and begin making plans to come back to Emory in June.

The Planning Committee

James H. Wilson, Jr., Chairman
John A. Dotson
Cullen B. Gosnell
John A. Griffin
Boisfeuillet Jones
Calvin Kytle
James A. Mackay
Judson C. Ward

39- W. Dear
Williams, Aubrey

June 28, 1949

Mr. Aubrey Williams
Southern Farmer
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Aubrey:

I call special attention to this April issue of New South with its analysis of the Alabama Legislature.

Also note the May-June issue with the Georgia one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

39- N.L- Misc.
Williams, Aubrey

SOUTHERN FARMER
MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

AUBREY WILLIAMS
PUBLISHER

July 5, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear George:

I appreciate your sending me the material and it was a pleasure to see you when I was in Atlanta recently.

Cordial personal regards,

Aubrey

Aubrey Williams

AW/mt

RECEIVED
JUL 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Wh- Mail
Williams, Aubrey

September 1, 1949

Mr. Aubrey Williams
Southern Farmer
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Aubrey:

The Executive Committee of the Council met yesterday, and I showed them your letter of July 28, for which they were all regretful.

The Committee asked me to send you an excerpt from the Durham statement relating to segregation. I send it marked in the enclosed leaflet on page seven and eight. The Council has always considered the statements resulting from the Richmond, Durham, and Atlanta meetings as foundation policy documents for the Council. Unfortunately, the Minutes do not reveal formal adoption of any of these statements; nevertheless, they are what we have gone by.

The Executive Committee wished you to have this information.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

39-Wh-Misc
Williams, Aubrey

SOUTHERN FARMER
MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

AUBREY WILLIAMS
PUBLISHER

September 6, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

I appreciate your writing, and I will probably have already seen you at the meeting in Atlanta by the time you receive this note.

Sincerely,

Aubrey

Aubrey Williams

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Wh- Race
Wilson, J. Finley

October 5, 1949

Mr. J. Finley Wilson
IBPOE
P. O. Box 1324
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Here are two copies of a brand new pamphlet which our Council has just got out.

It is a lot more than just another little pamphlet. Amazingly, it got lengthy notice in this week's issues of Time and Newsweek (October 3). A copy of it has been sent by the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association to every newspaper in the South. It has been bought already in large blocks, five hundred and a thousand at a time, by life insurance companies, fraternal organizations, and church groups.

The thing I want to do is to get it into the hands of local leaders all over the South. After they have read it they can set up little one-time committees, preferably of both races, who will go and call on their local editor and ask the editor to come up to the rules of the little green book. It has been tried and it works. You will see that whatever local leader does that has helped himself, his organization, and his townspeople.

Couldn't you buy a good big chunk of them and get them out to your lodges with a suggestion that they take action locally--pamphlet in hand?

They cost fifteen cents apiece.

Any number of people I can name you would speak well of this operation: Mr. Mays, here in Atlanta, Dr. Charles Johnson, Mr. C. C. Spaulding (whose company bought a thousand), Bishop R. R. Wright in Atlanta, and so on.

I do think this is a chance to do a lot of good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosures

39-wh-misc.—
Wilburn, York

December 21, '49

Professor York Wilburn
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa
Alabama

Dear Mr. Wilburn,

I promised to list for you the Southern cities which have Negro members on their Public Housing Authorities.

They are as follows, as of December 19:

Daytona Beach, Fla.
Nashville, Tenn.
Roanoke, Va.
Louisville, Ky.
Richmond, Va.
Newport News, Va.
Baltimore, Md.
Durham, N.C.
Charleston, West Va.

(I do not count Baltimore and Charleston as Southern, but list them, nevertheless).

So far as I know, in each case a single Negro person is such a member.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

JPS

W-Misc

December 21, '49

Professor York Wilburn
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa
Alabama

Dear Mr. Wilburn,

I promised to list for you the Southern cities which have Negro members on their Public Housing Authorities.

They are as follows, as of December 19:

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Baltimore, Md.
Durham, N.C.
Charleston, West Va.

(I do not count Baltimore and Charleston as Southern, but list them, nevertheless).

So far as I know, in each case a single Negro person is such a member.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

39-wh + Misc.

Wilson, Norman

December 23, '49

Mr. Norman Wilson
427 South West St.
Salisbury, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wilson,

Glad to have your letter, and happy that Father Kirby suggested you write us.

True, I made a talk at Raleigh, but it is not written out, and I can't publish it because it depends for its effectiveness on swoopy lines drawn on a map, and the swoops on a printed map certainly wouldn't match what the census says, and its a year's work to hook the swoops to the census and I haven't got the time or money (!) to pay for the job!

Its hard to know what to tell you. On land subdivision and purchase by tenants, the best source is the Farm Ownership Division of the Farmers Home Administration in the US Dept. of Agricylture, in Washington. It has a State Office in Raleigh, with an able man named J. B. Slack in charge, and he could tell you exactly what they are doing in NC, and generally what is happening elsewhere. You can find the FHA local man through asking the County Ag. Agent (Extension Service) at the Court House.

I send a copy of a booklet we have that's related.

The ideas of my speech are into the leaflet on civil rights.

If you would come to Atlanta we could have a lot of fun talking. Or perhaps I can see you in Salisbury, though I have no early plan for getting there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

39-wh-misc.-
Williams, Peyton

December 22, '49

Dear Mr. Williams,

How did you come out with Mr. Starr?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

427 South West St.
Apartment 8
Salisbury, North Carolina
December 16, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Director Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Father Kirby, our Priest here, heard you speak a few days ago; I believe it was in the city of Raliegh, on the farm and land problem in the South, the subdividing of large farms into 60 or 80 acre sizes, etc.

Knowing that I am preparing a thesis along the line of your discussion at Raliegh, Father suggested that I write you for any information that you feel would be of help in this direction.

I thank you kindly, sir.

Sincerely,

Norman Wilson

Norman Wilson

39- WH Misc
(Willbern, York)

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

December 28, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the list of southern cities which have Negro members on their Public Housing Authorities. It is an interesting and useful bit of information.

Apparently we are not to do the formal study for the City of Birmingham. I do not know all of the story; perhaps they did not want the study under the conditions which we outlined, or perhaps the rather emphatic decision by the Federal district judge that their segregation ordinance was unconstitutional had something to do with it. The judge's opinion indicated to them, however, as you probably know, that the way forward was in the general direction which you and I discussed in your office.

Thank you, also, for your willingness to help us. I enjoyed the visit with you and our discussion. Should you come to Tuscaloosa, please visit us here.

Sincerely,

York Willbern

York Willbern
Acting Director

YW/w-b

W

December 30, 1949

Mr. Carl Wiegman
The Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wiegman:

Bem Price suggests that I send you what we have on migration, as well as a packet of our publications.

Enclosed is a memorandum which gives the sketchy figures we have about Negro migration. As you will see, it isn't much. I doubt that anything very satisfying will appear until the 1950 Census is published.

You have probably already received the batch of pamphlets sent separately. I hope you will find them useful.

Sorry I missed meeting you when you were in Atlanta with Bem. If we can help on anything in the future, let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encl

January 3, 1950

Mr. Carl Wiegman
Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wiegman:

Of course there's a fourth thing to be done; the South should provide economic, political, and social justice. People leave the South for work and wages, yes; but they go the more gladly because they intend by going to escape at least the more blatant forms of discrimination.

A clean-up job in the South is going to cost money as well as moral change. We haven't got enough money. The rest of the country could put up what can't be put up here. I think the responsible statesmen of the South - let's say the Governors - should make it dramatically plain that they will administer with scrupulous fairness federally-aided programs in the fields of health, housing, education, farm-ownership, and employment, and that as evidence of that they'll immediately open to Negro persons appointments on the appropriate State Boards that administer these services. My believ is that if the South would take this attitude, the rest of the country would more cheerfully help the South find the funds with which to do the job of getting people equal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

Louis

Jan. 31, 1950

Dear George,

Thanks for your recent note and the good news it contained.

I'll be on hand for the executive ~~session~~ Thursday but I'd better not stop off for breakfast this time much as I'd like. Will explain when I see you.

Nice letter from Cardinal Stritch saying we can expect something in late Spring. Will bring his letter.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul

P.S. Roper and I had a good visit with Mrs. Eugene Meyer last Friday in Wash. Will give you a report.

P.

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Office of the President
3320 Gloucester Road Richmond 22, Virginia

February 26, 1950.

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I have been laid up over a week in the hospital where they brought me expecting appendicitis but it turned out to be a colon condition. I am responding to treatment so an operation will be unnecessary. I will probably return home next week.

I signed your letters today. It was impossible to do so before.

The date for the New Orleans meeting is Friday, April 14 at 9:30 A. M.

I will write you again when I feel more comfortable.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams Sr.

PDW: ht

Williams

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Office of the President
3320 Gloucester Road Richmond 22, Virginia

March 4, 1950.

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I am still laid up at home with my colon trouble following my dismissal from the hospital several days ago. I think it will be another week before I will be up and around and even then I will have to take it easy. Please explain to Mrs. Tilly that my illness and my going to the hospital made it impossible for me to join her in Detroit as I had hoped.

Your letter of February 27 was most encouraging. I am delighted that Marshall-Field came through for us and I hope they will help us even more in the future.

I will be interested to learn the decision of the Rich Foundation regarding us. I am sorry Byrd finds the going tough in Texas.

Let me hear from you when you have a chance to write.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

P. S. Please send me a batch of stationery and envelopes as I am completely out.

March 7, 1950

62

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I was sorry to hear you are still laid up and hope you will be fit again soon.

As for your speech in Charlotte, I will try to get something off to you this week. We have set forth our doctrine on that subject pretty clearly, so it shouldn't be too hard to pull something together that will serve at least as the bones of a speech.

I discussed with George Mitchell the matter of distribution of your speech to the annual meeting in November. We agreed that, after this lapse of time, it would be better not to undertake the effort it would cost you and us to get it out.

I look forward to seeing you, fully recovered, at the executive committee meeting.

Sincerely

Harold C. Fleming

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Office of the President
3320 Gloucester Road Richmond 22, Virginia

March 4, 1950

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Aven, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Hal:

I suppose George Mitchell told you that I have recently spent two weeks in the hospital with a colon condition. The doctors decided not to operate but to treat the condition medically. Even now I am home in bed and while I see some small improvement day by day, I am sure it will be another week or ten days before I am able to be up and around again.

All this leads me to ask you to do a special favor if it is at all possible, knowing all the time that you are up to your ears because of our reduced staff. I have agreed to give a talk in Charlotte on Monday morning March 20 on the subject "Why Legislation is Necessary." Mrs. Tilly will speak in the same panel on the topic "What Kind of Legislation is Necessary." This is part of a two day conference sponsored by the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, with particular emphasis on racial problems. A number of the speakers will be Negroes.

I wish you would get together a 20 minute talk on the topic assigned me, "Why Legislation is Necessary." I would particularly appreciate that you keep in mind the Southern scene, that is, why legislation is necessary in the South. You can pull some things from our Civil Rights statement and the article on legislation which appeared in an issue of the New South. I am not sure but I believe the title of the New South article was EDUCATION VS LEGISLATION. One point I wish you could emphasize is this: You can't legislate morality but you can legislate against the effects of immorality.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Office of the President
3320 Gloucester Road Richmond 22, Virginia

#2 - Mr. Harold Fleming - March 4, 1950

Do you still want my article for the next issue of the New South? If so let me know the deadline and I'll try to meet it.

Please let me hear from you when you have a moment to write.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

N.J.

PDW:ht

Williams, Paul

March 13, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

How very nice to have Mrs. Meyer's check. Here is her letter back. Our humble thanks to you for getting it.

I have written a little note to Arthur Raper, as enclosed.

All set for Charlotte and for New Orleans Friday April 14.

The Executive Committee is to meet March 31 at ten a.m.

The date set for the contingency of a Board Meeting is Saturday April 22. It is still touch and go with us. If the Rich Foundation comes through with five thousand, I would say we are all right. If it doesn't, I will feel pretty blue. Not as blue as Duncan's letter, however. He has got my salary confused with Byrd's. I will write him.

We are all mighty sorry you have been so under the weather. My guess is that Kitty will get you nursed to health pretty quickly.

We have been getting in a good flow of dues money, and quite alot of people send us five dollars and ten dollars instead of three. Still, dues is what we call scrapings. What we have had will enable us to clear up finally the February 28 payroll, and day after tomorrow comes another. We are sitting on a goose egg for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Williams

March 21, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You asked me to write you about the human relations business.

I only know that friends of mine who teach in the fields of sociology and anthropology tell me that the content of what is called "human relations" is not importantly different from the other established courses. They go on to express some anticipation that the elaborlation of courses in human relations will lead to duplication and an academic jealousy between the sociology and anthropology people and the human relations people.

On the other hand, I have had a pretty good look at the work done in human relations at the University of Miami and I think it is excellent and useful, though I must say that nothing I have seen done could not be a quite regular part of the teaching in the established fields.

Sincerely,

George Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Misc - W

April 24, 1950

H. W. Wilson Company
958 University Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Recently we wrote the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company asking them to forward one copy of the February 25, 1950, issue of Business Week, which was listed in the March issue of the American Council on Race Relations Report as having an article in which we are interested.

McGraw-Hill have informed us that they are out of stock on this issue, and suggested that we write you.

We are enclosing 25¢ for this issue, and would appreciate your forwarding a copy if you have them in stock. If you do not, can you suggest someone else who might have one available?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

McGRAW-HILL PUBLISHING COMPANY·INC

McGRAW-HILL BUILDING
330 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

RECEIVED
APR 22 1950
Southern Regional Council

April 19, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att: Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

Gentlemen:

We are sorry that we cannot supply the February 25, 1950 issue of "Business Week" you requested in your recent letter as it is now out of stock. Therefore, we are enclosing $.25 in stamps in refund of your remittance.

It is probable that you can obtain this from the H. W. Wilson Company, 958 University Avenue, New York, N. Y., dealers in back issues. If a single article is wanted, we can supply photostats at very reasonable rates.

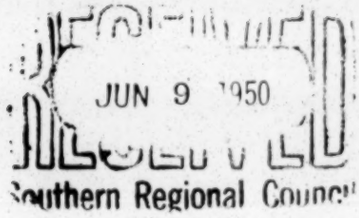
Yours very truly,

L. M. Zach

LMZ:MB
Enc.

L. M. Zach
Supervisor, Subscriber Service

Robert L. Williams



Law School
State College
Orangeburg, S.C.
June 9,1950

Dr. George S. Mitchel, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avehue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The enclosed letters will tell you of a "crusade against communism" that will leave American shores about June 25, 1950. The participants will tell other nations what America means to them, as well as, to hear the truth concerning communism as related by peoples who have been exposed to communism ideologies. They will also make a study and on return will travel through the United States making talks on democracy and communism.

Fate has willed that I be selected among the group,and at present, I am making preparations to make this great trip.

We are asked in connection with our plans to write to our friends for the purpose of asking them to help us sponsor the project. Lately, I have made contacts with all real Americans that I have met for the purpose of asking them to contribute to this great cause. The reponse has been very good.

I know from talks with you that you are a great American and interested in the cause for which we are giving our time and energy. I am writing at this time to ask that you will help us by making a contribution to the cause. I know that you will.

Monies may be sent to me, or to, Round-The World Study Project, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, Mr. Russell Gray, Corrseponding Secretary. If you send it to Richmond, I shall be happ to have you say in your letter that the contribution was made because of a letter that you received from me.

In hope that this appeal for assistance meets with your approval and that I shall be able to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT L. WILLIAMS

P.S. I plan to leave Orangeburg on June 15.
If there is anything that I can do for you or the Council, please let me know.

Robert L. Williams

June 9, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchel:

I have just been selected among a first group of educational leaders to participate in a Round-The-World Study Project designed to Crusade Against Communism. The news to me was a shock, but I must say that I am happy to be a part of such a timely movement.

Americans know that our country does not need communism nor any sympathy with the communist. The greatest single threat to our most cherished principles today is this form of totalitarian aggression. Communism is to be feared because it is dictatorial, fascistic and allows no individuality.This country is a democracy and it belongs to all who bear the name "American". There is no need for us to go backward now.

I am writing to you asking your support in helping me to raise funds to help finance my trip abroad to carry international friendship and goodwill, as well as to tell citizens of other nations how we as Americans enjoy the government that we live under.

Enclosed will be found a beautiful bond that you may keep and cherish as a token for your generous contribution. They are not for sale. Any amount that you give will be appreciated.

It is costing the Round-The-World Project Organization fifteen hundred dollars or more for each participant. My goal is to raise One thousand dollars of this amount.

Knowing you as a patriotic American, I know that you will help me to raise this small amount for such a just cause.

Patiently awaiting your reply,

Respectfully yours,

Robert L. Williams

Crusade Against Communism

FREEDOM
OF THOUGHT
CONSCIENCE
RELIGION
EXPRESSION

BOND

THE RIGHT
OF A PEOPLE
TO CHOOSE
THEIR OWN
GOVERNMENT

The maintenance of these rights and freedoms depend upon the adherence to the abiding principles of justice and morality embodied in the rule of law.

The Holder of this BOND is guaranteed that the money contributed will be used to carry to the whole earth a message of Friendship and Goodwill, and to gain a better understanding of America's role in todays world.

Robert L. Williams

© GOES 457

Dear American Patriot and Friend of Democracy:

The Selection Committee of the World Study Project, honorarily headed by the Mayor of Richmond, has elected the following individuals to its membership from your section of the nation:

Robert L. Williams

This Project of Virginia Union University——a 50 member global team, which is to lay open a new path around the world for all to know of colored America's faith in democracy and distrust of communism——will learn first hand from alien cultures, gain a better understanding of our country in the foreign field, carry international friendship and goodwill, personally introduce the Negro American to the peoples abroad. RTWSP is the first of its kind in the nation. It significantly marks the first time that students and teachers in any American school have organized themselves together for the primary purpose of combating communism along with their regular scholastic endeavors. When members of the group were introduced in the United States Senate on April 20, the head of the Foreign Affairs Committee read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, "I feel sure . . . they will be a vital influence in the future affairs of the nation." The Secretary of State declared them to be "in a tremendously true sense ambassadors of our country."

The selectees from your section participating in this project, so filled with meaning for America and the rest of the world, require your assistance. They are depending upon you. In return, the project will greatly fulfill its noble cause, and you, along with many others, will be responsible. Your name will be carried with the project wherever it goes, in all our news releases, and a special place of honor in the chartered travel plane's cabin. There is no other area in which you can do more.

Sincerely yours,

P. S.—You may mail your contribution to the selectee from your section personally, or to "World Study Project," Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

Virginia Union University announces its...

CRUSADE AGAINST COMMUNISM

THROUGH THE

Round-the-World Study Project

SUMMER, 1950

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1950

Map World Tour—Discussing the right Dr. study project by students of Virginia Union University and other colleges are, left to right: Dr. [illegible]

Students Leave June 25

Union U. Slates World-wide To

Va.—Beginning a global cru students will leave [illegible] to reaffirm in mag [illegible] democracy.

Union Professor Replies To World-Study Critics

RICHMOND, Va. — In reply to the critics of Virginia Union University's Round-the-World Study project, one of its professors declared last night: "Negro Americans are as free as any people in the country. They don't have to be quiet about it.

"This statement was made by Clennon King before the Inter-National Relations Group of the Women's Club.

"This is not the bad that happens to black Americans is not behind an iron curtain," said the speaker, referring to Russia.

Defending the study tour's crusade against communism, Mr. King said, "Every country stand Mr. King said, "Every country stand Mr. King said, "Every country stand

Williams
~~SRC Ex Comm~~

November 9, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We think there should be an early meeting of the Executive Committee.

If you agree, when can you come? For our purposes, some time between November 20 and December 2, or some time between December 10 and 20.

The normal thing, of course, would be to have the first meeting in January, but this Board meeting left so much hanging that I think we really ought to begin to find some answers right away.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

HK-
BR

WMS

November 10, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We had a letter from Mrs. Hortense Young, of Louisville, mainly about her duties as Chairman of the committee to nominate members of the Board. She went on to tell about her candidacy for the Louisville Board of Education. The letter was written the day before election day, when she did not know what would happen, though she thought the outlook rosy. You will be interested in the final paragraph of her letter:

"It is most encouraging however, to have different people over the city telephone and offer to help in any way they can be used and send in checks to aid in financing the cause of representation for minority groups. For the first time in the memory of anyone, the Catholics have championed a candidate from their pulpits and throughout their organizations in an effort to help those who are in no position to help themselves completely because the election is non-partisan and citywide. The Priest in one of the Negro churches who happened to hear me make the plea before the Mayor's Legislative Committee for an amendment to the Day Law which would enable Negroes to attend State schools where the governing boards so decide started the interest and the momentum has been increasingly heartening. Then a number of Jewish friends in the Americans For Democratic Action started to buttonholing their friends. The AFL Political League and CIO endorsed my candidacy in the daily papers. The Catholic newspaper wrote a fine editorial in my behalf Saturday urging its readers to vote for me and the Jewish candidate. There are three vacancies to be filled."

Sincerely,

GSM:er Signed in his absence

George S. Mitchell

Wms.

November 10, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I wrote off today to Brooks Hays and urged him to urge Governor McMath to pay his proper part at Columbia in January.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in GSM's absence

Williams

November 13, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The Marshall Field people sent $2,500.00. It is stated to be a subsidy for our monthly magazine, New South, for the coming twelve months.

Mrs. Huff and I have salted it away in the Citizens Trust Company here in Atlanta, and propose to pay each month's New South printing bill out of it. It would a little more than cover a year's printing of twelve issues.

I know it is agreed that we needn't print New South more often than every two months. Now that we have the money, my plan would be to print about eight or ten issues in the coming year -- pretty much what we have been doing for the last year or two.

The net effect of it is that during 1950 nobody will have to worry about printers' bills. That's looked after. Now all we have to worry about is paying the folks and the rent.

We are bad off on current cash. I will be in New York day after tomorrow and will poke up the ILGWU and the Sidney Hillman Fund.

I have to be in Washington as a delegate to the White House Conference from December 3 to 8. Have you any suggestions as to people I ought to see thereabouts?

I expect to prepare tomorrow a draft of a letter for you to send to Dameron Black of the Woodruff Foundation.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell

Williams

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3326 GLOUCESTER ROAD
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1950

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Southern Regional Council

Nov. 13, 1950

Dear George,

In answer to your letter of November 9, the only week I am open on the dates you suggest for a meeting of the executive committee is the week of December 11. If you select this week, Friday ~~Nov~~ Dec. 15 or Saturday Dec 16 would suit me best.

I would prefer that we meet the first or second week in January but I can make the dates suggested above if you think the meeting should be held earlier. In any event let me know the date as soon as possible so I can make necessary plans.

I felt better about our meeting after a talk with Marion Wright before train time and with talks on the train with Gordon Hancock Emerson Smith, Trigg and Guy. Sincerely,

Best always,
Paul

P.S. Thanks for writing Brooks Hayes.

Williams

November 22, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Charles Johnson is the son of a greatly beloved Baptist minister, named Charles Henry Johnson, at Bristol, Virginia. The town of Bristol has named its principal Negro Housing project Johnson Homes, for the Rev. Mr. Charles Henry Johnson. (I suppose the father would be dead a good while by now.) Charles was brought up in a deeply religious home. His undergraduate college work was at Virginia Union, which as you know has always had substantial support from the (Northern) Baptist Convention.

Dr. Johnson himself is a layman. He has been for a good many years now a member, and more lately a deacon, in the Fisk Union (Congregational) Church. He has for a long time served in various distinguished ways the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational Church. He has served as Chairman of the Division and director of its race relations program. And he has for the past five or six years been in general charge of the Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University which the American Missionary Association has aided. In addition, Dr. Johnson made a lengthy study for the American Missionary Association of its history for the first hundred years and set forth for it a program for the next hundred years. More intimately, I am assured by one fully informed at Fisk that Dr. Johnson himself believes that religion is central in higher education (this is an old tenet at Fisk).

My edition of Who's Who is not sufficiently recent to contain entries on Dr. Johnson's various missions abroad. I am pretty certain he went to Indonesia several years ago, and quite certain he went to India within the last year.

It seems to me that Dr. Johnson's general views on matters racial are pretty well summed up in the title to one of his recent books,

"Into the Main Stream." He respects the American tradition and has faith that with greater knowledge that tradition will embrace fully all the American people. He has put his career into providing the greater knowledge. See the long roll of his books.

He is a remarkable man in his powers of leadership. I have never known him to boast or to bluster. Nor have I ever seen him openly assert authority. Yet all who work near him desire to work with him. I would not say that he is patient with the ills he sees and feels about him, but rather that he discriminates sensitively between what is past and what is important. And he will focus upon what is important a whole range of measures to relieve and to clarify and to make even. I do not suppose the country boasts a single mind more able than his to balance the pressures and voices of the time and to name the places where action will do most good. That is another way of saying that the country has no abler social scientist.

And yet he is a long way from being just a walking brain. He is a pleasant man to share company with. He is a refined man, upon whom no one cares to try coarseness. And though he is a very busy man, he contrives for each interview the appearance of leisure and calm.

It is a point worth picking up that the Southern Sociological Society made him its president for the year 1945, so far as I know without a ripple of opposition.

One of Dr. Johnson's functions that appears in nothing that is written about him is to advise on courses good and bad in race relations in general and in the South in particular. Many a most helpful movement first came to recognizable shape in a conference of two or three people with Charles Johnson. On any matter touching Negro problems Charles Johnson's is the supreme advice.

Internationally, his function is an extension of his function here at home. It is to apply knowledge and the keenest judgment to propose courses of action. That is the pure essence of what this country can contribute to solution of problems abroad. The man does not move by guess, but by foreknowledge.

If this is not enough, I will try to dig out more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMter

Whoever has to compile something would be helped by turning to a fairly recent book which Mr. Louis Brownlow did about the history of the American Missionary Association.

GSM

Wi, mse

December 22, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

A word of follow-up on the UNESCO report, "The Race Question." It seemed to us a good idea to distribute it to our members; not such a good idea to reprint it in New South, where it would lose much of the appearance of scientific objectivity. Unfortunately UNESCO could only send us 50 copies, which we propose to send out to the officers of State Divisions and affiliated committees. That will at least get it into the hands of our selectpeople.

We were all sorry to hear you were under the weather. I hope it was only temporary and won't keep you from having a most enjoyable Christmas.

Jane and I send warmest greetings for the holidays and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Wilkins

December 29, 1950

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Miami Battle Creek
Miami Springs, Florida

Dear Josephine:

Lucy told me where you are. I hope that you find things pleasant.

We had a scrappy meeting, not well planned and fussy. But it was good hard thinking controversy and in the end will help us.

We made unusually full minutes. I send you those for the Board meetings and also (what is not generally circulated, as you know) a draft of minutes for the membership meeting. This draft will, as usual, be presented to a committee of those who were present for their review.

Atlanta's "stage army of the good" is much the weaker without you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:bj

September 29, 1955

Colonial Williamsburg
Williamsburg, Virginia

Gentlemen:

I appreciate the September 25th release on the forthcoming Democracy Workshop. I can't get there, but I send you a pamphlet which might be of interest.

We are most anxious to get it widely used by local discussion groups in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/alle
enclosure

FROM: COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT

WILLIAMSBURG, Va. - The fourth annual Democracy Workshop, a national youth forum, will be held in this historic city on Washington's birthday weekend, it was announced here today.

National and state winners of the Voice of Democracy Contest and a distinguished panel of guest authorities will gather here for the February 19-21, 1954, weekend and take part in a series of roundtable discussions, special programs, tours, and other activities.

Sponsored by Colonial Williamsburg as part of its educational program, the Democracy Workshop provides an opportunity for key young people from all parts of the country to discuss together the problems confronting the younger generation of today in the setting where early patriots argued for independence.

The 1954 Democracy Workshop will follow the general pattern of the past year's forum when award winners from some 30 different states exchanged ideas across the discussion table here in company with such guest authorities as Senator James Fulbright (D-Ark.) and J. Russell Wiggins, managing editor of the Washington Post.

The four co-equal national winners of the Voice of Democracy Contest -- sponsored by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, and the Radio-Television Manufacturers Association -- will be present as part of their award-winning trip to Williamsburg and Washington, D.C. State winners of the contest are sent to the Democracy Workshop by the local and state Jaycee sponsoring organizations.

The Democracy Workshop weekend will include an informal opening dinner and special program Friday evening, February 19, special film showings and roundtable discussions on Saturday together with a dramatic presentation in the colonial Capitol building and a banquet in honor of the students, and tours and the final roundtable discussions on Sunday, February 21.

9.25.53h

##

February 3, 1954

Professor E. E. Witte
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Professor Witte:

Broadus told me of his much profit from a paper read at the Christmas meetings at the Mayflower in Washington on location of industry. December 29, 1953.

If you can lay your fingers on a copy and have it sent to me, I would be extremely grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(11)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT = Int'l Victory Ltr.

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:GEORGE MITCHELL=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA= ATLANTA

Pass Miss Clay
Ne 45 62

TALKED WITH PAUL. WILL ARRIVE ATLANTA TUESDAY NOON=

EMIL WILLIMETZ.

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

Now TAX ON TELEGRAMS Cut to 10%
WIRE MORE for LESS WITH 15 WORD ALLOWANCE

June 4, 1954

Mr. Emil Willimetz
Box 488
Madisonville, Tennessee

Dear Emil:

Grace Hamilton and I have finally had a chance to discuss the matter of a film strip. She feels -- and I agree -- that it would be premature to go ahead with such a project just now. For one thing, we are all snowed under with new demands, organizational and program, so that we couldn't give the thought and planning to the film strip that we should. Moreover, we are in the midst of working out the expanded state organizations which would be the main channels for visual aids. It would make sense to get them well underway, and to get a better idea of their needs before we embarked on a film strip.

All this means delay but I hope not abandonment of the idea.

I greatly appreciate your making the trek down here to advise us on it and will hope to talk with you more specifically when we get further along.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

BURTON T. WILSON
3900 LOQUAT AVENUE
COCONUT GROVE STATION
MIAMI 33, FLORIDA

August 25, 1954

Rec'd. 8-27-45

G.B.J. wrote him note in longhand saying he expects to be here. 9-3-45

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Referring to your letter of July 28, 1944 which was addressed to me at the suggestion of Miss Elizabeth Allen of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and which was concerned primarily with housing for Negroes, I hope to be passing through Atlanta between the first and 15th of September and I should like very much to call on you if you expect to be in town at that time.

Also, I should like to meet Mr. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman of your Executive Committee.

I shall look forward to hearing from you and hope that my plans will make a meeting possible.

Yours truly,

Burton T. Wilson

Burton T. Wilson

BTW,s

September 20, 1954

Mrs. D. Ellwood Williams
c/o Council of Churches
14 West Madison Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Williams:

Dr. Mitchell has asked that I send you the thirty copies of Answers for Action, as requested in your letter of September 18. They are being sent you today, under separate cover, marked "special handling." You should receive them by September 22nd.

Appreciatively,

Elizabeth Brantley,
Secretary to:
Dr. George S. Mitchell

eab/

September 29, 1954

Mrs. D. Ellwood Williams, Jr.
Security - RFD 4
Annapolis, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Williams:

How very nice to have so appreciative an advocate at Annapolis!

I wish we could make a more favorable price than 15¢ apiece on the pamphlets, but the arithmetic shows that they cost us 14.5¢ each -- so obviously we have made no appreciable profit on selling these eighteen thousand first ones at 15¢, the price at which most of them have gone. Let us know and we will send you any further number you wish. And we are appreciative of the $14.30, plus postage, already received.

I was asked last weekend to attend the first Conference of the Department of Christian Social Relations for the Diocese of Alabama, and lead discussions on just this matter. I didn't handle it too well, but there was quite fine discussion on what could be done in Alabama toward implementation.

As the weeks go by, I am more than ever convinced that the basic method of solution is these small local bi-racial discussion meetings; four or five white church leaders and two or three Negro ones. Inevitably, if they will meet several times, they will agree on the issues, make a careful finding of fact about the issues of population and schools and teachers and distances and cost, and out of that comes a tailored plan. Such a meeting is valuable only if those who come together do so as equals in human dignity. And we are somewhere near to the heart of the matter when that equality is adduced. The thing that needs to grow in each community is that sense of individual human dignity; the matter of the schools is really one of several entry-ways to that Mansion.

Mrs. D. Ellwood Williams, Jr.
September 29, 1954

You ought to join our Council. It will cost you $5.00 a year, and I am sorry I have to say that because you live on your side of the Potomac you don't even have a vote. But you are a very near cousin. There is a blank in the back of this little grey leaflet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

CR. 14.30 50 @ 7.50
RHA 30 @ 6.00
+ postage

9/29/54

Mrs. D. Ellwood Williams, Jr.
Security - R. F. D. 4
Annapolis, Maryland

Sept. 27, 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I have already ordered 80 copies of "Answers for Action" and everyone who has bought or taken one finds it very helpful. Our Maryland Asst. Attorney General told me at a state-wide meeting (and everyone else there too) that it was the best he had seen on the subject. He too has been helpful to our C.S.R. Committee.

In meeting Fed. we decided to send the booklet to all

County Superintendents of Schools and to as many of the local school boards as we could afford! Is there any reduction in large quantities in the price?

We are most grateful to you for your help and leadership and are working hard to stave off difficulties before they happen.

My rector & curate have already preached on the subject & the newspapers carried the sermons!

Cordially yours,
Angelina F. Gilchrist

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 1, 1955

Miss Josephine Wilkins
387 Milledge Avenue
Athens, Georgia

Dear ~~Miss Wilkins:~~ Josephine:

Enclosed is a second draft of the statement adopted by the Executive Committee at its last meeting on February 17th.

It has been slightly shortened and revised in minor respects. However, the sense of the statement remains intact. Since you were present at the meeting and concurred in the adoption of the statement we will assume your approval unless we hear from you to the contrary.

Our proposed release date is next Monday, March 7th. So if you do not find the enclosed draft satisfactory, please notify us quickly.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rha
encl.

Right - you do as you please
Regards to Johnny Bopha
Thru weekend
JW

January 8, 1956

Mr. Philip Widenhouse
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Widenhouse:

I trust you noticed now some weeks ago in the New York Times account of the proceedings of the Interstate Commerce Commission which led to the decision banning segregation, that the ICC relied quite heavily on Herman Long's studies.

That single contribution is enough to justify years of AMA work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

February 25, 1956

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

This is the first chance I have had to write you a note of thanks for your invaluable help in arranging and carrying out the conference in New York. I have written to George Hunton and have asked him to convey to the Judge our deep sense of appreciation. (I thought it might be more discreet to handle this through Hunton, but if you think I should write the Judge directly, let me know and I will do so at once).

The next step on the libel matter is not yet clear. I am to send away in a day or so a summary of the ideas developed in the conference (omitting personalities) and it will then be up to the individuals concerned to make a final decision.

Apart from the working aspects, I greatly enjoyed getting together with you again. I hope we can have another reunion soon, in Washington or elsewhere. Meanwhile, all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

April 2, 1956

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Due to an oversight on my part, I failed to give your New York expenses to the Secretary-Treasurer. I am very sorry to have caused you this inconvenience.

We are enclosing your check for the expenses in this letter.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/rha
Enclosure (Check $50.96)

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

14 April 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Wesley Memorial Bldg.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

At long last, I've gotten the introduction writ, the editing done (and I did not attempt much editing) and the papers ready to mail to you. I had hoped to bring them down, but I have to fly to Charlotte Monday and will be too crowded to make the trip to your place before taking off. Rather than hold up the work any longer, I decided I'd put the papers in the mail. If you can, look them over quickly Monday morning, and I'll try to phone you before I take off at noon.

I had to add a title for Faulkner's paper, which I think will do. I also added to his paper, in the form of an editorial note, a statement that Faulkner wrote out for Jim Silver as they were talking about the Memphis session afterward. It is so good, I think it ought to be included. I had hoped to work it into the introduction, but it just would not fit there. As I have attached it, this added statement is single spaced. Perhaps it should be set just as the body of the paper, but dropped down, and perhaps with asterisks, or some other device, to set it off from the paper proper.

Sims' paper, as submitted, has footnotes. I hope that they can be put in. But if they add too much to the expense, or create insurmountable printing problems, I guess we could leave them off.

A notation that I made when I talked with the Foote and Davies man (Mr. McKenzie?) shows that he quoted me a price of $976.80 for 10,000 pamphlets. This was (if I read my pencilled scribbling correctly) for a pamphlet size 5 1/2X 8 1/2, 80 lb duplex cover, tinted; 60 lb inside gloss.

I made an attempt to sketch out a title page. I shall welcome any suggestions that you may have about form, format, etc.

Please arrange to let me see proof on the pamphlets.

Cordially,

Bell

Bell I. Wiley

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

21 May 1956

Harold:

I was away from Thursday toSunday; hence my delay in reading the proof.

One major error was made in setting the type: Faulkner's paper, instead of being put first, as we agreed, and as you marked on the copy, was put second. I think it important, for a number of reasons, that the order: Faulkner, Mays, Sims, as given on the title page, be maintained.

I made only two or three minor corrections. Save for the mistake with reference to order, I think the typesetters did a fine job.

Bell

Bell Wiley

November 5, 1956

Mr. James H. Tipton
Associate Professor
Willimantic State Teachers College
Willimantic, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Tipton:

Handsome communication today from the State of Connecticut, with a check for $75.00 inside!

We are most grateful to you and to the College, and to the State of Connecticut.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

9/26/56

Mr. James H. Tipton of Willimantic State Teachers College, Willimantic, Conn. called GSM re GSM's coming to speak at the College.

8:15 a.m. October 4th.

Tipton to drive GSM to Willimantic (Roughly 110 miles) from Bard College.

Train out to New York in early afternoon.

Air Mail

September 28, 1956

Mr. James H. Tipton
Associate Professor
Willimantic State Teachers College
Willimantic, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Tipton:

Got your letter, and many thanks. All seems fine.

I will be up and around at Bard College by 7:30 Thursday morning, October 4th.

Most pleasing about the $75.00. Also pleasing about the ride over with you.

I have a supper engagement in New York at 7:00 p.m. October 4th.

Was at Highlander t'other day, and Myles Horton and company sent you warmest wishes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WILLIMANTIC STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
WILLIMANTIC, CONNECTICUT

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
BOARD OF EDUCATION

RECEIVED SEP 28 1956

September 26, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George-

It is a real pleasure to me personally to know that we are going to have you here at Willimantic next week, even if only for a short while. It is going to work out so that I can have a much longer talk with you, as we'll be riding through the country together for several hours.

I have a class in Hartford on Wednesday night. After that, I plan to drive on over toward Annandale, stopping for the night at some motor court near there. This is so that I can get over to where you will be sleeping that night, pick you up and get away for the drive to Willimantic by 7.30. It is something over 125 miles, so I figure that will let us get back to Willimantic by noon.

We are able to pay you $75.00 for coming over. What we shall do is to have a specially called assembly of our student body and faculty to hear you talk. And, the same subject as your New School talk is what would interest us here.

As you know, we wish you and the work well.

Cordially,

Jim

James H. Tipton
Associate Professor

Williams

February 21, 1957

Dr. Robert E. Williams
Chairman, Division of Education and Psychology
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Williams:

It was good to meet you at the Hungry Club on Wednesday; thanks for putting Mrs. Hardy in touch with me.

Enclosed is a general statement of the work of the Council which will give you some idea as to present activities and plans. I'm also enclosing a brief description of our staff members and staff organization. Aside from the central office we have affiliate organizations in each of the Southern states.

I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

The South of Promise
Organization Chart
Staff Descriptions

May 9, 1957

Mrs. Charles Williams
Booker T. Washington High School
Miami, Florida

Dear Mayme:

I have just come across an article about and a picture of a good friend of mine on page 9 of the May issue of Better Schools. The heading on the article reads "Negro PTA Group Works Toward Own Dissolution." The picture is labeled "Mrs. Williams."

I think the goal of eventually merging the NCCPT with the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is a good one, but I would caution you against too rapid dissolution of state chapters in the deep South. Until the regular PTA has a practice of "open occupancy" for the seats in its circle, there is a real need for the NCCPT.

Warm regards to all my friends, but best to you.

Always,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

June 11, 1957

Mr. Shepherd L. Witman, Director
Residential Seminars on World Affairs
420 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Witman:

Thank you for your invitation of June 4th to attend the Residential Seminar on World Affairs. As a former president of the Greater Miami Chapter of the AAUN, I would like very much to come. Unfortunately, our heavy work load here at the Southern Regional Council makes this impossible.

I have asked several friends who would be qualified to attend if they would be interested. All of them were but again, unfortunately, all of them were previously committed to other activities.

Every good wish for the success of the Seminar.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Residential Seminars on World Affairs

OLD CUSTOM HOUSE
420 CHESTNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 6, PENNSYLVANIA
WALNUT 2-3652

SHEPHERD L. WITMAN*
Director

June 4, 1957

SPONSORING COMMITTEE

LAURA BORNHOLDT*
American Association of University Women

ELEANOR G. COIT
American Labor Education Service

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
American Association for the United Nations

C. DALE FULLER
Social Science Foundation

DAVID P. HAXTON
Junior Chamber International

KENNETH HOLLAND
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Foreign Policy Association

CHARLES A. NELSON*
American Foundation for Political Education

MRS. STEPHEN J. NICHOLAS
General Federation of Women's Clubs

J. WARREN NYSTROM*
Chamber of Commerce of the United States

ROBERT W. WILLIAMS*
Retired, formerly Price, Waterhouse and Company

HOWARD E. WILSON
The Educational Policies Commission

**Member of Executive Committee*

Dear Mr. Routh,

This is a personal invitation to you as a leader in your field to be a participant in a National Seminar described in the enclosed announcement. These invitations are extended to a select group of persons involved in the formulation and expression of world affairs education.

The Seminars are composed of no more than twenty-five participants in order to provide an opportunity for intensive study and expression of ideas. Top most authorities in the field will act as consultants to the week-long sessions. Subject outlines, especially prepared "Selected Readings" and bibliographies are distributed in advance.

A seminars' advisory committee of academic specialists in the subject has been meeting throughout the winter months to study the materials available in the subject, to guide the research in the selection of such material, to compile the "Selected Readings" and to suggest competent consultants to the seminar.

The costs for each participant are modest due to generous support from the Fund for Adult Education.

We hope very much that you will be able to attend. Should this unfortunately be impossible we would be glad to accept the nomination of someone who in your judgment would be qualified to participate.

Sincerely yours,

Shepherd L. Witman

Enclosures

The
RESIDENTIAL SEMINARS ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Announces

NATIONAL SEMINARS, SUMMER 1957

to be held at

Watson School of International Affairs
Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania

International Communism under Soviet domination and Neutralism under the leadership of India probably exert greater influence on United States foreign policy than any other external factor. The following seminars will analyze these issues.

INDIA

Our future strength or weakness in Asia and our ties with the uncommitted peoples depend heavily on our Indian policy and India's policy toward us. Our relations with India offer us a hopeful approach to the improvement of our position in the Far East. This seminar will probe the sources of these policies. It will examine the nature of neutralism, Indian socialism, the American alliance system, the new nationalism, and some of the ideological forces helping to shape policies. Each will be related to contemporary issues.

June 22 - 29 *

USSR

Ultimately, our foreign policies depend on our interpretations of Russian conduct. What are her motives? How far will she go to achieve them? What is the immediate and long term meaning of her actions? The examination of such questions together with an evaluation of our own policies in their relation to Russia will be considered by this seminar. The second edition of the "Selected Readings" on Russia approaches the problem from the standpoint of the political, economic and military policies of the two countries.

July 27 - August 3 *

COMMITTEE MEMBERS for these seminars were William G. Avirett, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Harry Boardman, American Foundation for Political Education; Laura Bornholdt, American Association of University Women; Professor Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania; Professor Holland Hunter, Haverford College; Roger G. Mastrude, Foreign Policy Association; Professor Norman Palmer, University of Pennsylvania; Professor Robert Rupen, Bryn Mawr College.

THE CITY OF EASTON is on the Delaware River in the foothills of the Poconos. It is reached by the Reading and Lehigh Valley Railroads, Greyhound Bus, TWA, Colonial and United Airlines. The airport limousine goes directly to the Watson School of International Affairs. It is in the midst of some of Pennsylvania's most beautiful country. It is near the Delaware Water Gap, quaint New Hope, and historic Bucks County. Relaxation trips to these points will be available as part of the seminar schedule.

ALL COSTS including special events, $75.00; accompanying wives or husbands, $65.00.

*The seminar concludes with a luncheon meeting.

July 8, 1957

Dr. David C. Wilson, M. D.
University of Virginia Hospital
Department of Neurology and Psychiatry
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Wilson:

Yes you may mimeograph and distribute copies of Mr. Dabbs' article, "The South's Man Across the Table." We will appreciate credit line as you indicated in your letter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lcc

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA HOSPITAL
DEPARTMENT OF NEUROLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

July 3, 1957

RECEIVED JUL 5 1957

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In the June 1957 issue of the NEW SOUTH, there is an article by James McBride Dabbs, entitled, "The South's Man Across the Table." As President of the local chapter, Council on Human Relations, I wish to have this article mimeographed for distribution among the citizens of Charlottesville. We shall, of course, give due notice of the authorship of the article, and the fact that it was taken from the NEW SOUTH, June 1957.

Would the Southern Regional Council authorize us to use this article in this fashion?

Sincerely,

David C. Wilson

David C. Wilson, M. D.

DCW:ael

RECEIVED OCT 22 1957

Harold and Grace: I thought you both would be interested. Gladys Baker stirred me up to write this. Best always to both of you and to your good families, fhw

Oct. 14, 1957

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

I write in appreciation for the constructive leadership you have been giving your fellow-citizens in Arkansas and the country at large during these trying days.

As a Negro I have tried to think of all the people in Little Rock-- the good, the bad and the indifferent- because the work of the world is done by the combination of all three of these elements.

It seems to me that one constructive thing which has come out of all the sorrow- is that writers in the north and border-line areas are now trying to say something about race relations that has meaning. Previously it has seemed to me that their goal was to say as little as possible and to repeat and then repeat again that which was already known so no one received new insights and gain additional knowledge.

The southern writers and commentators who have come to know that race relations are just a part of human relations and that what is good humanly speaking is usually good racially speaking have played a very important role. The events may have brightened their illumination but they did not start them.

I recently had a letter from a white friend in Little Rock who is very troubled about the influence the White Citizens Councils are having on people who are normally full of constructive conduct. I am sure that you are mindful of the destructive influence of such groups in any community.

In the complicated days ahead I am sure that the Lord will be mindful of you and bring you widsom and grace as it is needed to meet the emerging events.

Yours very sincerely,

Frances Harriet Williams

4217 Enright
St. Louis 8, Mo.

November 8, 1957

Mr. Frank Willard
Frank Willard Productions
3223-B Cain Hill Place, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Frank:

"The Face of the South" has turned out to be a real tribute to your film-making skill. We have been using the film for some months now and have found it a very effective and universally admired production. I thought I should share with you a memorandum I received from John Constable, our director of information, as follows:

> The film, "Face of the South," has been widely in demand since its first showing. Due to the number of requests, it was necessary for the Southern Regional Council to purchase a second copy of the film.
>
> Critical comment concerning the film is high in praise of the color and the use of illustrative scenes which fit neatly into different phases of the lecture by Dr. George Mitchell. These scenes help move the story at a faster pace.
>
> Persons who have shown this film in Arkansas and in South Carolina report very favorable reaction.

One staff member who has shown the film extensively (Emory Via), makes the same point as above that the producer has done a skillful job of using illustrative scenes to brighten a serious lecture. "Technically," Via says, "the film is excellent."

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

To: HCF

From: JC

Re: Face of the South

The film, Face of the South, has been widely in demand since its first showing. Due to the number of requests, it was necessary for the Southern Regional Council to purchase a second copy of the film.

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RECEIVED JAN 20 1958

January 18, 1958

Reverend Preston N. Williams
Assistant Chaplain
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania

Dear Reverend Williams:

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, has referred your letter of January 10 to this office for a reply. Dr. Ira De A. Reid was associated with Atlanta University where he served as Professor of Sociology, Head of the Department of Sociology, and Editor of Phylon for almost two decades. Below are some excerpts of human interest news releases, which will provide you with some detailed background of Dr. Reid's many activities. I trust that this will help you in your effort to promote your forthcoming "Brotherhood Banquet," at which Dr. Reid will be the principal speaker.

> Dr. Ira De A. Reid has been named chairman of the department of sociology and editor of Phylon suceeding Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Dr. Reid has been a member of the department since 1933. He is a graduate of Morehouse College, the University of Pittsburg, and Columbia University; and he has engaged in additional study at the London School of Economics. The new chairman's experience includes one year as a teacher at Texas College, and one year on the faculty of the Douglas High School in Huntington, West Virginia. For three years he was industrial secretary of the New York Urban League, and for six years he held the position of director of research with this organization. In 1939 Dr. Reid was named a consultant on the Social Security Board in Washington. Dr. Reid's writings are widely known and include Sharecropper's All (with Arthur Raper), In a Minor Key, The Negro Immigrant, Adult Education Among Negroes, The Urban Negro Worker in the United States, and The Negro Community of Baltimore. Articles by him have appeared in the Journal of Negro Life, Social Forces, Opportunity, The Student World, American Missionary, The Crisis, Phylon, The Journal of Negro Education, The North Georgia Review, and the Journal of Religious Education. Taken from The Atlanta University Bulletin, 1944-53, "Dr. Reid Appointed," (July, 1944).

Dr. Ira De A. Reid, chairman of the department of sociology at Atlanta University and editor of Phylon, the Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, has been appointed the first visiting professor of Negro culture and education at the New York University School of Education for 1946-47. Taken from The Atlanta University Bulletin, 1944-53, "Appointed to New York University Faculty," (July, 1946).

According to a leading Des Moines newspaper, Dr. Ira De A. Reid proved to be the most popular speaker of the five national authorities at the Institute on Minority Problems which was held on October 7 in Des Moines, Iowa. The Institute, held in connection with the Des Moines Public Forum, was sponsored by the adult education department of the Des Moines public schools, the Des Moines N. A. A. C. P., and the Des Moines Interracial Commission. Taken from The Atlanta University Bulletin, 1944-53, "Dr. Reid Speaks at the Des Moines Institute," (December, 1943).

The People's College, advertised widely as a school for all the people, opened for an experimental ten weeks' session on October 19 under the sponsorship of Atlanta University. This was the first major venture of the University into the field of community education and it has proven so successful that a second session will be held beginning in February. Three hundred and fifty men and women of all ages and from all walks of life enrolled in the College, directed by Dr. Ira De A. Reid of the University's department of sociology. Taken from The Atlanta University Bulletin, 1934-43, "The People's College Opens," (December, 1942).

Sincerely yours,

Mozell C. Hill, Chairman
Department of Sociology

MCH:fp

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming

January 15, 1958

Reverend Preston N. Williams
Assistant Chaplain
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Williams:

This will acknowledge your letter of January 10 requesting background information on Dr. Ira Reid.

Though I know and admire Dr. Reid, his service with the Southern Regional Council was a little before my time. I have taken the liberty of passing on your request to Dr. Mozell Hill of Atlanta University, who succeeded Dr. Reid as chairman of the Sociology Department and editor of Phylon. Dr. Hill has promised to write you promptly.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. You are to be envied for your capable secretary. We hated to lose her and look forward to her occasional return visits.

H.C.F.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY PARK • PENNSYLVANIA

University Chaplain
Co-ordinator of Religious Affairs
Helen Eakin Eisenhower Chapel

January 10, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On February 12 we are having Dr. Ira De A. Reid speak at our Brotherhood Banquet. We are desirous of running some human interest stories on him prior to his appearance. The biographical data which he has given to us is too brief for this type of writing.

We would be greatly appreciative if you could forward to us a more detailed background of some of the many activities in which Dr. Reid has participated.

We are not attempting to "jazz up" this event. We are seeking, however, good, solid information about some of the constructive activities in which he has participated.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Preston N. Williams

Preston N. Williams
Assistant Chaplain

PNW:ecw

copy
Sent to Mr. Reid - 1/14

Dear Harold,

The ecw at the end of this letter is Emily Calhoun Wilson.

Sorry you weren't in when I dropped by the Southern Regional last summer.

GSM sent me an illegibly scrawled note at Christmas which I'm still trying to read.

Greetings to Emory et al.

Emily.

VIA AIR MAIL

February 24, 1958

Miss Ethna B. Winston
Director of Reading Services
Elizabeth City State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Dear Miss Winston:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming, who is ill and away from his office, your letter of the 17th has been called to my attention.

Our research office reports no information on hand to indicate that Southern State Departments of Education are attempting to encourage or make available positive material on the Negro or his contributions to American society. With more time we would be happy to look into the matter further. However, in general we believe it is safe to assume that the tensions of the times have reduced or eliminated those positive steps which the more liberal teachers or schools might have at one time considered. Such information as we do have indicates this trend toward elimination of any material about the Negro - his problems, contributions or thinking.

I regret that we are able to be of so little help. If we can be of further service, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Rec 2/27/58

ELIZABETH CITY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

ELIZABETH CITY, NORTH CAROLINA

February 17, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Conference on Education
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

In the early part of 1939, I completed a dissertation on the problem - "The Need for Integrated Information on Negro Culture and Achievement in the Public Schools of Hartford, Connecticut." At that time, I secured through your office (the Conference was under a different name at that time). copies of proposals for instruction for several of the Southern State Departments of Education. Each state reporting gave evidence of recommendation that information concerning the American Negro would be included in the instructional programs.

Is there currently any effort on the part of southern states to include the more positive information regarding the contributions of Negro Culture to American society? If so, I should like to make use of such information in a discussion at the Connecticut College for Women in New London, Connecticut on February 28, 1958.

I realize this is an extremely short notice. However, my assignment just came to me at the end of last week. Inspite of the late hour, I am trying to gather information which will indicate whether or not there is anything being done currently regarding this problem according to what was indicated in 1939. I shall be grateful for even your personal opinion regarding this matter.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Ethna B. Winston

Ethna B. Winston
Director of Reading Services

I'm glad safe to come
Can I Jones
have read

July 18, 1958

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Attn: Reservation Desk

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your wire confirming reservations for me and John Hope the night of July 19. Both of us will be arriving in the Capitol rather late. I believe that I will be the first to arrive - about 10:00 P. M.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

October 17, 1958

Vertical File Index
The H. W. Wilson Company
950 University Avenue
New York 52, New York

Dear Sirs:

Your card addressed to the Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights (Washington, D. C.) has been forwarded to us. You requested a review copy of the reprint, "Industrialization: Accent on the South," by Ben Segal.

The office of the Trade Union Program has been discontinued and we are undertaking the further distribution of the pamphlet. A copy of this pamphlet is enclosed. The post-paid price for the pamphlet is ten cents. We would be happy to have it listed in the Verticle File Index.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

P. S. I am also enclosing for your consideration a copy of our pamphlet, "The Negro Voter in the South." The post-padd retail price for this item is twenty-five cents. We feel it is of sufficiently general interest to warrant its inclusion in your listing.

EFV

SEP 18 1958

Gentlemen: Answered Oct 16, 1958

Kindly send us a review copy of your ~~pamphlet(s)~~ reprint

Industrialization: accent on the south,
by B.D.Segal

Please let us know the retail postpaid price of this material for listing in the Vertical File Index--the pamphlet index used by libraries as a buying list and reference work. There is ***no charge*** for this listing.

VERTICAL FILE INDEX

The H. W. Wilson Co. 950 University Ave. New York 52, N.Y.

November 18, 1958

Dr. Shepherd L. Witman
Director
Cultural and Educational Exchange
Program
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Witman:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 12. I enjoyed my participation in the seminar which you so ably conducted and share your hope that we may be working together again.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL
EXCHANGE PROGRAM

November 12, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much indeed for your excellent contribution to the resident foreign correspondents' seminar. Your help in clarifying a very delicate problem for these gentlemen was invaluable.

I hope that we will have an opportunity to work together again in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Shepherd L. Witman
Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Copy

408 Chestnut Street
Apartment No. 11
Long Beach, California

November 24, 1958.

VIA AIR MAIL

Hon. Leroy Collins
Governor's Office
Tallahassee, Florida

DearGovernor Collins:

I have read in the pres despatches that the prime suspect organization of responsible law enforcement agencies in the wave of church bombings is The Columbians. It may assist you and others who are doing their utmost to stop these bombings to know that for the past ten years The Columbians have deeply infiltrated the southern insurance adjusting fraternity, and in my belief have only thus been able to grow into the Frankenstein which now has a nation at bay.

In 1947, when the southern police drove underground the New York organizer of The Columbians, a man named Loomis, leadership of The Columbians passed to a man named Dook Willingham, who has for many years managed a branch office of the insurance adjusting firm of Gay & Taylor in Columbia, S.C. When Loomis went underground, Dook Willingham made a flying tour of the south organizing for the Columbians, and then returned to Columbia, S.C., mounted a platform and issued a call to Columbians all over the country to rise up, acknowledge his primacy in the movement, join him, and help him carry out the program of the Columbians.

This sent a shudder of horror through the insurance capitols of the world, and a group of southern insurance adjusters, of which I was one, made plans to run ads in the newspapers of the insurance capitols stating that Dook Willingham did not speak for us and that we shared the horror of all decent citizens everywhere over the activities of The Columbians and Dook Willingham. At this point, Mr. James E. Gay, Jr., of Winston-Salem, N.C., owner of the firm of Gay & Taylor, and subsequently to become regional vice-president of the National Association of Independent Insurance Adjusters, with headquarters in Chicago, entered the picture and he made a flying tour of the south and talked to various insurance adjusters, and ruthless put down all opposition to Dook Willingham and the Columbians. Mr. Gay laid down the line and said it was to be the official line of the southern insurance adjusting fraternity that The Columbians and Dook Willingham, their national leader, were not anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-Christian, just anti-communist. Later, Mr. Gay planted Dook Willingham himself into the National Association of Independent Insurance Adjusters as a member. Mr. Gay has continued to use New York and Chicago fixes to sell the insurance industry a completely false bill of goods that The Columbians are only anti-communist. I believe you will find that in the view of the Columbians those churches being bombed are "communist" churches.

In 1954, in December, I was in Winston-Salem, N.C., and was in the office of Miss Nancy Hicks, an officer of the Insurance Women of Winston-Salem, to discuss with her the details of a lecture I had been invited to give to the Insurance Women of Winston-Salem, which lecture was given an evening or two later in the banquet hall of the local YWCA. While I was in the office of Miss Hicks, Mr. James E. Gay, Jr. came in, and a little later in came Mr. Thurmond Dreher, an insurance adjuster from Columbia, S.C. Mr. Dreher said to Mr. Gay, who was at that time a regional vicepresident of the National Association of Independent Insurance Adjusters, "I find it increasingly difficult to get along with the business and social communities in Columbia because of Dook Willingham's anti-semitic activities." Whereupon, Mr. Gay said again, "I never knew Willingham to be anti-Semitic, just anti-communist. All the people he is after are communists."

I am vastly concerned in this matter, not only as a native southerner and a life-long insurance adjuster, but because I have close relatives and numerous friends, many of them in Florida, who are Protestant clergymen. If I should be needed, I will come east at my own expense, and will of course confront James E. Gay, Jr., and Dook Willingham, with the facts set out in this letter.

Other men who can perhaps help you uncover this whole network of The Columbians are Mr. Leo B. DuFort, a former New Yorker, who now has an office in the Peebles Building, Charleston, S.C., and Mr. Hurd, who in 1947 and 1948 was manager of a branch office of the General Adjustment Bureau in Spartanburg, S.C.

If you wish to call me on the telephone, my number here is Long Beach - HEmlock 2-9339.

Very truly yours,

Walter L. Williams

Walter L. Williams.

WLW/n

CC: The Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

CC: The Associated Press,
Charlotte, North Carolina.

January 13, 1959

Mr. Burton T. Wilson
3900 Loquat Avenue
Coconut Grove Station
Miami 33, Florida

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Thank you for your letter of January 9 in response to a letter from Mrs. Farr of the Law of the Bill of Rights course. I thought because of your interest in the Bill of Rights you might want to be in touch with our state group, the Florida Council on Human Relations, 213 N. E. Second Avenue, Miami, Florida - Bill Williams, Executive Director. It is possible that Bill might be able to supply you with some materials or information which would be helpful to you in your planning. Some of the people on the Board of the Florida Council or the Dade County Council would be interested in attending the course.

The Bill of Rights not only needs to be defended, it needs to be understood and it needs to be used. I very much regret to say that understanding of the Bill is sadly lacking among many of our political leaders. An enlightened and aroused citizenry can make the Bill of Rights an even more vital instrument in our pursuit of individual liberty balanced by community responsibility.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
cc: Bill Williams

BURTON T. WILSON
3900 LOQUAT AVENUE
COCONUT GROVE STATION
MIAMI 33, FLORIDA

Jan. 9, '59

Dear Mr. Routh,

Mrs Farr of the Law of the Bill of Rights course has written me you are interested in establishing contact with someone in this area who is working toward setting up such a course in this area — Dade County, Florida.

I qualify in the above matter and if I can be of service, please let me know.

Burton T. Wilson

February 25, 1959

Mr. Albert C. Winn
Stillman College
P. O. Drawer 483
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Al:

Although you've had no evidence of it, I greatly appreciated your sending me the clipping from the Advertiser quoting the APA statement. I was strongly inclined to follow your suggestion that we write Mr. Mills again. Then the same fraudulent charge was made in new quarters -- first in Knoxville, then in the House of Representatives by Dale Alford. The need to counteract these attacks derailed me completely.

At this point, I guess we'll let lying dogs sleep.

All the best to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SAMUEL BURNEY HAY, D.D., PRESIDENT

STILLMAN COLLEGE
OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
P. O. DRAWER 483
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

January 26, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

From the enclosed clipping you will see that our friend, the editor of the Birmingham Post-Herald, is now on record as bitterly condemning newspapers which will not print both sides of a public issue.

This raises the question whether it might be wise to ask him once again to reprint Virginius Dabney's editorial on the S. R. C. Perhaps that will raise more dust than it settles, but the point of justice involved intrigues me.

What do you think?

Sincerely,

Al

Albert C. Winn

Montgomery Advertiser 1/25/59

State Press Blasts Paper On Ad Refusal

BIRMINGHAM (AP) — The Alabama Press Assn. Saturday condemned the Washington Post and Times - Herald for refusing to carry the Putnam Letter as a paid advertisement.

A private Alabama group is publishing the letter in northern and western newspapers as an expression of Southern views on racial segregation.

A resolution adopted by the association at its annual convention said the APA "does deplore and condemn the betrayal of the press and of the right of the people to know all sides of a public issue."

CRITICIZED COURT

Carleton Putnam, a retired air line executive of Washington, wrote the letter to President Eisenhower in criticism of U.S. Supreme Court decisions requiring racial integration of public facilities. He was particularly critical of the ruling that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

A committee of prominent Alabamians launched a fund-raising campaign aimed at getting the letter published as a paid advertisement in northern and western newspapers.

To date it has been printed in the New York Times and the committee says it will appear in the Washington Star Monday.

STEWARD ELECTED

William Stewart, Monroeville, editor of the Monroe Journal, was elected president of the association for the coming year. He succeeded C. G. Thomason Sr., publisher of the Industrial Press in Ensley.

Other officers named were James E. Mills, editor of the Birmingham Post - Herald, first vice president; Harold May, the Florence Times, second vice president; and Jones Giles, Tuscaloosa, re-elected secretary - treasurer and field manager.

New directors of the association are C. E. (Tip) Matthews, Mobile Press Register; Joel Smith, Eufaula Tribune; Porter Harvey, Guntersville Gleam; Jay Thornton, Haleyville Advertiser; Arthur Cook, Shades Valley Sun; and Arthur Slayton, Moulton Ad-

(See APA, Page 2A)

APA

(Continued From Page 1)

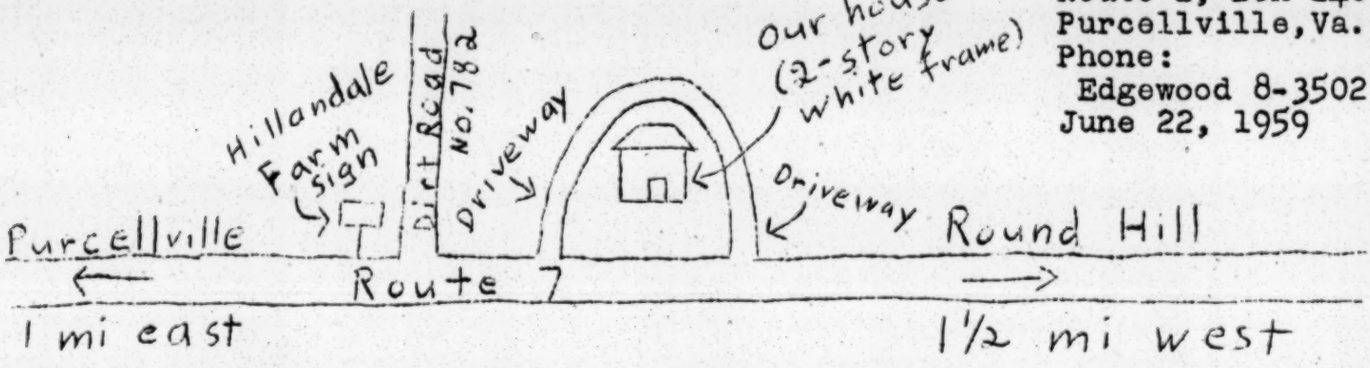
vertiser and Russellville Citizen-Times.

Directors of the Alabama Newspaper Advertising Service also were elected. They are J. C. Henderson, Alexander City Outlook; Fred Eiland, Cleburne County news; Tom Gardner, Brewton Standard; and Bob Bryan, Cullman Times and Democrat.

The Putnam Letter resolution was proposed by Col. Harry M. Ayers, publisher of the Anniston Star.

SRC Staff

Route 2, Box 148
Purcellville, Va.
Phone:
Edgewood 8-3502
June 22, 1959



Dear Friends:

We're putting out this mid-year newsletter to let you all know that we've settled on Janney's father's dairy farm, with 120 cows, seven relatives of various ages and both sexes, four tenant families, and a yard full of poison ivy which Janney is pulling up by the roots with his bare hands.

Please come to see us. We mean it. You may learn as much from a visit to the farm as my little cousin did, who asked, when he saw the cows being milked, whether they produced orange juice too.

We have other attractions besides cows: three ponds, frequented by fisherman from all over this part of the county; earthworms, which Emily is raising for bait; mulberry and cherry trees; raspberries; blackberries; and Heaven knows what else, if you have time to look for it. The Appalachian Trail is about fifteen minutes drive from here, and from there you can hike either to Maine or Georgia, picking blueberries along the way.

If your tastes are more citified, you can walk or drive to a nearby golf course and swimming pool that's always full and charges commercial rates.

The map, we hope, is self-explanatory. Route 7 is the highway that connects Winchester and Washington. We're about 50 miles from Washington and about five hours drive from Philadelphia (less from central Pennsylvania).

We have lots of space at the moment (some of which may be rented later on), but very little furniture. Week-end guests who bring sleeping bags can be sure of a floor, porch, or grass to sleep on (whichever they prefer). Also, Janney's father's guest room (in our house) is sometimes unoccupied, as are various rooms (including two kitchens) in Janney's mother's house about half a mile away.

We hope to be able to have paying guests eventually. That's one reason (aside from the fact that we like you) why we're inviting you all to make short, exploratory visits here--to see what it's like and what the possibilities are. Then if you or any of your friends would like to stay for a longer period, we could work something out.

So come on down, up, or over--for an afternoon, a day, or a weekend.

Janney & Emily Calhoun Wilson

Just in case anybody drives up our way.

Emily

Take off Report list
2-15-60

JC

Contrib

1231 Jackson Spring Road
Macon, Georgia

February 8, '60

S. R. Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

Hope you are quite well and having a most successful year as we are here at home (except Math grades). I am not on the Georgia Advisory Committee Commission on Civil Rights so please change the stencil. Resigned in late August to be effective Sept 1, '59 — all before the Report was published — and I had no idea what it would contain. When I agreed to be a member it was on a 5 months trial basis. New South has been arriving with the stencil showing my membership for some time but am only now getting to write you.

I do wish, as you must, that "relief is just a swallow away" in the realm of conduct whether it be local, state, U.S., hemisphere, world and space.

There isn't anything in news items from here now that is a contribution to society's morale which you haven't heard already. We give grateful thanks for the day, certainly due.

Compliments to you on your excellent work.

All the best for you and Mr. Dabbs. He is a great man. Most rare.

Sincerely,

Jain Willingham

MF--

Will you check whether Sam Williams got a copy of our Special Report, and, if not, mail him one?

HCR

Sent
3/10/60
MF

May 6, 1960

JC:

Please put the following person on

on your "All-Purpose" mailing list:

Miss Frances Williams
4217 Enright
St. Louis 8, Missouri

MF

Put on mailing list

May 2, 1960

Miss Frances Williams
4217 Enright
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Frances:

You are kind as can be to write me that warm and morale-lifting letter. I hear of you often through Grace and rejoice in the wisdom and insight you continue to produce from the St. Louis base.

I'm not sure you have been getting our materials, except for New South, and am taking steps to see that you do.

These are good and busy days for me, personally, and for the Southern Regional Council, as I hope they are for you. One of these days, I trust, we will have another chance to sit down together and get caught up. Until then, my very best,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Washington speech)

Rec'd 4/19/60

April 18, 1960

Dear Harold:

For some time now I have wanted to write you to say what a wonderful contribution you are making to our South. Let me do so now.

I especially enjoyed the March issue of New South since I know a good deal about the situation here and find your interpretation coincides with that which I know. It is not easy to interpret such a complex situation accurately-- so that it all appears to be humanly true even to those who have no background or only partial knowledge.

The present siutation in Alabama as pictured by the New York Times is disturbing to me.

Otherwise I feel a great deal of hope.

I do hope these are good days for you personally and that the rewards of the struggle are clear to you and those who work with you.

Yours very sincerely,

Frances

Frances Williams

4217 Enright
St. Louis8, Mo.

February 24, 1961

The Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please reserve a single for four (4) nights beginning Thursday, March 2 in the name of Mr. Harold C. Fleming.

Awaiting confirmation by return wire (collect).

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

P. S. -- Please mark reservation for "late arrival."

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • • EXECUTIVE 3-5581

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

June 9, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would like a copy of your "The Freedom Ride" dated May 1961. Also I would appreciate any other material you may have on the Freedom Riders. mailed 6/12/61

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Dick Wilson

Dick Wilson
Research Associate

DW:ajc
oeiu#2afl-cio

VICE PRESIDENTS: I. W. ABEL • JOSEPH A. BEIRNE • L. S. BUCKMASTER • JOSEPH CURRAN • GORDON FREEMAN • A. F. HARTUNG
ALBERT J. HAYES • O. A. KNIGHT • PAUL L. PHILLIPS • WILLIAM POLLOCK • FRANK ROSENBLUM • LOUIS STULBERG
ARNOLD ZANDER

File
Wi - Gen. corresp.

November 16, 1961

Mr. John Williams
Box 245
Athens, Georgia

Dear John:

Receiving your letter from Athens gave me reassurance that you did find your way on and off the buses Monday night. Please look us up whenever you come to Atlanta, which, we trust, will be frequent.

You need not have promised never to become a "renegade". No medievalist could.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:dm

Athens, Box 245
Tuesday

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

It was a real pleasure meeting with you yesterday and seeing the Council offices.

I certainly hope to get to Atlanta from time to time, and I'd like to call by again.

If I can ever be of service to the Council in any way, please let me know. In the meantime I promise not to become a renegade. Thank you for the literature: I will pass it on

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

John Williams

July 3, 1962

Mr. Spain Willingham
1231 Jackson Spring Road
Macon, Georgia

Dear Spain,

Thanks so much for your present and note, for which everybody is grateful. It's good of you to kick in even with your doubts. I think these children are probably doing more than anyone else, at least to hasten the revolution, with most commendable non-violence and sacrifice, and that not even our politicians can stop them if they can keep on eating.

I think you must be talking about Harold Fleming who has gone to the Potomac Institute in Washington. Leslie Dunbar is now Director, and I am sending you his The Annealing of the South, which I think is a great and literary piece. I know you and Josie are proud of Joe. Personally, I enjoy my children's reading and insights rather more than the going to jail, but I suppose we have to take the whole works and put up with them.

Thanks for this Ferris sermon. It is edifying indeed and I don't blame you for wanting it back. I think I believe more in original goodness than in original sin.

Love to you and Josie,

Maggie

LD:s

March 25, 1963

Mr. Norman R. Williams
Farm and Wilderness Camps
West Bridgewater, Vermont

Dear Mr. Williams:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to respond to your letter of March 17. We are interested in your activities and the proposed handbook.

It would seem a direct inquiry from you to all members of NECA would be the most logical approach. Certainly the listing of integrated camps would be especially helpful. We will be happy to send you the names of any Southern camps we know of or can find out about, though we have little information on the subject. When your Handbook is completed, we will also be happy to make that fact known to interested persons and agencies in the region.

Please keep us informed. Best wishes for your work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

FARM AND WILDERNESS CAMPS West Bridgewater, Vermont
TIMBERLAKE *for boys* · INDIAN BROOK *for girls* · TAMARACK FARM, *Co-educational*

TELEPHONE: Bridgewater, ORchard 2-2921
WINTER ADDRESS: Woodstock, Vermont
Telephone: Woodstock 419

March 17, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Exec. Dir. Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

On a recent visit to Washington, I had the pleasure of meeting Fred Routh of NAIRO, and discussing with him the work being done in the New England Camping Association by its International and Intercultural Committee, of which I am chairman. He suggested that I get in touch with you as one who would be interested in the Handbook of Integrated Camping which we are about to launch.

The enclosed material will explain what we have in mind, as well as give you some idea of the background of this effort. As you will probably gather from my report to the NECA Board, neither the NECA nor its parent body, the American Camping Association, has been anxious to face the question of integration within their member camps. However, my committee has apparently stirred people at the top levels to the point where both Boards have now endorsed our effort, the ACA Board at its March meeting in Florida having adopted a strong policy statement.

At all events, it is clear that American camp directors do want to face up to their responsibilities in fostering integration, and we hope that our Handbook will offer the kind of guidance and support they need. As Dr. Kenneth Benne of Boston University pointed out at an NECA meeting some time ago, the camp director enjoys an absolutely unique opportunity to influence the attitudes of a child. He has the child when its mind is most relaxed and open, when it is under his control 24 hours a day, and when it is in a living situation with its peers, the group from which it tends increasingly to accept its values. If camp directors is willing to learn how to use this opportunity to develop truly democratic concepts in the child, he will be making a notable contribution to this nation's growth.

My committee meets the end of March to draw up a working plan for the Handbook, which I would like to see published around the end of the year. It needs to be concise and timely, but neither superficial nor scholarly. If you have suggestions for sources of material, names of integrated camps in the South, approach or format, I would be most grateful to receive them.

Sincerely,

Norman R. Williams

Norman R. Williams

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL-INTERCULTURAL COMMITTEE TO THE NECA BOARD, JANUARY 31, 1963

I am glad of this chance to summarize briefly what I feel this committee has accomplished and to present my recommendations for the future. Copies of this report will also be sent to the ACA Board. Let me say that I came to this job as a complete novice. It has been a real education for me to work with all of you, a pleasure to know each of you, and a privilege to have had this small part in forwarding the aims of the NECA.

From the beginning this committee conceived its function as essentially social action. In other words, we felt a strong conviction that the camping movement now has a wonderful opportunity and a clearcut duty to do much more to help bring about integration in this nation. True, we did devote some of our time to promoting international understanding, but this was always secondary, and I think rightly so.

Thanks to the gracious cooperation of Grace Mitchell, we have had the satisfaction of seeing several worthwhile, if controversial, sessions offered at NECA conferences: a round-table discussion on the subject, "Camping Faces the Racial Revolution"; Mrs. Mildred Mahoney's excellent discussion of discrimination and the law; and a panel of foreign counselors.

More than a year ago, in an effort to discover what are the racial-cultural patterns and attitudes toward integration in NECA camps, we issued a questionnaire, following a forthright statement of the committee's position on integration. I feel that in many ways this questionnaire is the most significant action we have taken and I would like to draw your attention to some of its aspects.

While it is true that the statistical validity of this survey may be open to doubt, since there was a return of only 17%, still some interesting patterns are apparent. First, there is a dramatic disparity between the professed belief in camp integration, and its practice. This is particularly true as applied to staff procurement in the private camp sector. Again, private camps by and large seem to have many more foreign counselors than do agency camps. In the area of enrollment policy, only 23 out of 33 private camps replied "yes" to the question: "Do you enroll children of all races and cultures?" whereas only three of the 48 responding agency camps gave a negative answer.

This marked divergence between the enrollment-employment practices of the private and of the agency sectors of the NECA is not surprising, considering the quite different problems that each faces. Nor do limited findings of this type justify the conclusion that the problem of integration is confined to private camps alone. Far from it. It is true, however, that private camp directors seem much more sensitive to the enrollment hazards and to the resulting economic implications of camp integration. This may account for the expressions of hostility which the questionnaire evoked in some of this group.

One director of a highly-respected private camp may well have spoken for the many private camp directors who failed to return their questionnaire, when she wrote that her "feathers had been badly ruffled" by its tone. Her camp, she insisted, has always been integrated because it has always welcomed foreign counselors. However, she has yet to answer the question which I then asked her, one posed by a Negro member of the committee: "It is ironic that dark-skinned people from other lands are often welcome at New England camps, although they have contributed nothing to our nation's growth; why is it that American Negroes, who have played so vital a part in that growth, are so often regarded by these same camps as undesirable?"

When I took charge of this committee, that question with all its overtones of puzzlement, bitterness and suppressed strife, was hanging over our collective heads. Now, two years later, it is still there, unanswered. Has this committee actually brought us any closer to the answer? I must, in truth, confess that we have not. Despite our good intentions, we appear to have accomplished precious little on the basic job of changing attitudes and overcoming fears.

What, then, is needed? I believe what is needed above all else is courageous leadership. We desperately need at the top levels of both the NECA and the ACA more men and women who have looked at the racial crisis this nation is going through, who have realized their personal responsibility in it, and who are ready to discharge their democratic duty, cost what it may. Of all the American traditions, the camping tradition should be the first to produce such citizens, for it is closest to the pioneer spirit of hardihood, self-reliance and devotion to principle. Yet it is lagging. Why?

We camp directors spend much of our energy these days insisting that we are an educational movement. Unlike motels and resorts, we are seriously concerned about the mental, physical and spiritual growth of our campers. And we fight for certain privileges in the legislatures on the basis of this claim, enshrined in the statement of objectives of our parent organization, the American Camping Association. Now I ask, how many of us are equally eager to see that another ACA objective, further down the list, is also fully realized? That objective, as I'm sure you know, states: "To give emphasis in camping to citizenship training in keeping with the principles and traditions of American democracy".

I am tired of feeling as though I've used a dirty word when I begin talking about camp integration in a group of camp directors. It is high time that we recognize the painful and disgraceful fact that American camping is falling behind many other segments of public life in its willingness to face up to its integration responsibilities. It is high time we place on the programs of every convention - and particularly the ACA convention - psychologists, sociologists, camp directors and any human relations experts who can help us face this responsibility. We need to listen to more voices like that of Dr. Kenneth Benne of Boston University. It's all very w ell to have our hearts touched by superb dramatic singing, as happened last winter in New York; but an experience like this must be followed by study and discussion if we are to begin to overcome the many fears and misconceptions which prevent us from taking positive and long-overdue action.

As members of this Board, we need to express our convictions for integration forthrightly. Much as I appreciate the moral support many of you have given me, it is indeed saddening to have someone who kept silent during the meeting, come up to me afterward and say, "Keep up the good work - we're behind you!" We must speak up without fear. We must put aside our petty fears of ruffling someone's feathers, or of losing membership, and act according to what we know is best for the camping movement in the long run. We must take a statesmanlike view of the place of camping in this Democracy. And this would seem to apply equally to the ACA Board, which has yet to issue a clearcut statement of its position on camp integration. Today the world is changing rapidly. Social forces are on the move and they will not wait while we hedge and equivocate. What is more, the opportunities we have today may be gone tomorrow...

This committee has drawn up a plan for a handbook, for and by camp directors, and designed to explore the opportunities and the problems of camp integration from many points of view. I recommend that this Board get wholeheartedly - I repeat, wholeheartedly - behind this plan. And I recommend that this Board draw the attention of the ACA Board to this plan and request its cooperation and endorsement.

As a first step, it might be well to investigate the idea of inaugurating a camp scholarship fund, such as the one suggested for the handbook. This fund would be designed to help ACA camps to enroll children from any and all minority groups. Several NECA camps have had similar funds in operation for some time, so there is ample experience to draw on. No doubt there are foundations which can be found to help as well. Altogether, this idea of a scholarship fund might provide an excellent means of underlining the determination of the camping movement in America to begin tackling this urgent problem which has for so long been swept under the carpet.

There lies before us a magnificent opportunity to lead the way. The question which each of us on this Board must ask himself or herself is, simply, does the New England Camping Association have the vision, the courage and the faith in democracy to grasp that opportunity? I believe the answer is, "Yes!"

Norman R. Williams

Respectfully submitted, Norman R. Williams, 1.29.'63

5 River St., Woodstock, Vt.
May 6, 1962

To Friends of Integrated Camping:

During the past year the International and Intercultural Committee of the New England Camping Association, under my chairmanship, has undertaken to foster integration in New England camps. To this end, we have taken several preliminary steps.

1) We issued a bulletin to all NECA camp directors outlining the urgency and the challenge of camp integration. 2) We held a panel discussion on this topic at the Fall NECA Workshop, at which many of the fears and anxieties harbored by camp directors were clarified, a report of this meeting being subsequently submitted to the NECA Board. 3) We arranged to have Mrs. Mildred Mahoney of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination speak of the legal aspects, at the February NECA Convention. 4) We issued a questionnaire to the 430 NECA camp directors, designed to give some idea of the international and intercultural patterns in their camps, and of their own attitudes toward the Committee's efforts. 5) We compiled the results, a copy of which is enclosed.

This experience, augmented by many private conversations with camp directors at the New York ACA Convention in March, has convinced me that the time is ripe for a major attempt to help the many directors who feel integration for them is inevitable, but who don't know how to go about it. It occurred to me that a booklet might well be published by the ACA for this purpose. I broached the idea to Stan Michaels, ACA President, and received his warm endorsement. Then I wrote each NECA director who had responded favorably to the Committee's integration effort, inviting him to attend a meeting this weekend at the NECA Spring Workshop at Springfield, Mass.

Henry and Bess Haskell, Kay Schlichting, John Porter and myself attended this meeting and drew up the following outline of the proposed booklet. I am submitting it to you hoping you will contribute your own comments and suggestions. Particularly welcome would be nominations for camp directors to write articles in section 3; sources for section 7; authorities and contacts for section 2; and authors for section 6.

PROPOSED OUTLINE FOR A HANDBOOK OF INTEGRATED CAMPING

I. Purpose. "To present some of the problems, some possible solutions, and to suggest the values involved in camp integration." It was agreed that while international contacts are valuable in camping and may lead in some cases to integration, the urgent need now is to help camp directors to meet problems that might arise from their acceptance of members of minority groups in the United States, including Negroes, Jews, American Indians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The booklet would confine itself to this objective.

II. One or two articles by outstanding authorities. This would provide both fresh insight and help the promotion of the booklet. Suggested authors: Margaret Meade; Pearl Buck; Abraham Kardiner (Columbia U.); Kenneth Benne (Boston U.); Benjamin Spock; David Reisman.

III. Observations from directors of integrated camps. It was felt that directors who had integrated their camps after some years of operation would have the most pertinent information. This section would be the heart of the booklet, designed so that a reader having a camp in one of six categories could turn to the article bearing on his particular circumstances. We would need to find one director of an integrated camp in each category, with ample experience and some literary ability, to write an article based on that experience and supplemented by answers to a questionnaire sent to other direc-

tors in his category. This should cover all parts of the nation.

The six categories, each having an article, are: boys, girls, coed teenage private camps, and boys, girls, coed teenage agency camps.

We propose each integrated camp director cooperating in this survey be asked to touch on the following questions in his reply: 1) What were your main anxieties before integrating? 2) Why did you proceed to integrate? 3) What did you do to forestall trouble? 4) What actual steps did you take to integrate? 5) How has integration effected your: a) campers, b) staff, c) parents, d) community, e) relations with other camps, f) income? 6) If you had to repeat the experience, what would you change? 7) How do you evaluate your total integration experience, pro and con? 8) Do you have a scholarship fund, and if so does it have any bearing on your integration effort?

IV. An article on enrollment problems vis-a-vis integration.

V. Scholarship Funds. Legal and promotional aspects, how they can effect integration, the role of foundations, and a possible proposal of a fund covering all private integrated camps.

VI. Articles by members of minority groups. A camp parent, a counselor, and a camper might each write describing what camp integration means to him or her.

VII. Sources of desirable counselors and campers from minority groups. Two points are worth noting. First, whereas some minority groups have in the past shown relatively little interest in organized camping, the removal of economic, educational and housing barriers will tend to change this attitude more rapidly than many of us now suspect. Second, the camp director's sincere interest in each person and his qualifications regardless of race is essential to success in attracting members of minority groups to his camp.

Some staff sources: Urban League; NAACP; Negro universities; student placement centers at integrated colleges - will respond if an interest in minority members is expressly stated; integrated school teachers; International House, N.Y.C.; U.S. Indian Service.

Some camper sources: Newspaper & magazine ads, if camp's integration policy is mentioned; camp agencies will also respond; Freedom House, Boston; Fair Housing groups in suburban communities often know minority families interested in integrated camping.

VIII. A list of integrated camps. Such a list should serve to reassure and encourage directors of other camps wishing to integrate, and we shall need lists from other sections of the ACA. The following NECA camps have permitted me to list them as integrated.

Agency camps:	Private camps:
Abnaki, N.H.	Pemigewassett, N.H.
Andover & Waldron, N.H.	D-Arrow, Me.
Hi-Rock, Mass.	Safari, Mass.
Elliott, N.H.	Timberlake, Vt.
Roxbury Neighborhood House, Mass.	Robinson Crusoe, Mass.
Marycrest, Vt.	Catherine Capers, Vt.
Merrowvista, Mass.	Tarra-Walla, Conn.
William Lawrence, N.H.	Indian Brook, Vt.
Wildwood Nature, Mass.	Blueberry Cove, Me.
Wind-in-the Pines, Mass.	Tamarack Farm, Vt.
Grotonwood, Mass.	Saltash Mountain, Vt.
Natarswi, Me.	
Elbanobscot & Teenobscot, Mass.	
Trinity House, N.H.	

(This section and section VI are my additions to the original outline.)

Sincerely,

Norm Williams

October 8, 1963

Mr. Sam P. Wiggins
Center for Southern Education Studies
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sam:

I got your message when you were in town. It was simply one of those days with appointments on top of each other. I hope you will let me know when you come into town again.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

See "W" Gen Corresp. Cabinet #18 Drawer 2

Dec. 30, 1963

NM MMJ

Nobbie,

Please put the following person on our mailing list (Category #7 - Contact, Research)

Dr. Joseph A. Wilber
387 Brentwood Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

thanxm mmj

December 30, 1963

Dr. Joseph A. Wilber
387 Brentwood Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wilber:

I am having you put on one of our mailing lists. In the meantime, enclosed are a few back things, as well as a subscription blank to New South.

It was a real pleasure meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: September 1963 NEW SOUTH
"The Desegregation of Southern Schools," Coles
"The Economic Status of Negroes..." Henderson
SRC Public Statement, December 30 1963
N.S. Subs. blank

DR. JOSEPH A WILBER

387 BRENTWOOD DR.

NE

ATLANTA GA 30305

CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		RUSH	

MESSAGE Wants to arrange a house call.

SIGNED Rose

file
"We" - you.
corresp.
Cr. ref.
Lind speech
corresp. related to

March 11, 1964

Mr. Robert E. Winder
Field Underwriter
Home Life Insurance Company
508 Starks Building
455 South Fourth Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Bob:

Thank you so much for your letter of March 6. I did greatly enjoy being with the Louisville students. They were a most impressive and a most heartening group. But the really striking thing was that within the group so many were true individuals.

It was good meeting you and your wife, and I am grateful to you for guiding me through the day. Please look me up if you come to Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Home Life Insurance Company, New York

508 STARKS BLDG. / 455 SOUTH FOURTH STREET / LOUISVILLE 2, KENTUCKY / JU 2-2547

ROBERT E. WINDER, C.L.U.
FIELD UNDERWRITER

March 6, 1964

Dr. Lesile W. Dunbar
Director Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

It was a real pleasure to have had the opportunity to know you even though our visit was so brief. Your contribution to the Youth Speaks Workshop was tremendous. I saw the television program last Saturday. It was very well balanced from the standpoint of comments and extremely informative about the subject matter of the Workshop.

I certainly want to thank you personally for participating and making our Workshop quite successful. I have received a number of compliments along this line.

Thank you again for taking time from your busy schedule to be with us.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Winder

Robert E. Winder, C.L.U.

REW/er

File
"Wi" Gen. Corresp

May 7, 1964

Mr. John Williams
Box 245
Athens, Georgia

Dear John:

I was sorry I missed you when you were in town. Come back. If you would let me know in advance sometimes, maybe we could get together for a meal. Maybe then you could tell me why you don't like Bud Trillin's book.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LW

Jesse —

Was up from Athens today & tried to see you to say hello. Don't think too hard of my Uncle after that trashy book by Tillman

John Wilbourn

are a few pages which I think Professor G. W. Foster should read.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Yale
Foster, William

September 15, 1964

Professor William Foster
University of Wisconsin
School of Law
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I have been chipping hard away at that pile of stuff you helped me carry home, and one of the things I have finally read is a 126 page transcript of a planning meeting held last April, to which I was invited but could not attend. It was an affair of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to plan an issue of Daedalus on the Negro in America. The transcript has lots of warnings about confidentiality, which you will of course help me honor, but enclosed are a few pages which I think Professor G. W. Foster should read.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

File
Staff - Paul Anthony
Glu Carney

December 8, 1965

Miss Alma Williams
Y. W. C. A.
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Williams

Enclosed is a brief biographical data sheet for Mr. Anthony, which you r requested.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

December 20, 1965

Mrs. Janice T. Wiseman
2554 N. Delwood
Mobile, Alabama 36606

Dear Teko:

Thank you for the Christmas letter. They are beautiful children.

I have just been pressured by Kathy Wood to be in Mobile on the evening of January 18. I do hope to see you and Hollis them.

Every good wish for the Wisemans.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

December 29, 1965

Mr. Arch Winter, AIA, AIP
Van Antwerp Building
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Arch:

I believe I have the Provisional Membership application filled out correctly. However, do not hesitate to make any changes you see fit.

If on the references you think a different listing is better do not hesitate to change or add to. Something that I heard made me think that possibly I should list William Scheick rather than Paul for the AIA, however Paul seemed more likely as Director, Urban Design Programs. What ever you think suits me.

I hate to be a bother to you on this, but do not know where else to turn! If there is anything else I should do, please let me know.

With all of the best wishes for a prosperous New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director
Urban Design Project

MGS/pf

File
Wi

March 19, 1968

Mr. R. M. Winston
809 East Tenth Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Mr. Winston:

Please forgive me this delay in answering your letter of March 2. Earlier when I wrote you I had some hope that we would have available a modest amount of money to assist in research such as yours. Regrettably, this hope has not been realized and we simply are not in a position to consider your request, since we have no funds for that purpose.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Department of Government
Woodburn Hall
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

TEL. NO. 812

809 East Tenth Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401
2 March 1968

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On the 27th of September I received a letter from you indicating that if I wished further consideration of a request for some financial assistance I should pursue that request at a later date. This is the reason for writing to you at this time.

I am pleased to report that, in the interim, I was awarded a grant for the doctoral dissertation from the Southern Fellowships Fund, for the period of July 1968-July 1969, in the amount of $4100. Needless to say, this will be substantial assistance for the completion of the dissertation.

Nonetheless, I am urgently requesting your consideration of my original request for financial aid. In particular, I am without a source of income from now until July. Should it be necessary to rely on another loan, it would add greatly to a burden of debts which is already over-extended. I would appreciate your consideration of this matter.

I am looking foward to your reply.

Sincerely,

R.M. Winston

See "file" re: Darrel Wilkins

May 24, 1968

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

We have had all of our staff related insurance with the Mutual Of New York Company for approximately 10 years. This includes a retirement and a major medical plan. During that time we have been very pleased with the services offered, the prompt payment of claims, and the like.

The current agent who handles our affairs, Mr. Darrel Wilkins, has done an unusually good job.

Signed: _____

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

file

August 20, 1968

400 W. 119 St.
New York, N.Y. 10027

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Last December, when I wrote to you, I certainly expected to be in Atlanta before August. Instead, I've been busy in Allendale and in New York. I've intended to come to Atlanta, and regret that I haven't, but on the 28th and 29th, I expect to be there for two days.

Between now and then, I'll be at Groton Plantation, Luray, S.C. Actually, I'll be arriving there on Saturday, after two days with Paul Matthias at the S.C. Council in Columbia. You can call person-to-person: 803-625-5412 I don't expect you to call, but you may want a number, where I can be reached.

I'm looking foward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Beekman Winthrop

Beekman Winthrop

December 3, 1968

Mr. Robert L. C. Williams
Director
West Jacksonville Association for a Better
Community, Inc.
805 Line Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

Dear Mr. Williams:

I sincerely regret that we are not in a position to offer you assistance. I can think of only one private agency that might be in a position to do so. This is the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

If you write to them I think it would be best for you not to mention that I suggested this, since they are already overwhelmingly swamped with requests for assistance, and probably would not appreciate my adding to their work.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Mr. Robert L. C. Williams, Director
West Jacksonville Association For
A Better Community Inc.
805 Line Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32209
November 18, 1968

The Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

I am a true patriot of my country and has demonstrated dedication in helping the less fortunate above and beyond the call of duty, to help themselves. One victory after another in a "Self Help War On Poverty."

Already, I have exhausted every ligitimate means on a local, state, regional and national level of securing help for a people in an area thats in dire need of positive help(an area once forgotten by city government and considered one of the most impoverished areas in the State of Florida.)

Many folks here seem to think and compare our activities as equal going beyond the federal financed programs here in real community action projects producing tangible as well as intangible good, on virtually no money whatsoever.

For over three years now we have requested help from OEO and for over three years we have been informed that there was no available funds regardless how worthy the program.

I now ask you, if there is any known source in industry or private organizations that might help sponsor our activities?

Please advise.

Respectfully yours,

Robert L. C. Williams

Robert L. C. Williams, dir.

P.O. Employe Quits Job, Will Fight Poverty Battle

11-16-68

Robert L. C. Williams, who has been carrying on his own "poverty program" for five years, has resigned his job and 10 years of seniority in the Jacksonville Post Office to work full-time at no pay in the West Jacksonville Association for a Better Community, Inc.

Williams told the Jacksonville Chronicle that he hadbeen working to upgrade West Jacksonville before Greater Jacksonville Economic Opportunity, Inc., came into being, and offered his services and experience to the new organization.

"They said I didn't have the administrative experience, so I just branched out into a poverty program of my own," he said. His headquarters are at West Friendship Baptist Church, 961 Carrie St.

Williams is an eloquent speaker -- and knows it.

His first foray into the field of neighborhood improvement started with a clean-up campaign, simply because it was an obvious way to get the neighborhood together. Once pride in the community was established, he was ready to talk about jobs and education and economic advancement.

"The two things go together. We need economic progress in the community -- new business, new industry -- so the youngsters will have opportunities in their neighborhood. We were instrumental in working with the Small Business Administration to get a new restaurant, a laundromat and cleaner, a radio and television repair operation, an auto transmission shop. Not a great big thing, but something to show the people of the area that stagnation is not inevitable, that progress can be made," said Williams.

He also saw to it that teenagers were exposed to new ideas, new techniques, electronics. He wants the city to provide workshops for hobbies to fire the imagination of the young, to let them know what can lie ahead.

"If you never see a workingman except the one who picks up the garbage, you have no way of knowing there is something more. We want to inspire the young to look for that something more. We want more business and sound business in our community," he said.

Just to indicate the kind of energy Williams has, he is president of the following groups: West Jacksonville Association for a Better Community, Inc.; Eugene Butler Senior High School P-TA & Athletic Boosters; and the West Jacksonville Community Development Co. Also, he is a board member of the Community Planning Council of the Jacksonville Area, Inc., the Community Planning Council of the Jacksonville Area, Inc., the Comprehensive Health Planning Commission of Greater Jacksonville, the Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP, the Southside Improvement Association, Opportunities Industrialization Center, and North Riverside Community Improvement Group. And, to fill in his time, he is a youth advisor and a deacon in his church.

"I used to have people patting me on the back until I had a hole in my shoulder," he said, "but that doesn't produce any results. The school for poverty is where the poverty is, not in training courses conducted by Ph.D.'s . ."

Williams said he has no money to speak of, that he will get some from his Post Office pension fund, and will use that until he can find some other source.

"I'll make it," he said. "I know what poverty is - and I know what to do about it."

August 13, 1969

400 W. 119th St.
New York, N.Y. 10027

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your note. I have taken my time. These last few weeks have been hectic for me. I was in the South for ten days and in Washington for a long week end. At the Center for Community Change I talked with Dick Boone and in Washington with several other persons. To my surprise, Boone offered me a job, one which I think it would be a mistake for me to turn down.

The choice between working for S.R.C. and working for the Center for Community Change is a difficult one for me to make. Each job is different, but both fit my interests. Having to pick one, an ordeal which has brought with it several headaches, I've decided on the Center for Community Change and hope that I don't regret that choice.

I am very grateful to you for the consideration you have shown me and for your kindness, and even though I'm not accepting the job, I appreciate the offer.

Sincerely,

Beek

Beekman Winthrop

November 14, 1969

Mrs. T. Franklin Williams
287 Dartmouth Street
Rochester, New York 14607

Dear Carter:

Regrettably, I have had to cancel my trip to Rochester next week and, therefore, will not be able to visit with you. I had looked forward to this a great deal. I shall be, I hope, coming to Rochester sometime later this winter, and will let you know of it before I do.

Best to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Nov. 6, 1969

Dear Paul -

Ever since receiving your very welcome letter in early September I've intended to write you — we are eager to see you when you're here the week of the 17th. We have a large old house with a guest room awaiting you, in case we can tempt you, though I expect you will have to be in residence wherever the conference is taking place. In any case, please do have a meal with us, or several — breakfasts or dinners (usually can't get F. home at mid-day). Or come by one evening, if you can't

come for a meal.

Another reason for writing now too is to tell you that Frank has to be out of town (in Winston-Salem) Thurs + Friday of that week (Nov 20 + 21). He doesn't want to miss you.

So let us know, whenever you can, when you can be with us. Our phone # is 442-7699.

Sincerely,

Carter

Alas - the pot-bellied stove is still in N.C. - but we do have a functioning and often-used fireplace!

March 9, '54

Mr. William Batchelder
Williamsburg Lodge
Williamsburg, Va.

Dear Mr. Batchelder,

We are grateful for your conferences with my friend Warner Moss, about accommodations.

Our party would total not over 23 persons. They are editors, College Presidents, Church leaders, professional people, professors, etc. Mostly on the earlier side of middle age. Of the total number about six would be Negroes, among them President Dent of Dillard, President Clement of Atlanta University, Mrs. Hamilton of the Atlanta Urban League, Charles Johnson, of Fisk, and two others.

We would gladly take the Brick House Tavern for the period from Thursday May 6 at say 3 P.M. till Sunday May 9 at 3 P.M., at the rate of 128.00 per day. Meals to be in the regular dining room of the Lodge, each gues simply signing his checks, and we to foot the combined bill. We would wish use of the conference room in the basement of the Brick House Tavern. No publicity on the meeting, which is to discuss plans in re the public schools of the Southern States.

I have not as yet received the Foundation grant which is to cover the conference, and will not have received it for some days. May I ask therefore for reservation of the space, with power to cancel on or before March 19. But I do not expect to cancel.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

3/17

Dear Geo:

Clear for May 6-9.

Thanks.

Tassie

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1954
DALUVE
Southern Regional

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1954
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Southern Regional Council

March 26, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I have returned your card of reply today indicating my acceptance of the Council's invitation to join in the Williamsburg conference beginning Thursday afternoon, May 6.

I shall be delighted to be with you and certainly look forward to participating in this most important discussion.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:c

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name Rufus E. Clement

3-25-54

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name Olin W. Hill

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8, & 9, 1954

Name Brooks Hays

Arrival time depends on Congressional schedule. I hope to be there for opening session — in any event not later than noon the 7th.

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name J. C. Dixon

RECEIVED
MAR 30 1954
Southern Regional Counc

I will be present for the Williamsburg Conference

on May 6,7,8, &9, 1954

The person I had not seen last Monday was my Doctor — he says no. I do appreciate being asked and am deeply disappointed that I cannot come. Hope my delay has not inconvenienced you. Best wishes for the meeting — I'd like the findings —

NAME _____

Sincerely
Dorothy S Welborn
(Mrs J. F. Jr.)

I will not be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name Pretty Hurley, NAACP

Unfortunately, our Florida State Conference meets May 7. 8. 9 and I will be down there from April 22 on.

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8, &9, 1954

Name Gordon W. Blackwell

VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

J. B. WOODSON, PRESIDENT J. RUPERT PICOTT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY LAVINIA J. BANKS, TREASURER

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: CLAY STREET AT FOURTH • TELEPHONE 7-0868

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

March 31, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 2 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Micthell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The suggestions which you outlined in your letter of March twenty-ninth concerning my attendance at your Williamsburg meeting appeal and will probably be most convenient. I shall try to make my plans accordingly and shall look forward eagerly to being with you and the group.

With best wishes for your work,

Cordially,

Executive Secretary

JRP:gs

VIRGINIA EDUCATION Bulletin

March 29, '54

Dear Mr. Picott,

Why don't you plan to come down to Williamsburg for Thursday evening for dinner at 6.30 and for an evening start-off meeting; and then get back, if you can, for the meeting of the Williamsburg group on Sunday morning, May 9. Any other times, too, but that would let the group meet you, and maybe at least in the Sunday meeting you could put in some ideas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

J. B. WOODSON, PRESIDENT J. RUPERT PICOTT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY LAVINIA J. BANKS, TREASURER

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: CLAY STREET AT FOURTH • TELEPHONE 7-0868

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1954
Southern Regional Counc

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
March 25, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It was a source of much regret to me that I was unable to be present at the meeting when you were last in Richmond. I understand that it was most successful. Good newspaper publicity was provided in the daily and weekly publications of our area.

The Williamsburg meeting on May 6 through 9 appeals to me. There is only one hitch. The Regional Convention of my college Fraternity, which will be composed of those members who live in the states from Maine south to Virginia will be in session here on May 7 through 9. Since I am General Chairman of the convention, it will probably be mandatory for me to be in Richmond at least on those dates. Do write and give me some indication of the full four-day program. You may be assured that I shall try to be on hand in Williamsburg at least a part of the time.

Both my secretary and Mrs. Picott enjoyed talking with you.

With the best of good wishes,

Cordially,

Rupert Picott (JP)
Executive Secretary

JRP:gs

VIRGINIA EDUCATION Bulletin

I will be present for the Williamsburg Conference

May 6,7,8, and 9, 1954

Note: Plan to attend as indicated in letter.

Signed _____

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

April 12, 1954

DEAN OF THE FACULTIES

RECEIVED
APR 6 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have held your letter several days trying to figure out, how I could work this out--more accurately I should say: how I could work the suggested dates in a schedule that is already congested with speaking engagements, consultations, and homework. I cannot in good conscience do this. I am already convicting myself for failing to do other things which I promised to do. Any additional engagements now mean still more frustration of this type. I regret this very much but I believe that this is the right thing for me to do.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Cadman Colwell
Dean of the Faculties

ECC:rk

April 20, 1954

Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street,
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bell:

We promised to send information about schdules for travel to Williamsburg for the conference.

From Greensboro your best way is to take Capitol Airlines flight 500 which leaves Greensboro at 3:18 p.m. and gets in to the Newport-News - Williamsburg airport (called Patrick Henry) at 6:10 p.m. We are planning for dinner the first night bo be at 7:00 and the hotels in Williamsburg have limousing service from the airport so you should be able to just about make it.

Train travel would take much more time since there is no direct line from Greensboro to Richmond and you would probably have to take a train from Raleigh. In case you wanted to get from Richmond by train, there is a C & O train which leaves Richmond at 2:15 p.m. and arrives in Williamsburg at 3:10 p.m.

We are looking forward to having you with us for the conference. More information about the happenings will be sent to you soon.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name T Bell

April 20, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We promised to send information about the best schedules and ways of travel to the Williamsburg conference.

I do not know whether you will be coming from Nashville since your letter said you had a meeting in Texas. However, if you do come from Nashville the best schedule seems to be either American Airlines flight 212 which leaves Nashville at 6:40 a.m. goes by Knoxville and arrives at the Williamsburg-Newport News airport at 1:03 p.m. or the American flight 208 which leaves Nashville at 11:45 and has a stop over in Richmond, arriving at the Williamsburg airport at 8:58 p.m. There is good limousine service from the airport to town.

We will look forward to having you with us for as much of the conference as possible.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

RECEIVED
MAR 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

29 March 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I thank you for the details regarding the Williamsburg Conference, and, by way of confirmation of our telephone conversation, may I say that it is my plan to be present for at least the last half of the Conference. Unfortunately, I have an engagement in Texas falling at just the wrong time. But, by taking a plane, I think I can overcome a large part of this.

The Council is to be congratulated on its being selected to carry out this extremely important set of discussions.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

C
S
J/vlr

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name [illegible]

April 20, 1954

Rev. Carroll Brooke
Box 208
Staunton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brooke:

We promised to send information about schedules and ways of travel for getting to the Williamsburg conference.

My information is that the C. &. O. train the "Sportsman" leaves Staunton at 9:48 a.m. and gets in to Williamsburg at 3:10 p.m. This would give you some time for rest and sight-seeing before our opening dinner and session set for seven o'clock.

We are looking forward to having you with us for the conference. More information about the discussions and program will come to you soon.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8, & ~~9~~, 1954

Signed W. Carroll Brooke

Box 208

Staunton, Virginia

BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

VERNON S. BROYLES, JR., *Executive Secretary*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary*

341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

HOME MISSIONS
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
NEGRO WORK
EVANGELISM
RADIO

April 20, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
60 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have checked the discussion material for the Williamsburg Conference, and think it is o.k. I think I have no suggestions to make concerning any change in it.

With all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Malcolm

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:rd

RD

8015 M
Lexington, Va.
Dr. Frank W. Price

RECEIVED
APR 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

CHRIST the ONLY ANSWER!

Lendy

April 23, 1954

Professor William Warner Moss
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Warner:

Our Williamsburg meeting moves ahead. About 25 people, of whom 7 are Negroes, the whole group containing seven or eight ladies. Brick House Taven plus appurtenant Shop. First get-together 7 pm dinner, Thursday, May 6th. End of ceremonies, mid-day dinner, Sunday, May 9.

Katherine Stoney (Secretary-Treasurer) and I expect to drive up, and arrive in Williamsburg for night of the 5th.

You and Dorothy must please plan to have dinner with us all at 7:00 on the 6th.

More distinguished guests: Rufus Clement, Charles Johnson, Brooks Hays (and Mrs. Hays), Will Alexander, Alex Heard, Mrs. David Jones, of Greensboro, etc., etc.

Our first meeting will presumably be in the basement conference room of the Tavern at 8:30 or so, and thereafter we'll meet in the basement ballroom of the Inn (or do I confuse the dress-up Lodge?) A 'Pisky parson a'coming will be the Rev. Carroll Brooke, of Staunton. A Priest a'coming will be the Very Rev. Maurice Shean, C.O., of the Oratory, at Rock Hill, S. C. The Priest will presumably need arrangements to say Mass in the dawnings, but that will be his arranging.

I remember that you thought some choice very few of William and Maryers should come to some of the meetings, and that is most welcome, and I leave it to you. I remember you spoke of the Bruton Parish man in particular, and of others, who welcome when they will.

No press, no news.

We'll bring a secretary who can take notes on proceedings.

Dossie said I might stay chez you on the night of the 5th, which if still valid invite I warmly accept.

Best,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

April 27, 1954

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul Christopher:

We will be happy to have Mrs. Christopher come along to the Williamsburg Conference. As you know, we have reserved for our use the whole of the Brick House Tavern and as things are now (and I have every reason to believe there will be no change) there will be room for her there. Since we are paying for the place at a flat rate for the whole accommodation per day, we have figured cost and think that the charge for wives (some others are coming as well) should be $3.00 per day for the room. Meals are to be in the nearby Williamsburg Lodge. The official guests will sign their checks. Meals for your wife will be whatever she wishes.

I don't know exactly what to say about the dog. Unless there is some rule of the Williamsburg management about them, I should think it quite all right to bring the pup along. I'll write to them today and if they say "no dogs allowed in their buildings" then will send you a wire. If you do not hear from me, then all is OK.

Since we have the whole place, you need not worry about a reservation for Mrs. Christopher - just bring her along. I'll count on it and look forward to seeing her again. I remember with pleasure a picnic at a lake near Spartanburg which George Stoney and I had with the Lawrences and your family - you were away at the time.

When you arrive in Williamsburg come directly to the Brick House Tavern - we will be there to greet you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Sec- Treas.

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JOHN V. RIFFE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Congress of Industrial Organizations

CIO

REGION 4
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
DIRECTOR

TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE: 2-6780
TELETYPEWRITER KX 89
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

ERNEST B. PUGH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
102 N. BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

PHONE: 3-4770

April 24, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

Miss Katherine Stoney
Secretary-Treasurere
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Katherine:

Thanks very much for your favor of April 20th, outlining air travel information from Knoxville in connection with the Williamsburg meeting May 6-9.

I spoke to Dr. Mitchell during a break at the last SRC Executive Committee meeting about the possibility of taking Mrs. Christopher and our Cocker Spaniel along with me, in which case I would drive up in my car. He expressed the tentative belief that this would be all right, with the understanding that I would pay the established price for her board and lodging, and promised to let me know. Would you kindly check with him and/or the necessary other persons and let me know. If it is okay to take my wife and the pup along (the dog is well house broken, gentle, etc.), let me know the cost and any other pertinent information, but hold up making definite reservations to include her until you have heard from me.

In any case, barring some priority organizational assignment which may necessitate a change in my plans, you may expect me at Williamsburg in time for the start of the get-together at 7:00 PM on May 6th.

Sincerely,

Paul Christopher

Paul R. Christopher
Director, CIO Region IV

April 20, 1954

Mr. Paul Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Christopher:

We promised to send you information about the best ways to get to Williamsburg for the Conference. Here it is.

If you can arrange to leave Knoxville at 9:40 a.m. you can get a flight via Piedmont Airlines direct from Knoxville to the Newport-News - Williamsburg Air Port (Patrick Henry) arriving at 1:03 p.m. There is an American Airlines flight 208 which leaves Knoxville at 11:45 a.m. and arrives at the Williamsburg airport at 8:58 p.m. This flight has several changes and a stop over in Richmond of more than two hours, so is not so good as the other. There is limousine service from the airport to Williamsburg.

It is possible to get from Knoxville to Williamsburg by train but I cannot imagine your wanting to use it. The time involved is much too long.

We're looking forward to the conference and to having you with us. You will remember that it begins with dinner (probably at 7:00 p.m.) on May 6th and goes through noon on Sunday.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JOHN V. RIFFE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

Congress of Industrial Organizations

CIO

REGION 4
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
DIRECTOR

TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

TELEPHONE
2-6780

March 19, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It will not be easy, but I am arranging to be available for the meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia on May 6, 7, 8 and 9, about which you called my secretary this week and wrote on March 17th.

Your letter did not mention Williamsburg as the site of the meeting, but Mrs. Roehl's notes indicate the meeting will be held there.

Please let me have all the details when final arrangements have been completed. My problem grows out of the fact that these dates are so close to May 29th, Democratic Primary date in North Carolina.

I will also attend the extraordinary meeting of the SRC Executive Committee on April 6th in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, Region IV

liu 1695 cio

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name Paul Christopher

April 27, 1954

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Dr. Parrish:

Further information on travel. If you come by air via Washington (as most of our people are doing) then you certainly can get round trip from Louisville to Newport News and return. The airport seems to be listed as Newport News only on most of the schedules so most of the ticket sellers are confused if you ask for Williamsburg.

For your information, Capital flight 408 leaves Washington at 4:20 p.m. EST (5:20 daylight time) and arrives at the NN airport at 5:11 p.m. I would hope your schedule would allow for that. On the return we are getting people to the Norfolk airport for a flight out at 3:45 p.m. which gets in to Washington at 5:35 daylight time. You will be able to get a flight out of Washington from that.

When you get to the airport, the hotel limousine will bring you to the Brick House Tavern where we will all be staying.

We look forward to having you with us. If you will arrive at any other than the above place, please let us know so we can be sure of getting you to the hotel.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

April 20, 1954

Dr. C. H. Parrish
University of Louisville
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Dr. Parrish:

We promised to send information about travel to Williamsburg for the conference. Here it is.

From Louisville you can take either train or plane and have a direct line to Williamsburg through Richmond.

Plane schedule is good - you leave Louisville at 11:35 a.m. and arrive in Williamsburg - or rather at the Newport-News - Williamsburg airport (called Patrick Henry) at 3;32 p.m. There is limousine service from the airport to Williamsburg frequently. Dinner on the first night is set for seven o'clock.

By train you can get the C & O from Louisville straight through again to Williamsburg. The train leaves Louisville at 6:01 p.m. and arrives ar Williamsburg the next afternoon at 3:10 p.m. It seems to be a good train but the time is much longer.

You take whichever way you think best. We are, as you know, prepared to pay expenses and want to make it as easy for you as we can.

We look forward to having you with us for the conference. More information will come to you within a few days.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference May 6,7,8, & 9, 1954

Sincerely

Charles H. Parrish

RECEIVED
APR 5 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 28, 1954

Miss Mary Alice Jones
P.O. Box 871
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Jones:

Thank you for your letter of April 27. Additional information, including times of meetings and other arrangements went out to you yesterday and should be in your hands by this time.

If you arrive at the Newport News-Williamsburg airport there will be limousine service in to the Brick House Tavern where we will be staying. I'll be there ahead of time to greet you and to take care of registration, etc. If you should come by train (and there is a good train from Richmond) then please get a taxi to the Brick House Tavern. Dinner is at 7:00 on the first evening. We hope that the group can have dinner together that first night. After that we will probably not try to stay in the larger group but you will simply get meals in the Lodge dining room, each participant signing checks for the meals which will be taken care of by us at the end of the conference. (By check I mean the bill for the meal).

We do look forward to having you with us and know that you will have many valuable suggestions for the program and follow-up.

Sincerely,

Katharine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

THE General Board of Education
The Methodist Church

THE DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY • NATHANIEL F. FORSYTH, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

POST OFFICE BOX 871
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF CHILDREN
MARY ALICE JONES, DIRECTOR
LADONNA BOGARDUS
MARGIE MCCARTY
E. MAE YOUNG
VERA V. ZIMMERMAN

April 27, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 28 1954
Southern Regional Council

Miss Katherine Stoney
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Stoney:

Thank you for your letter giving me information about getting to Williamsburg for the Southern Regional Council Conference beginning May 6. I am looking forward with interest to participating in this significant meeting.

Will you please tell me where I should go when I arrive in Williamsburg? I understand that reservations have been made for us but I do not know just where they are.

With all good wishes,

Yours very cordially,

Mary Alice Jones

Mary Alice Jones

MAJ.s

April 20, 1954

Miss Mary Alice Jones
The General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
1001 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Jones:

We promised to send information on the best travel ways and schedules for getting to Williamsburg for the conference.

From Nashville air travel is by far best. You can leave Nashville via American Airlines flight 212 at 6:40 a.m. arriving in Knoxville at 8:30 a.m. You will leave Knoxville at 9:40 a.m. arriving at the Newport-News - Williamsburg airport at 1:03 p.m. This would give time for rest and some sight-seeing before the dinner and beginning of the conference which is set for 7:00 that evening (May 6th).

If you cannot get away from Nashville so early there is a flight leaving at 11:45 a.m. which gets to Knoxville at 1:35 pm., leaves Knoxville at 1:55 and gets to the Williamsburg airport at 8:58. This is not so good but may be what you must take.

There is train service from Richmond to Williamsburg - one train leaving Richmond at 2:15 p.m. and one in the morning.

We are looking forward to having you with us for the conference. Additional information about the discussions and program will come to you soon.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

THE General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
THE DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
1001 NINETEENTH AVENUE SOUTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 26, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr.Mitchell:

Since talking with you over the telephone this morning, we have canvassed our staff and find that Dr. Mary Alice Jones, the director of the Department of Christian Education of Children, will be available for your meeting. You doubtless know something of Miss Jones' background and experience. She is a graduate of Yale University, taught there, and was for ten years a member of the staff of the International Council of Religious Education. Some years ago she was a member of the staff of the Editorial Division of our board.

Miss Jones is very much interested in the problems with which you will be dealing and is very intelligent about them. We had a good meeting here yesterday which was called by Dudley Ward, of our Board of Social and Economic Relations, and Miss Jones was a helpful member of that group. I am happy that she can be with you.

Cordially yours,

J. Q. Schisler

John Q. Schisler

JQS:ET
cc: Miss Jones

March 29, '54

Dear Dr. Schisler,

We are sorry not to have you yourself but Miss Mary Alice Jones will be a most welcome addition to the Williamsburg group. We have put her down as one who will come, and we'll send her more detail later on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
THE DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
1001 NINETEENTH AVENUE SOUTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 25, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of the 24th has just reached my desk today and I hasten to reply. The days on which you have called your conference are the exact dates of the meeting of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of our Church and I have already promised to attend the meeting of that board. I am sorry in the extreme because I would like to attend your meeting. Thank you for inviting me.

Cordially yours,

J Q Schisler

John Q. Schisler

JQS:ET
cc: Mrs. Tilley

Called him March 26 & asked him to find & write substitute.

Neiman-Marcus

DALLAS 1, TEXAS

RECEIVED
APR 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 28, 1954

Miss Katherine Stoney
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Miss Stoney:

I find that the schedules of American Airlines have changed and that therefore I will arrive in Richmond on Eastern Airlines Flight 651 at 5:49 p.m. Richmond time.

Since the earliest flight I can get from Richmond to Williamsburg does not leave Richmond until 8:38 p.m., I think it will be best for me to take a taxi over to Williamsburg and come directly to the Brick House Tavern.

I'm looking forward to meeting everyone in Williamsburg and do appreciate the help you have given me in scheduling my trip.

Best regards,

Joseph Ross

Joseph Ross
Vice President

mh

April 27, 1954

Mr. Joseph Ross
Neiman-Marcus
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Ross:

I have your letter of April 22 with information about your arrival in Richmond. When we first began gathering information about this conference we thought that there were no good train connections from Richmond to Williamsburg and therefore thought about having people met in Richmond in spite of the fact that it would be very expensive.

However, I have found that air travel is much the best way to get there and so we are asking everybody to come that way unless they prefer not to. Your letter says that you arrive in Richmond via Eastern's flight 565 at 2:47 p.m. You can then get Piedmont Airlines Flight 78 which leaves Richmond at 3:07 p.m. and arrives at the Newport News airport at 3:32 p.m. We are arranging for the hotel limousine service to pick up all our delegates at that airport whenever they come in. The airline office here has assured me that the time allowed in Richmond is sufficient for you to make the change. If, for any reason, you should miss it, then simply get a taxi from Richmond to Williamsburg and we will bear the cost.

When you get to Williamsburg, come directly to the Brick House Tavern where all our party will be staying and we will be there to take care of your registration and the rest.

Dinner on the first night is set for seven o'clock and we hope that all the group can be together for that. Afterward we will simply have meals at the Lodge with delegates signing the checks for their meals.

We are looking forward to having you with us. Information about the agenda and other plans goes out to you today.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney, Secretary-Treasurer

Neiman-Marcus

DALLAS 1, TEXAS

RECEIVED
APR 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 22, 1954

Miss Katherine Stoney
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Stoney:

I shall arrive in Richmond, Virginia, on Eastern Airlines flight 565, on Thursday, May 6, at 2:47 p.m.

Dr. Mitchell told me that he would arrange some sort of transportation from Richmond to Williamsburg.

I hope that you will be able to let me know how I can proceed from Richmond and where I am to go in Williamsburg.

Sincerely,

Joseph Ross

Joseph Ross
Vice President

mh

take Piedmont flight 78. lv Richmond at 307. arr Newport News at 3:35

April 20, 1954

Mr. Joseph Ross
Nieman Marcus Company
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Ross:

We promised to send information about the best schedules for travel to Williamsburg for the conference.

The best schedule I can find here is American Airlines flight 208 which leaves Dallas at 7:40 a.m. and gets in to the Newport-News - Williamsburg airport (called Patrick Henry) at 8:58 that evening. This goes by Knoxville. This is later than we would like since we are hoping that all those attending can be in for the opening dinner and session at 7:00 p.m. Both Capitol and Piedmont airlines have service to this airport which is on the line between Richmond and Norfolk. Perhaps you can work out a better schedule from there.

I did not get information about train schedules since the time involved for a trip by train would be prohibitive, I should think.

We are looking forward to having you with us for the conference. Additional information about the discussions and program will come to you soon.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

P.S. The Williamsburg hotel maintains limousine service from the airport in to the town.

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8, & 9, 1954

Signed Joseph Ross

The Catholic Committee of the South

~~P. O. BOX 895~~
512 Ebenezer Avenue

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 29, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1954
Southern Regional Council

Miss Katherine Stoney, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
62 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Stoney:

I do want to thank you for all the information you have been sending me. I have found today that I must make a radical change in my plans. I had, perhaps as you know, intended to be in Atlanta, on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th, and go from there to Williamsburg. But I find that I must be back here on the 5th, so I think that I shall go from here to Williamsburg by car. In that case I will definitely arrive there, I hope, well before the time of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Maurice V. Shean C.O.

(Very Rev.) Maurice V. Shean, C. O.

MVS/mc

April 27, 1954

Very Rev. M. V. Shean, C.O.
The Oratory
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Father Shean:

Further information on travel.

I sent you information on a flight via Capitol airlines from Charlotte which arrives at the Newport News-Williamsburg air port at 6:10 p.m. If this if convenient for you then we will be sure that there is transportation via the hotel limousine from the airport direct to the Brick House Tavern where we are staying. If for any reason it does not work out, then let us know when and where you will arrive and we will try to make arrangements for you from that point.

If you cannot make the earlier flight, then if you could arrive in Richmond by 8 o'clock p.m. there is a Piedmont flight 34 leaving Richmond at 8:33 and arriving at Newport News airport at 8:58 p.m. The other, of course, if preferable.

We look forward to having you with us for the conference.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

April 20, 1954

Rev. Maurice Shean, C.O.
The Oratory
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Father Shean:

We promised to send information as to the best way to get to Williamsburg for the conference on May 6th.

I find that the best arrangement is for you to get from Rock Hill to Charlotte via train or bus and then take Capitol Airlines flight 500 which leaves Charlotte at 2:15 p.m. and arrives at the Newport-News - Williamsburg airport (called Patrick Henry) at 6:10 p.m. We are planning to have dinner at about 7 o'clock on that night and the hotel in Williamsburg has limousing service from the airport to the town, so you should have no trouble arriving in time for dinner.

Train connections from Rock Hill seem to be very poor - you would either have to go to Greensboro or Raleigh and then on from there and the time is much too long.

We are prepared to pay all expenses for this conference and shall lock forward to having you with us on May 6th.

More information abcut the conference will come to you very soon.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,& 9, 1954

Name Maurice V. Shean

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA12 RA175 1954 MAY 4 AM 9 52

R.CHA010 PD=CHAPELHILL NCAR 4 931AME= ATLANTA

GEORGE MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

QUARRANTINED WITH CHICKEN POX THROUGH WILLIAMSBURG WEEKEND. TERRIBLY SORRY. WISH YOU ALL GOOD LUCK=

ALEXANDER HEARD=..

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

I will be present for the Williamsburg

Conference on May 6,7,8,&9, 1954

Name Alexander Heard

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(11)..

1954 MAY 4 AM 8 35

SYMBOLS

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1 .AA02

TU ATLANTA

A.GSA004 PD=GREENSBORO NCAR 4 803AME=

:MISS CATHERINE STONEY=

=63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

ARRIVING NEWPORTNEWS MAY 6TH CAPITOL THANK YOU FOR ARRANGING TRANSPORTATION=

MRS DAVID D JONES=

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 27, 1954

Mrs. David D. Jones
Bennett College
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of April 24th. I am hoping that the Capitol flight from Greensboro to Newport News airport will work out for you and that you can be with us for dinner on the first evening. If you do come that way we have arranged for the hotel limousines to pick up our delegates at the airport.

If for any reason you come by some other way and arrive at some other point, let us know and we will be sure that there is transportation for you to the Brick House Tavern where we will be staying.

We are looking forward to having you with us for the conference. You have had a letter from Dr. Mitchell with more information and another letter and agenda are going out to the participants today.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

BENNETT COLLEGE
Greensboro, North Carolina

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

St. Louis, Mo.
April 24, 1954

My dear Miss Storey,
Your letter was forwarded to me. Thank you very much for your gracious reply. I am still not certain of the dates of the meeting. Will you send me these to Greensboro?
With all good wishes,
Sincerely,
(Mrs. David D.) Susie W. Jones

April 20, 1954

Mrs. David D. Jones
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Jones:

We promised to send information about schedules and ways of travel to the Williamsburg conference.

From Greensboro the best way is to take Capitol Airlines flight 500 which leaves Greensboro at 3:18 p.m. and arrives at the Williamsburg - Newport-News Airport at 6:10 p.m. There is limousine service from the airport to the hotel and you should just about be able to get in on time for dinner which is to be at 7:00.

As Dr. Mitchell told you, we will be staying at the Brick House Tavern. Meals will be at the Williamsburg Lodge.

We are delighted that you can be with us for the conference. More information about the discussions and program will come to you soon.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

FIRST DRAFT

Please look over, fix & send back Monday. Em.

DISCUSSION MATERIAL

THE WILLIAMSBURG CONFERENCE

May 6-9, 1954

In the light of the advancing situation in the South, and particularly in the light of the impending decision of the Supreme Court, what programs can contribute to the lessening of racial distinctions, and what priorities should be assigned to these programs?

Discussion is invited of the following premises. Although they are drawn from the particular area of public education, they lead naturally to consideration of the whole range of human relations in the South. During the discussion, it is hoped that agreement, disagreement, and qualification will be expressed; that the broad implications of the premises will be explored; that detailed programs in many areas can be projected; and that priorities for programs can be agreed upon.

1. The Supreme Court's decision, whatever its precise nature, will define the goal toward which the South will be committed to move, but it will produce no immediate widespread changes in the dual school system.

2. Reactions to the decision will vary widely in different parts of the region, depending on such factors as Negro-white population ratio, economic patterns, urbanization, strength of the Negro vote, etc., Of these, the proportion of Negroes to whites is the readiest index to potential resistance to integration.

3. At the state level, variations will depend heavily on the degree to which it is still politically practicable to stigmatize Negroes as a group. This is related, in turn, to the degree of over-representation of rural counties in the respective state legislatures.

4. The recently inaugurated school improvement programs in the Southern states are likely to continue, regardless of the outcome of the Supreme Court cases. The demand for statewide equalization of school facilities -- for

whites and Negroes alike -- transcends purely racial considerations.

5. Regardless of the legal framework, patterns of schooling will remain predominantly segregated so long as patterns of housing continue to be so. In many Southern cities segregation can, and likely will, be largely preserved by the device of redistricting.

6. It will be difficult to maintain high-school segregation by redistricting, since high schools normally draw their students from a wide area, without respect to neighborhood groupings.

7. In most rural areas segregation is both administratively and financially more difficult to maintain than in the city. But in rural areas of the "Black Belt" the social and economic pressures supporting segregation are most powerful -- often more so than the state legal sanctions that give them expression.

8. In many upland areas where the proportion of Negroes is small the sheer expense of trying to provide separate and truly equal facilities would tend to bring about integration as the least objectionable alternative.

9. Even though public school segregation ceases to exist legally, many administrative devices will be employed to maintain it in practice. Rapid improvement of "Negro" facilities will no doubt be continued as one means of holding Negro demands for integration to a minimum.

10. The tremendous population shifts occurring during and since World War II have a heavy bearing on the human relations problems of the South, including desegregation and/or equalization of the schools. The trend of Negro migration (and, to a smaller degree, white) is from rural to urban areas within the South, and from the South to the big cities of the North and West.

11. Most Southerners are not aware of the marked decline in the Negro-white ratio in the region, especially in rural farm areas. This lack of awareness reflects the longstanding tendency of white Southerners to overestimate the proportion of Negroes in the population.

12. The nature of the population changes makes equality in separate schools increasingly difficult of attainment. In the cities, the growing Negro communities are served by the central city schools, which are usually the oldest and least adequate; while new schools must necessarily be built to serve the new and expanding white suburbs. In the rural areas, new consolidated schools built for the declining Negro population will have more and more empty classrooms, if the population trend continues.

13. If previoue experience is any indication, anticipated difficulties of achieving integration will be far greater than the actual difficulties once determined action is begun.

14. The earliest precedents of school integration in the South will be cricical; to a large degree they will condition the whole regionwide experience, favorably or unfavorably.

15. In any community move toward desegregation, the role of the school superintendent and his board is crucial. If they proceed with firm, explicit policies, the changes of a successful transition are greatly enhanced. If they do not, opposition will be much more severe.

16. A Southwide movement toward school desegregation will call for a new educational specialty -- skill in the administrative and human-relations methods of effective integration.

17. "Desegregation" and "integration" are used more or less interchangeably, but strictly speaking they are two distinct processes. "Desegregation" has the negative, legalistic meaning of eliminating race as a formal criterion for admission. "Integration" carries the positive implication of mutual acceptance and participation as equals.

18. In the long run, harmonious adjustment to the court decision will be possible only through full Negro participation on school boards and other official bodies which determine the detailed administration of the school systems.

19. Second only to Negro representation on official bodies is the need for planning across racial lines by such voluntary groups as PTAs and teachers' associations.

20. Church groups have a unique responsibility to foster acceptance of the Supreme Court decision. They are in a particularly advantageous position to encourage friendly acceptance of Negro children admitted to predominantly white schools (and vice-versa).

21. Public and private agencies concerned with social welfare will also have a special obligation to minimize any adverse effects of desegregation.

22. Expanded employment opportunities for Negroes are an essential condition of the community-wide integration necessary to true integration of the public schools.

23. In non-Southern experience, whenever the burden of choice has been put on Negro pupils and their parents, relatively few have elected to enter formerly all-white schools. This is likely to be equally true in the South, where official and unofficial disapproval of integration will be even more openly manifested.

24. In non-Southern experience, reluctance to assign Negro teachers to white pupils has often retarded integration more than the prospect of mixed classes. Negro teachers themselves, fearing for their jobs, have sometimes been a strong influence for the retention of "voluntary" dual systems.

25. Many, if not most, white Southerners accept the generalization that "segregation is going." The big questions, about which there is no clear common understanding, are when? and how?

May 11, 1954

Dear The Walkers:

It was a special pleasure to have you both for the dinner, and to have Mrs. Walker for such few of the meetings as she was able to come to.

We all learned a lot out of the occasion and wasn't it nice that all concerned at Williamsburg did so well?

Among many reasons why I wanted you both to come was one unsaid: It will take me many invitations to overcome those sad events way back at Banner Elk when the Walkers had to travel for scores of miles of mountainous roads to have a place to sleep.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Mr. and Mrs. William R. Walker, Jr.
635 Twenty-Fifth Street
Newport News, Virginia

May 11, 1954

Dear Mr. Batchelder:

All of us concerned with the recent meeting at the Brick House Tavern are deeply grateful to you and to all who helped make your part of the Restoration run so smoothly.

Everyone was delightfully comfortable, and most of those who were there drew me aside at one time or another and expressed appreciation of the opportunity to meet in that way at Williamsburg.

My warm admiration of the smoothness with which your whole operation works.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Copy to: Katherine Stoney

May 11, 1954

Reverend Francis Craighill
Bruton Parish Church
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Reverend Craighill:

You were a faithful and most helpful part-taker in the meetings at the Brick House Tavern, and we are all deeply grateful for your company, encouragement, hospitality, and ideas.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 11, 1954

Mr. Harold O. DeWitt
Assistant Supervisor of Personnel
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. DeWitt:

It took me until leaving time to connect you and your notable article in New South.

That one has done a lot of good, and was clearly the result of careful fact-finding.

We all had a grand time at Williamsburg, and are deeply appreciative of the carefully planned and perfected performance of the whole staff that was concerned.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 11, 1954

Mr. John Goodbody
ASBB
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Goodbody:

You and all of Williamsburg were kindness and effectiveness in arrangement itself for our whole group at the recent conference at the Brick House Tavern, and we are deeply appreciative.

It added greatly to the success of the meeting for it to be in just those surroundings.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 12, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. William Warner Moss
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Dossie and Warner:

The two of you -- the five of you -- played a big part in making me and Kack Stoney, and all our conference group feel quite at home in Williamsburg. We are lastingly appreciative of so many kindnesses.

Ellen was much excited to hear from your telephone call that she is truly in. And the more in wonderment when I got home and explained through how tiny a funnel she arrived. Mr. Cunningham's letter making all official and getting 25 bucks has come too.

Alice and I will do our best to get to Williamsburg in the course of our early June traveling, but can't yet quite map out the trip.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Colonial Williamsburg
Restored by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
Williamsburg, Virginia

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 14, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your kind note of May 11, 1954. The entire family of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., is grateful that you and your party had a pleasant and profitable weekend.

Please feel free to return, individually or as a group, at any time and I can assure you that each and everyone will have the cooperation of our entire staff.

Very truly yours,

H O DeWitt

H. O. DeWitt, Assistant
Director of Employment

Colonial Williamsburg
Restored by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
Williamsburg, Virginia

May 17, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your note of May 11. All of us here are delighted that things went well. I only regret that other commitments did not give me the opportunity to see more of you and to learn more of the work of the group.

Sincerely,

John C. Goodbody

John C. Goodbody
Director of Project Planning

RECEIVED
MAY 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 18, 1954

Mr. Gordon Blackwell
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Gordon:

You were a most helpful member of that meeting, and the things you and Phil Hammer sent in were by all odds the best work done.

We have put together on the shorthand pad a quite full account of the whole meeting, and I think you would find it gives you all you want, but if on some particular item you want what I not, I will dig into your original.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Mailing

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

May 10, 1954

Dr. George C. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Just a note to tell you how much I appreciated the opportunity of participating in the Williamsburg Conference. I felt it was quite productive and worthwhile.

Would it be possible for you to send participants a copy of all the materials that were presented and revised at the final session? While I hated to leave the conference early, getting back to Chapel Hill enabled me to clear the deck so I could leave this morning for the meeting in Nashville.

Cordially yours,

Gordon

Gordon W. Blackwell
Director

GWB:mg

RECEIVED
MAY 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 21, 1954

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

At the suggestion of David Freeman of the Fund for the Republic, I take great pleasure in sending you a copy of the report of the Conference, and a copy for Mr. Rowe, held early in May at Williamsburg, Virginia.

Do come to see us when you come down this way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

May 21, 1954

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

Here are a couple of copies of the Report of the Conference at Williamsburg. We all felt the daily need of your presence and were glad for the telephone call or two that did keep us in touch a little.

We hear cheering news from your state. Things are not made easier for us here by our state officials!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

May 21, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

Copies of the Williamsburg Report have gone forward to Dr. Patterson and Mr. Rowe at the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 24, 1954

Mrs. John F. Wellborn, Jr.
2801 Augusta Road
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Wellborn:

The meeting at Williamsburg was generally thought a success. It was an interesting group, I daresay like any other Conference I know about -- more good done in off-meeting hours than in on. But a lot was done both ways. Here is the final report on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

May 24, 1954

The Honorable Brooks Hays
United States Capitol
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hays:

Here is the condensed version of the Conference findings at Williamsburg. I have emphasized to all persons that the document is not a public one, and I have asked that no public use be made of it.

I trust we made it clear to you that in asking you to come, we were drawing on your knowledge, quite independently of your being a member of Congress, and none of the opinions or proposals made at the Conference in any way relate to you as a public official.

Great pleasure to have the week with you both. Flourish all Hays!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Wm Walker

May 24, 1954

Mr. William R. Walker, Jr.
7 Russell Road
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Walker:

Here is a copy of the final report of the Williamsburg proceedings. I emphasize that it is not a public document, but we are glad for you to have it for any personal and private use you may make of it.

Events! Events! I think when the smoke dies down, two or three "baddish" states alone will remain. I hope and believe that the rest will try to obey the law.

A delight to see you and Mrs. Walker.

You may be sure that next time I am within hailing distance of Newport News I will be at your door.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

W.R. WALKER JR.
REAL ESTATE—INSURANCE

DIAL 2-5363
635 TWENTY-FIFTH ST.
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 14, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We certainly enjoyed the opportunity of being with you again last week at the few meetings which we attended.

In this connection, I am chairman of a study group considering problems which may be brought about by de-segregation of schools, and, if you have available any data which might be useful to us, we would greatly appreciate your sending it along. Our group has no official status and proposes no action, other than to be prepared with answers if anyone should ask us any questions.

We often talk about the occasion when we drove over from Banner Elk to Johnson City to spend the night. However, we had a very good time all in all.

Very truly yours,

W. R. Walker, Jr.

W. R. Walker, Jr.

WRW,Jr:lmj

Please call us again whenever you are in this area.

sent 5/24/54

Williamsburg

May 24, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
One East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Dave:

I send you, separately, fifteen copies of the Williamsburg report. More if you need or want them.

I have cautioned all who have received copies that it is not a public document.

We have had various quite warm letters from people who were present, and we were delighted to find in such a gathering complete unanimity in objectives.

We are all most grateful for the generosity which made the meeting possible. I have sent two copies to Loescher at Philadelphia.

Let me know of anyone else to whom you would like copies sent.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 13, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Thanks very much for your letter of May 11. I am glad to learn that the Williamsburg Conference went off so well.

Interestingly enough I had an inquiry this morning from the Phelps-Stokes Fund which, when I followed it up, resulted in a request that you mail two copies of the final Williamsburg report to the Phelps-Stokes Fund - one for Dr. Patterson and the other for Mr. Rowe. I gathered from a telephone conversation with Mr. Rowe that Dr. Patterson was about to start on a "visitation" to the South, in which he would be chiefly interested in Negro high school education.

I am also sending over to Mr. Rowe this morning a copy of the Ashmore report so that they will be a little more up to date on what the Ford Foundation family is doing in this general area.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

May 24, 1954

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

We missed you straight through at the Williamsburg meeting, but here are its conclusions.

The document is not for public use.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Wrenching - Carey

May 24, 1954

Mr. Gordon Lovejoy
c/o Mrs. H. B. Harrison
Scarrit College
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lovejoy:

Here is the Williamsburg Report. It is not a public document, but I hope it can be useful to you.

I will be at Lexington, Kentucky, July 18-23.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Note : This letter sent to all participants in Williamsburg Conference -- with the exception of Brooks Hays -- See attached sheet for names and addresses.

May 24, 1954

Dear

We are all most grateful to you for taking time to come to the meeting at Williamsburg, and for putting so much into the joint thinking there.

The challenge is upon us all!

Here is a condensed account of the proceedings. If you should be interested in further detail as to some of the proposals, it could be gotten together for you from the notes taken at the Conference.

The report of the proceedings is not a public document, and it is requested that no public use be made of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

PARTICIPANTS AT WILLIAMSBURG CONFERENCE

Morris B. Abram
515 Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Will W. Alexander
New Hope Farm
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Gordon Blackwell
Box 1171
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Rev. W. Caroll Brooke
Box 208
Staunton, Virginia

Malcolm Calhoun
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
341B Ponce de Leon Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

J. Curtis Dixon
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

John A. Griffin
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Phillip G. Hammer
721 Glenn Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Honorable Brooks Hays
U. S. House of
Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Oliver Hill
623 North Third Street
Richmond, Virginia

Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. David D. Jones
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Miss Mary Alice Jones
Box 871
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

C. H. Parrish
926 S. Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Rupert Picott
Clay Street at 4th
Richmond, Virginia

Joseph Ross
Neiman-Marcus Company
Dallas 1, Texas

Very Rev. M.V. Shean, C.O.
The Oratory
Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 25, 1954

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Southeast Regional Office NAACP
624 Masonic Temple Building
1630 Fourth Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Hurley:

We remember that you were spiritually a part of the meeting at Williamsburg, even though we were not able to get you there. Here is a copy of the things we arrived at.

We agreed at the meeting that the findings would not be public.

We have all got bigger jobs to do than ever we had before. Please be sure that I am pulling with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

May 25, 1954

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Here are two copies of the conclusions of the meeting at Williamsburg. I had wanted to stop at Chapel Hill ahead and after to get your advice on topics for the meeting, and to talk over its conclusions, but in this "pop-pop-pop" world, I have not yet been by Chapel Hill.

So many of the things we talked about were things that you got started.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

P. S. The document is not for public use.

May 25, 1954

Mr. Alexander Heard
Department of Political Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Alex:

Tarnation hard luck that we did not have you at Williamsburg. Here are the proceedings. The document is not for public use.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Wiley, comes
Bob

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1954
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thanks for sending me the memorandum on the Williamsburg meeting. I have read it all with keen interest.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

TRINITY CHURCH
Augusta Parish (Founded 1746)
STAUNTON, VIRGINIA

REV. W. CARROLL BROOKE, RECTOR

Post Office Box 208

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 28, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
ATLANTA 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for the document of the proceedings of our conference at Williamsburg. It really was an unusually fine group and I don't know when I have been really inspired and thrilled to such a fine working group.

The executive committee of the Virginia Council of Churches met in Richmond on yesterday and we framed a rather fitting resolution which will be presented to the Governor next Friday by a committee of which I happen to be a member.

You more than likely have seen that there is to be no change in segregation in Virginia during the coming school year. This certainly seems wise with the lack of planning and forethought which apprently prevailed before the decision. So far I believe the attitude is good and a sanity seems to prevail here.

If there are any particulars that you would want to know about the Virginia scene, I will be glad to do anything that I can to keep you informed.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carroll Brooke

Urgent

VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

J. B. WOODSON, PRESIDENT J. RUPERT PICOTT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY LAVINIA J. BANKS, TREASURER

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: CLAY STREET AT FOURTH • TELEPHONE 7-0868

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

May 28, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of the twenty-fourth and for the report of the Williamsburg conference.

It was a pleasure for me to share with you and the others at this Virginia meeting. My only regret is that a commitment of long standing prevented my remaining in Williamsburg for the entire session.

With good wishes for the significant work which you are doing,

Cordially,

Executive Secretary

JRP:gs

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

VIRGINIA EDUCATION Bulletin

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

May 29, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your note of May 25 enclosing the memorandum on the Williamsburg meeting.

I shall read this with extreme interest.

As you know, I was deeply distressed over not being able to attend. I did, however, get something of a brief report from both Dr. Will and Gordon Blackwell.

With best regards, as always,

Sincerely yours,

Alex-

Alexander Heard

AH:kh

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

Mr. Emil Willimetz
Madisonville,
Tennessee

Dear Emil:

A thousand thanks to you and Paul for the pix-taking on the Williamsburg meeting. The staff has been very appreciative of the pictures. I will give them out to various of those who were present.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Wmahoy.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

May 31, 1954

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for the letter and the two sets of proceedings of the Williamsburg Conference. This is really a sort of thrilling era, if we could all just come to look at it as one of crises, but also of great adventure in creating the right sort of new succession.

The problem is, as always, a problem of finding enough of leadership that can combine depth and perspective with dynamism and action. The Southern Regional Council doesn't have that. I hope you will keep looking for at least a score or more of younger people who can be developed into such leadership.

So far as I can see, all of these procedures that are being planned are excellent and your problem is to see that they are completed as well as begun, comprehended as well as segmented, and especially to find some Southern Negro leaders who have courage enough really to get the leadership so much needed by the Negroes as well as the whites.

You note that in this letter I am referring to you, by which I mean the symbol of a new personnel in which must reside the promise of whatever is done. I think you understand fully that I am more with you than ever and more positive about the need for the Southern Regional Council and its work and more optimistic about a reasonable adjustment. I believe you understand also that although I had originally thought that when I retired I might want to devote a good deal of my time as a sort of messenger, going to and fro, that I have come to the inevitable opposite conclusion. In addition to several reasons why I cannot do this, I have a sort of supreme obligation to complete The Mid-Century South: The New Southern Regions of the United States, and The American Negro: Agenda for Integration, as well as my Folk Sociology: The Dynamics of Social Change, which is the theoretical foundation for all of my recommendations.

I believe you understand that I have signed the contract for The American Negro with Appleton-Century-Crofts, because my approach was too academic for the Press series and we needed to make a definitive volume in this field for textbook use. If I only had The Mid-Century South published now it would be of great value, and I simply can't afford to postpone it any longer.

Frankly, as you understand, in all of these volumes, my approach is so different and so persistent that I have to finish them myself, and there is no excuse for my not materializing now on all of the alleged excellence which I am supposed to have in my resources from past years and cumulative work being done by so many people.

There is also the factor that I do not like to involve organizations and people in positive recommendations which involve so many crucially controversial points. I enclose a copy of a letter which I am writing Mr. Hinton, of the South Carolina NAACP, illustrative of this.

I would like, for instance, to urge the Southern Regional Council to consider particularly what I present, namely, that we are to do just two things:

Sato: They tell me this is not necessary. The Court ruling outmoded does this.

That we repeal the utterly meaningless statutes forbidding any member of one race to attend the school of another race, thus giving us complete local freedom and throwing out the whole compulsory requirement. Next, then, we would simply petition the Court to give us a certain amount of time and a certain specified cooperative approach, which we would recommend. However, I know that this would take "ages" to discuss, with all sorts of difficulties involved. I have wanted to present this to John Ivey, but I know that it would be unfair to bring it up irresponsibly when he is primarily concerned with making his organization effective. I am talking this over with one or two attorney-generals and I hope our Governor might present it to the Virginia group. (I may go up to the Va Conference.

We must be fair to the white South as well as to the Negro South, and Negro leadership could move by leaps and bounds if they would agree to be fair, also. But in all this my role is simply to complete my work as best I can and from this to make available any thing that may be of service.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

This is just a thought I have as working you over a letter

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JOHN V. RIFFE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Congress of Industrial Organizations

REGION 4
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
DIRECTOR

TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

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216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

ERNEST B. PUGH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
102 N. BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

PHONE: 3-4770

May 31, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Last week Emil Willimetz sent to you 20 8x10 prints of the picture I made of the group in attendance at the Williamsburg Conference. Because Grace Hamilton had her eyes closed in one of the pictures, and because one person was missing, he made several prints of each of two negatives.

It will be appreciated if you will send one copy to each of those appearing in this picture, with the compliments of CIO.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, Region IV

liu 1695 cio

done 6/1/54

Chas Johnson

Gsm calledhim March 23 He has Houston engagement ~~Rax~~ May 7, but will be Wmsbg 8 and 9

Clement HCF says he has some conflict, but will arrange

Joe Ross Has conflict on May 6, but will be with us 789

Dont called his Sec Mar 27.
has Dunche date NO
May 9. otherwise pnt.
Cant come

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Tickler for Sept 15

June 1, 1954

Reverend Francis B. Wakefield, Jr.
All Saints' Church
151 South Ann Street
Mobile 20, Alabama

Dear Reverend Wakefield:

Your letter has the finest of news and I am delighted to accept its greatly appreciated invitation. You can count on my being available from Friday evening until Sunday morning. I expect I will drive over and make my way independently up to Camp McDowell.

At a later date you should send me some more directions for reaching the camp.

I, too, think that the decision of the Provincial Conference about diocesan meetings was in just the right spirit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH
151 SOUTH ANN ST.
MOBILE 20, ALABAMA
REV. FRANCIS B. WAKEFIELD, JR., RECTOR

May 26, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

It was a great pleasure to me to meet you at the Provincial Conference on Christian Social Relations, held at All Saints' Church, Atlanta, May 17-18, as I had known of you for a long time.

I am writing as Chairman of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Diocese of Alabama to ask if it would be possible for you, and if you would, lead a Conference on Race Relations with special reference to the Supreme Court's ruling on Segregation in the Public Schools, which our department plans to hold September 24-26th, 1954, at our diocesan conference center.

One of the recommendations of the Provincial Conference in Atlanta was that such a conference be held in each diocese of the province prior to the meeting of our Provincial Synod in New Orleans in November.

Yesterday, May 25th, at a meeting of our department, I reported the recommendation of the Provincial Conference, and the department agreed to hold a conference on the subject for our diocese in September, and they asked me to see if we could get you to lead our conference for us.

Our plan is to ask all the clergy of the Diocese of Alabama to select one or two persons from their congregations whose views are in sympathy with the Court's ruling and who would take the lead in education on this subject in their parishes, and send them to our diocesan conference. We feel that this is perhaps the best thing we can do towards paving the way for peaceful integration.

Our Conference will be held at Camp McDowell, which is about 65 miles north of Birmingham. If you can accept our invitation, you could come to Birmingham, and I am sure the Rev. John C. Turner, or one of the other members of our department, would be delighted to take you out to Camp McDowell.

It will open with supper Friday evening and run through dinner Sunday, thus allowing for lectures and discussions on Saturday and a service of the Holy Communion on Sunday morning. We can arrange the program later, but I am anxious to get your consent to be our leader now. We will, of course, pay all of your expenses.

Hoping to have a favorable reply, and with best wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Francis B. Wakefield, Jr.
F.B.
FRANCIS B. WAKEFIELD, Jr.

FBWjr/ss

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

15 June 1954

file w

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am very glad to get the condensed account of the proceedings of the Williamsburg Meeting. Although condensed, it is thorough and meaty. In fact, it is one of the best conference reports that I have seen in a long time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

C
S
J/vlr

Mr. Mitchell
A.H. Church
Pronouncements

Umby. Lowes

June 16, 1954

Reverend F. H. Craighill
Bruton Parish Church
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Reverend Craighill:

I have been travelling and am only just back to your kind letter of May 29. I particularly wanted just the statements you sent me, and I will read with interest the sermon.

I repeat that it was a very special pleasure for us to have you as part of the meeting, and it was most kind of you to make the Parish House available for one of the committee groups.

My daughter, Ellen Mitchell, will be a freshman at the College of William and Mary this coming year. I cannot claim on her behalf much interest in religious matters, but I have taken her past Bruton Parish Church and told her about you and have told her that you were her parson and that was her church.

Here is another copy of the Williamsburg Report.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Bruton Parish Church
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

May 29, 1954

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thank you very much for your very cordial note about my participation in the Williamsburg meeting. The appreciation should have gone the other way first because I have seldom sat in with a more interesting and intelligent well-informed group. I neglected many things in my congregation (including cutting ~~any~~ regular services at Church) but it was well worth it.

Sunday morning Dr. Will told me that he had just talked to people in Washington who were close to the Supreme Court and had been told that the decision would not come before fall. I was brazen enough to tell him that my guiding angel had informed me that it was coming on the 17th. Anyhow, I had not trusted my intuition enough to prepare in advance. However, I had presented the resolution printed on our May 16th leaflet on the 11th, which after very interesting discussion was adopted unanimously. I had a second resolution, which expressed what I wanted to say, and told them that if they didn't pass the first one I would present the second and see that all newspapers got copies, with the statement that the Diocese of Southern Virginia had refused to pass it; so, they let me read the second resolution and then unanimously passed the first. The second leaflet contains statements which scooped the nation. Bishops Dun and Sherrill had not even been asked for their opinion until I called them and that was Wednesday. Bishop Penick, the senior bishop in the South, had issued a very mild statement but he improved on it a little when I read him the other statements I had. My own bishop refused to make a statement but later in the week realized his mistake and telephoned one in, but too late for the printer.

I preached on the subject and since you have nothing to do but read the sermons of country pastors I enclose a copy. It was well received here especially by Southerners.

In return for all of this assorted material I would greatly appreciate a copy of the report of the Williamsburg conference. I will keep its use as restricted as you want me to.

Perhaps you do or do not agree, but I have a feeling that the NAACP's effort to begin integration in September of this year is a serious mistake. Perhaps they know what they are doing, but I wonder.

Come this way again. All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank.

F. H. Craighill

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

July 15, 1954

Mr. John B. Goodbody
Sign of the Blue Ball
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Goodbody:

In looking over the report of the Conference at Williamsburg which the Lodge so kindly assisted in, it occured to me that we had never done you the courtesy of sending you a copy of the Conference report.

We are all deeply appreciative of the Lodge's hospitality to us; in every circumstance our comfort and productiveness was assisted.

I know that the Restoration cherishes its educational impact; and I thought, therefore, that it would be appropriate for a copy of the proceedings of that Conference to be somewhere in the Restoration's files.

The report is not a public document.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl.

Copy to Mr. Philip Coombs

Colonial Williamsburg
Restored by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
Williamsburg, Virginia

July 27, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for the report from the Williamsburg Conference which we have read with interest and which is now being circulated to appropriate members of our staff.

Sincerely,

John C. Goodbody

John C. Goodbody
Director of Project Planning

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

July 28, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Kindly forward me two (2) copies of the Report of the Williamsburg Conference

Sincerely

Edward K. Weaver

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

August 4, 1954

Dr. Edward K. Weaver
School of Education
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Weaver:

Though it is with some difficulty that I find, in our depleted files, a single remaining copy of the report of the Williamsburg Conference, I gladly sent it to you. It is not a public documents and no part of it should be used in print in any way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 27, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

To Participants in the Williamsburg Conference:

DISCUSSION MATERIAL, WILLIAMSBURG CONFERENCE
May 6-9, 1954

The Conference begins with dinner at 7:00 at the Williamsburg Lodge. Guests arriving earlier than 7:00 p.m. should report in the first instance to the Brick House Tavern for assignment of rooms.

Guests arriving at 7:00 p.m. should come on in and have dinner at the Lodge, where the group will be together. Conference ends after mid-day dinner on Sunday, May 9.

The first meeting will be at 8:15 p.m., Thursday, May 6th in the Conference Room in the Brick House Tavern. There will be general announcements as to the Conference, and proposed Conference procedures will be considered. It will be suggested that those present divide into two groups, each of which would have a get-acquainted session and elect its chairman and a representative on the Steering Committee of the Conference. The Steering Committee would be composed of Will Alexander, Charles Johnson, Malcolm Calhoun, George Mitchell, Harold Fleming, and one elected person from each of the two groups,

If this proposed plan is adopted, on Friday and Saturday there would be morning and afternoon sessions and again on Sunday morning.

In the two Friday sessions, each of the two groups would be asked to discuss in some detail the premises set forth in the attached. In the latter part of Friday afternoon, the entire Conference would meet together to compare findings and proposals as to the premises and action programs.

If either or both groups desire further work on premises or programs, it is suggested that that could be handled by subcommittees meeting Friday night.

On Saturday morning, the Conference might split into four groups, to each of which would be assigned certain of the proposed action programs for further discussion and for shaping up. On Saturday afternoon, a combined meeting of the whole group would attempt to assign priorities to the various action programs.

The Sunday morning session will review the whole field and attempt to reach agreement on the recommended priorities.

The Conference is asked to go through the premises set out in the attached, with a particular end in view. The thought is that they will afford a useful springboard for discussion of practical problems likely to arise from the Supreme Court decision, as well as related fields of action.

Please study these two documents ahead of time. Bring to the Conference any factual material that you think will be helpful. Write to me at 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, any comments or proposals you may have.

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

MEMORANDUM

May 4, 1954

For: Williamsburg Conference
May 6 - 9

GROUP A

Will Alexander
Rev. W. Carroll Brooke
Paul Christopher
Rufus E. Clement
J. Curtis Dixon
John A. Griffin
Brooks Hays
Oliver Hill
Mrs. David D. Jones
C. H. Parrish
Rev. M. V. Shean, C.O.

GROUP B

Morris Abram
Tartt Bell
Gordon Blackwell
Malcolm Calhoun
Grace Hamilton
Phillip Hammer
Charles Johnson
Miss Mary Alice Jones
Rupert Picott
Joseph Ross
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

File

George Mitchell:
For your info, in case Mr. Weldon "follows up." DEG

May 17, 1954

P.S. Thanks for "in re Macedonia."

Mr. Harry Weldon
2401 Depauw Street
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mr. Weldon,

Your letter of April 21 addressed to Mr. Benson Ford has been referred to this office by The Ford Foundation, since The Fund for the Republic was the organization responsible for the grant referred to in Governor Talmadge's recent speech.

Before going into the details of the actual grant, let me briefly indicate what the various corporate titles referred to above mean. First of all, The Ford Foundation is governed by a Board of Trustees, a majority of whom have no connection with the Ford Motor Company. Secondly, The Fund for the Republic was created and financed by The Ford Foundation as a separate and independent corporation with its own Board of Directors, and it was a decision of this latter group which resulted in the grant about which you have inquired. In short, the executives of the Ford Motor Company had no responsibility for or part in the decision made by our Directors.

Now as to the actual grant to which Governor Talmadge has objected. The attached press release will indicate to you the purposes for which the grant was made and the general nature of the organization which received it. May I emphasize that the Southern Regional Council, the recipient organization, is the reverse of "an organization foreign to the South," since all its members, directors and officers are southerners. In close cooperation with southern church organizations and other southern groups and individuals, the Southern Regional Council has for many years worked towards the achievement of the better racial relations in the South to which you point with pride.

It is our hope that with the additional staff made possible by our grant, the Council will be able to continue these efforts with increased effectiveness. The program of the Council in each state will, as the release indicates, be directed by a committee composed of residents of that state, so as to avoid any possibility of "outside intrusion" and to insure that the work done will be adapted to the human relations needs of each state.

The press release lists the names of some of the southerners who are playing leading roles in the work of the Council. If you are interested in following this matter further, I suggest that you contact the Council's head office at 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia and request the names of members of the Council in Florida and Georgia, some of whom you will probably know. An alternative might be to contact your local minister and inquire of him about the past record and standing of the Council.

If this letter and the attached press release bring to your mind any other questions which you feel that we could answer at this end, please be sure to write us again. We appreciate your willingness to "remain on the fence in the matter" until you have obtained all the facts, and would like to do everything we can to be sure that you do get all the facts.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk
Enc.

EL COMODORO HOTEL

S. W. First Street at Second Ave.
Miami 32, Florida
April 21, 1954

Mr. Benson Ford,
Lincoln-Mercury Division
Ford Motor Co.
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Mr. Ford:

This is a rather unusual letter and I sincerely hope it gets in your hands for proper handling.

I am a director of the Florida-Georgia Traveling Mens Assn. which has a membership of about one thousand. We are holding a meeting down here in Miami. During the meeting the subject of a recent speech by Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia came up. In this speech last week Governor Talmadge alleged that the Ford Foundation had made a special grant of $250,000.00 to an organization foreign to the south and for the purpose of breaking down our racial barriers; to finance the education of persons in the south for the purpose of teaching racial equality. The speech said many things which were not pleasant to listen to.

I have been a Ford and Lincoln man all my life. Driving a 1951 Cosmopolitan right now and the only reason I haven't bought a new one I objected to it's smallness and felt that I would be paying $4,600,00 for a BIG Ford. When I purchased my 1949 Lincoln in May 1948 I did a good selling job for you. Traveling about a thousand miles weekly in Florida and Georgia and having been in the territory for 20 years I enjoy a good reputation and sell several of the top lines to furniture and department stores. As a result of my recommendations probably 25 or 30 of my dealers and associates bought the new Lincoln.

If Governor Talmadge's charges are true and left unchallenged then you stand to lose lots of new orders for Lincolns and Mercurys. If you care to write me a letter refuting this charge I'll be glad to show it and discuss it in my travels and try to help undo the harm this speech has done. I am on the fence in the matter. I resent outside intrusion and feel that we enjoy better racial relations in the south than those enjoyed in the north. The only difference is that we have a color line and always will. We shall never inter-marry and become too familiar and all the money in the world will not change this. I shall be glad to hear from you in this serious matter.

Truly yours,

Harry Weldon
2401 Depauw St.
Orlando, Florida

COPY

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

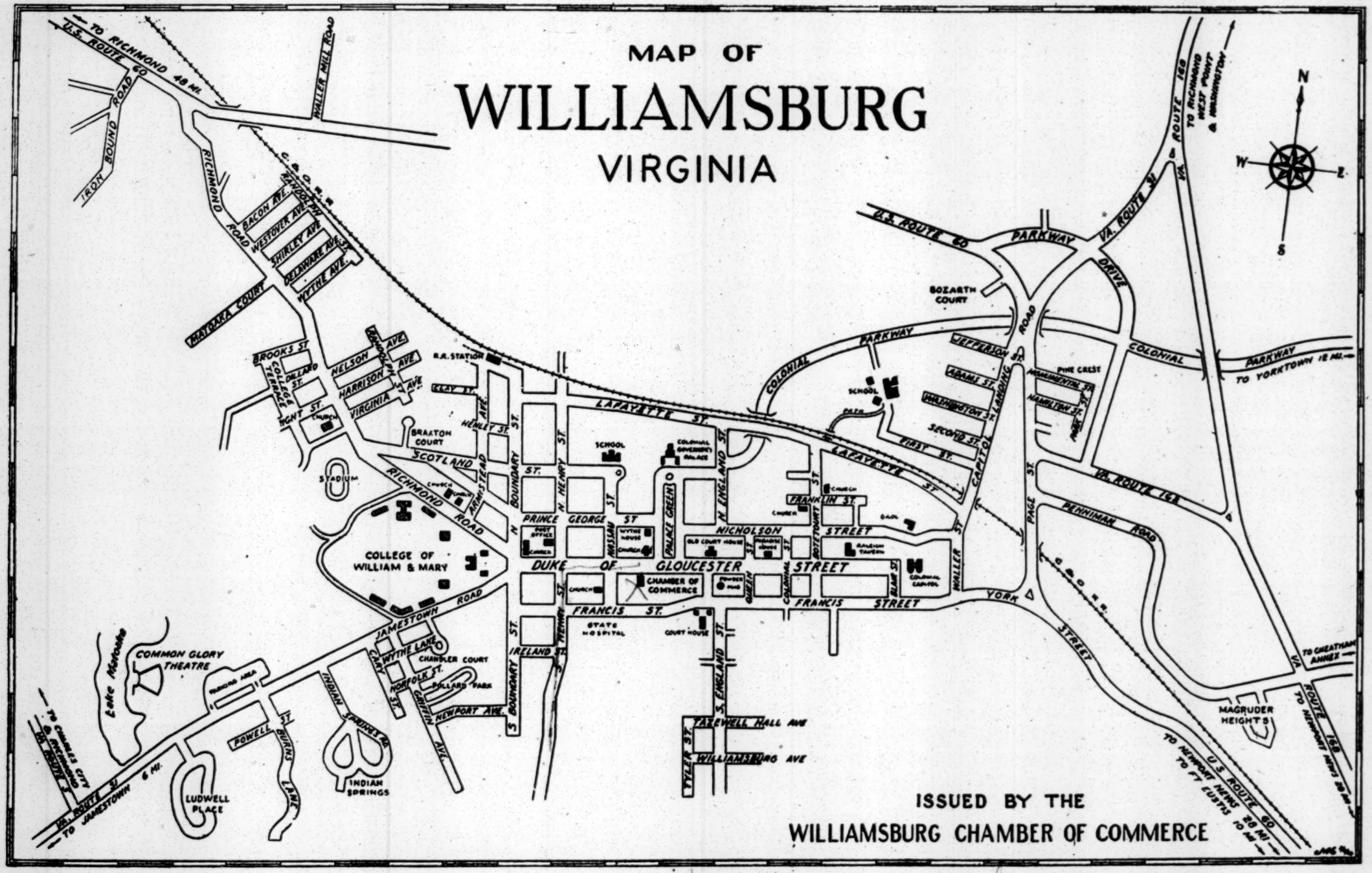
5/26/54

To: GSM

Gordon Lovejoy called between planes to thank you for the Williamsburg findings, which he thought were excellent, and to ask for another copy, which I have mailed him.

He noted in particular the recommendation for a confab of human-relations agency personnel. Apparently, great efforts have been going on inside NCCJ to cause it to rise to the occasion. Lovejoy said an invitation to NCCJ to be represented at any such meeting of h. r. personnel meeting might give them a wholesome incentive to come on in.

HCF



ISSUED BY THE
WILLIAMSBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Ferguson - White Printing Shop.

Document LZ

COMPOSITION OF GROUPS

GROUP I - J. C. Dixon, Chairman
W. Carroll Brooks
Rufus Clement
C. H. Parrish
Tartt Bell

Schools

GROUP II Malcolm Calhoun, Chairman
Mrs. David Jones
Father Shean
John Griffin
Miss Mary Alice Jones
Mrs. Tilly

Private and religious organizations

GROUP III Morris Abram, Chairman
Brooks Hays
Oliver Hill
Paul Christopher

Law and public bodies

GROUP IV - Grace Hamilton, Chairman
Charles Johnson
Joseph Ross
Harold Fleming
Dr. Will Alexander

Public information

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

GROUP V - Gordon Blackwell, Chairman
Phil. Hammer

Research

9:30 Ballroom Sunday Morning May 9th

PRIORITIES

PRIORITY I

A. Preparation of a leaflet on "The Christian Conscience and the Schools." Mrs. Tilly's job to issue those with the cooperation of others. Possible follow-up by various denominations. Should author and issue their own. Object of leaflet and its timing — to be used in the various religious summer schools being held from July 1, 1954, forward.

B. Pastors Schools. By working with educational and religious institutions which have already booked pastors schools for this coming summer, and to introduce in as many of these schools as possible, sound discussion on whole problem of and plans for working for the peaceful integration of children in the schools.

And another in the same description would take the suggestion of two full-time men to plan and attend the schools. Would cost perhaps $8,000, salary, travel, and literature.

Would be organized through SRC and church groups.

C. A meeting to occur mighty soon, within days, or at most three weeks, of those professional workers in the field of human relations attached to southern religious or other organizations, being that group which has three times before been summoned at the call of SRC to plan a common strategy for lessening the tension occasioned by the Supreme Court Decision. Discussion of provision and distribution of materials and of appropriate channels.

D. Priority I should be given to the planning of a Southwide meeting of representatives of community organizations. Suggested that such a meeting be called by two cooperating universities such as Atlanta University and Emory University.

To alert the groups on the nature of the crisis, provide information, stimulate interest in local and state meetings, encourage the formation of local citizens' committees through or on public schools problems, and serve as watchdogs and study groups.

Meeting should occur only after the Court speaks. Financing to be needed for staff only to prepare and organize the meeting.

Priority II is given to the meeting: Priority I only to the planning of the meeting.

E. Educating teachers in human relations. That SRC promptly get out letters to the directors of summer sessions of teacher-training institutions, urging the setting up of interracial organizations at the sessions this summer to discuss problems likely to arise from the Court's decision. Wherever possible, such workshops shall be interracially organized, or at the very least, should have one or more Negro staff members.

F. The organized agency should work in cooperation with other agencies having an interest in human relations ~~and structure.~~

G. Emergency nation-wide employment exchange for displaced teachers. The Executive Secretary of American Teachers Association, Mr. Trenholm, should be asked to approach the appropriate officials of the NEA and explore with them the possibility of setting up a clearing agency under NEA ~~officials~~, through which the states that need teachers could be informed of the availability of qualified teachers in other states.

After the details have been worked out in negotiations between the agencies concerned, appropriate foundation support should be sought.

H. The training and use of trouble shooters to work as teams where needed upon request of state superintendents. It is recommended that persons already on the staffs of state department of education be utilized as "trouble-shooters" and that the additional training required for these persons and the possible addition of new persons for this work be determined in light of the demand.

I. Businessmen's conference. Find an appropriate Southern business man who will invite a group of top-level Southern business men to consider the implications of the Supreme Court decision. Owing to the fact that this must be accomplished delicately, informally, and privately, it is impossible to formalize the procedure whereby it can be effected. However, it is felt that the Southern Regional Council might take the initiative in exploring the possibilities.

J. While there should be no letup in the drive for fully representative public bodies in educational administration, ~~well related field official~~ official ad hoc or general human relations committees should be encouraged, provided that they are integrated and genuinely representative.

K. SRC should undertake to stimulate local group city and state to sponsor such committees at several levels. Work where practicable through U. S. Conference of Mayors and through Conference of Governors.

IMMEDIATE PUBLICITY FOLLOWING COURT DECISION

PURPOSE:

1. To influence constructively press, radio and TV publicity on the Supreme Court decision.

2.

PROJECT:

To issue as promptly as possible after decision a sound analysis of the meaning of the decision to the South; such analysis to carry legal as well as sociological authority; such analysis to be as widely disseminated as possible.

ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

This is, in effect, a necessary followpup of the Ashmore project and might well be effected through the same specialists, i.e. lawyers, sociologists, editors, etc. It is assumed that the SRC will play an important part in the implementation of this idea.

RESULTS:

To gain widest possible understanding of the true implications of the decision, thus discouraging emotionalism and encouraging rational, constructive planning.

METHODS:

Advance contact with wire services, major daily editors, newmagazines, radio and television networks, and national news commentators, - these persons to be furnished the analysis on release. In addition, wire services should be requested by subscribers papers to gather constructive statements on decision by the more enlightened Southern governors, educators, and religious leaders.

KEY NAMES

Harry Ashmore, John Popham, Bem Price, Alfred Mynders, Bicknell Eubanks, Ed Murrow, Fred Heckinger, Bill Emerson, Bill Howland, etc.

RESOURCES:

Travel and communications and possible per diem for some personnel. Estimate - $1500.

TIMING:

Urgent - Top priority.

A REPORTING SYSTEM ON RACIAL INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTH

The Need

Whatever the impending decision of the Supreme Court, one may be sure that the next few years will see the beginnings of the breakdown of segregation in schools where this form of discrimination still prevails. Wide dissemination of information concerning specific steps taken in this direction by particular localities should have several beneficial results:

1. Local school officials might be encouraged to move forward in the matter by knowing what other communities have done and with what results.

2. Various approaches and techniques of influencing public opinion and key leadership could be shared

3. Rumors could be avoided or quieted

4. Knowledge concerning problems and obstacles might be shared as they arise.

The Proposal

It is therefore proposed that a reporting system be set up with region-wide coverage to accomplish these purposes:

1. Collect accurate information on significant events relating to school integration in localities;

2. Channel this information in usable form to school and other public officials;

3. Channel this information to the general public throughout the region through the various mass media;

4. Make the information available for behavioral science and historical research.

Sponsorship

Since both the reporting and the communication aspects of the project should involve journalists, the reporting system might well be guided in policy terms by a Board comprising prestige editors of the region, educators, and social scientists. Headquarters might be established at a convenient center such as Nashville where cooperation would be available from Fisk, Peabody, and Vanderbilt.

Coordination should be effected with such regional groups as the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Education Foundation. Cooperation would probably be needed from state press associations and other groups representing the mass media.

How the Project Would Work

The director of the project should be a person of outstanding ability with experience in the communications field and with some knowledge and appreciation of social science. He should have a central staff of sufficient size and competence to administer what may become a sizeable operation. Communication specialists would be especially important in the staff

Newspaper reporters of known competence and objectivity would be spotted over the region and retained on a stand-by basis to cover the kinds of local events specified by the director. Outlines to follow in reporting would be made available by the central office.

The possible need for some kind of formal or informal training of the reporters for this specific assignment should be considered.

Whether the project should be decentralized on a state basis for its communication functions should be considered. Cost may make this prohibitive.

The central office (or state offices if these prove feasible) would prepare periodic press releases based on reports from the field. Special magazine stories or programs for radio and television would be stimulated. Special "beaming" of materials would be arranged for school and other local public officials. Occasional summary analyses on progress would be proposed.

Research on the data should be planned either as part of this project or as separate projects. Behavioral scientists might test certain hypotheses about community action leadership, economic factors, population ratios, and the like. There should also be historical research to document this significant movement in the development of the region. To assure that the information collected will be usable for these research purposes, social scientists should have a voice in planning the project, in developing the reporting outline, and possibly in training the reporters.

Budget and Time Schedule

Details of budget require considerable more spelling out of how the project would work than we can undertake here. Suffice it to say, without adequate financing on a rather large scale, the project should not be attempted. In determining budget needs as much attention should be given to the task of:

1. Channeling the information to the public and to official groups

2. The needs of research, as to

3. The collecting of the information

~~There is reason to believe that~~ Perhaps the Fund for the Advancement of Education would see this as a logical follow-up of the Ashmore Project, ~~and therefore might provide financial support.~~

Obviously, the project should be established as soon as possible and should be financed for an initial period of three to five years.

PRIORITY 1

A. Study by local school officials of their school systems with a view to providing adequate education now and in the future. It is recommended that a bulletin for the guidance of local school officials be prepared and distributed covering the following points: (a) How best to utilize facilities and personnel alread y at hand, assuming a completely integrated school system; (b) calculate the cost of an adequate dual system of schools (separate but equal); (c) calculate the cost of an adequate integrated system of schools.

Bulletin to be prepared by the SRC; distributed by Southern Education Foundation and the Southern Association of colleges and secondary schools; underwritten by General Education Board. Estimated cost $5,000.

B.

GROUP IV

PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICES

BACKGROUND:

Authentic information and interpretation of the Southern scene are in great and continuous demand by the various media of national communication — press, radio, television, and periodicals. In addition to the active demand, there are many opportunities of this kind which might be realized by promotion. In addition to the many requests that are already in evidence, these media would welcome a responsible Southern agency's taking the initiative in calling their attention to meaningful developments in the region.

PURPOSE:

To carry on continuous fact-finding, stimulation of research, cumulative evaluation of Southern events, the maintenance of comprehensive documentary material, and direct services to the national media of communications.

PROJECT: The establishment of a public information department within the Southern Regional Council with adequate staff and resources to carry out the purposes described. This staff would collect facts regionwide, maintain clipping files and reference materials, serve the press on a day-to-day basis, develop a continuous relationship with the radio and television industries, stimulate interest in constructive story ideas among magazines and other publications of national circulations, and assist the writers in preparing their articles and materials.

RESOURCES NEEDED:

Estimated $20,000 per year for additional staff, travel, and other overhead.

~~TIMING: Urgently needed.~~

ADDENDUM:

Within or without the framework of this project, we believe that the Southern Regional Council should establish regular channels of cooperation with national human relations agencies having good public relations contacts in Washington and New York, to secure national dissemination of the fact-finding and interpretation of the SRC and like-minded Southern organizations.

C. Some appropriate agency should be found to take on the task of preventing so far as possible the unfair assignment of children to schools -- otherwise being to prevent the gerrymandering of school districts. The economic and educational advantages of proper school districting should be pointed out, an analysis made of the disadvantages of gerrymandering, racial or otherwise, and these analyses should be laid before the public community by community. Legal attacks on gerrymandering should be employed where other remedies have failed.

Such a service ~~would~~ will take money and staff. The need is immediate and work should be begun in advance of the Supreme Court Decision. The problem will continue and a program should be planned for at least five years.

D. Selected publications of the relevant parts of the ~~Maclachlan~~ Maclachlan population study.

PRIORITY II (begin next page)

V

A. A STUDY OF THE ECONOMICS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION

~~PRIORITY II~~

The Problem

Aside from studies in Washington, D. C., and St. Louis, Missour, there is little information on the costs of a dual system of education in relation to the savings that might be effected through integration. Since one of the strongest appeals with leaders and the general public is economy of tax funds, accurate information on the economics of integration is needed for localities of various types.

No single southwide study providing regional figures is possible or desirable. Statewide studies would likewise be difficult to accomplish and their value for action purposes may be questioned. What seems to be especially needed are: (1) a proven methodology for local studies of the problem which can be applied in any locality; (2) the application of the methodology to selected counties and cities so as to illustrate the range and variation in the economics of integration through the region; and (3) directions as to how to make local self-studies of this problem.

The Proposal

It is proposed that a research project be undertaken in some southern university which would accomplish these three objectives. Collaboration between specialists in public finance, educational administration, and demography is indicated.

Pilot studies for the development of a methodology should first be initiated in three to five carefully selected localities (both counties and cities). Criteria for selection of localities would include Negro ratio in the population, pattern of settlement by race, financial ability of the locality, and respective levels of educational support for whites and Negroes under the dual system.

Following study of the cost of education under the dual system, techniques would be devised for predicting costs under an integrated system. The assumption might be made that quality of education will remain the same as at present in white schools. Preliminary work along this line in a master's thesis in sociology at the University of North Carolina under the direction of Guy B. Johnson has revealed the complexity of this kind of study, yet its feasibility.

Once a workable methodology has been developed, two concurrent steps remain. First, the technique should be applied in studies of a number of communities selected throughout the South on the basis of the above criteria. This research might be performed by collaborators in other southern universities. The results summarized by the central project staff, should be made available without delay throughout the region. Finally, an easily understood and readily applied manual, presenting a simplified version of the methodology, should be prepared and circulated, perhaps through the Southern Regional Council, to school officials throughout the region. The objectives of this manual would be to stimulate local self studies of the economics of integration.

Budget and Time Schedule

The project should obviously be initiated as soon as possible and should be set up for two years. Estimated budget needs would be:

Pilot studies to develop methodology	$10,000	
Application of methodology in selected southern localities;	$20,000	Publication of results
Preparation and publication of manual	$5,000	
Total for the two years		$35,000

The Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Kellogg Foundation are possible sources of financial support.

B - Priority II

[redacted]

PURPOSE: The purpose of this proposal would be to provide accurate figures on population in the South for the period between censuses and current analyses of changes in the residence, composition and characteristics of the Southern population by race.

SPECIFIC PROJECT: It is proposed that grants be sought for the establishment and support (for a minimum of five years) of a population research center at a Southern college or institution. After the initial five-year period, the maintenance of this regional research center might possibly be shifted to the Southern states as the value of the work becomes recognized.

ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS: A great deal of work has been done and is currently being done on Southern population trends. John Maclachlan of the University of Florida has recently completed a comprehensive study (based on Census figures) of population trends in the South up to 1952. John Folger of the University of North Carolina has also recently completed a study of Southern population trends and projections. John Ashley and Rupert Vance of the University of North Carolina have maintained a continuous analysis of available population figures(with emphasis by the former on migration trends). It would seem logical that the new population research center be located either at Gainesville or Chapel Hill.

RESULTS ANTICIPATED: The most significant characteristic of the South's population (particularly the Negro population) has been change. In turn, population change has directly affected all aspects of the human relations problems -- as regards schools, housing, political influences, etc. It is extremely important in all programs dealing with the relations of the races in the South to have up-to-date information on population changes.

It would be anticipated that this project would develop estimates that would bring the figures in the major Census classifications up-to-date. Such information would be extremely valuable to persons working in race relations fields. In addition, the information would have significance to many other people including local governments, Chambers of Commerce, businessmen, and social workers

METHODS TO BE USED: A large volume of vital statistics is maintained in various local and state government offices. These statistics can be used as a basis for estimating changes in population. With verification by sample field checks, formulas can be derived for calculating shifts in the number and major composition characteristics of population by relatively small areas. It would be necessary to set up a great number of basic storage tables which could be maintained and the data for which could be analyzed by machine tabulation.

RESOURCES NEEDED: It would take approximately $50,000 for the establishment and maintenance of this center in the first year and $30,000 a year thereafter. As indicated earlier, it would be hoped that funds from the various Southern states (either as direct state appropriations or as allocations via college budgets) would subsequently become available to maintain this center.

TIMING AND PRIORITY: Because of the recent works of Maclachlan, Folger and Ashley, it would be desirable if this center could be established soon. Also, in the next few years, the need for this data will be very great as problems of schooling and housing involving the races are worked out. Here, it is suggested that the activation of this project not be delayed too long.

C. BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE STUDY OF COMMUNITY PROCESSES IN SCHOOL INTEGRATION (2)

The Opportunity PRIORITY II

The anticipated move toward school integration in hundreds of Southern communities, gradual as it may often be, presents a unique opportunity for behavioral science research. This opportunity of two kinds.

In the first place, it is tremendously important for the region and the nation that the transition take place as rapidly and as smoothly as possible without rekindling of prejudice, resort to new kinds of discriminatory practices, and perhaps even violence. If ever there were need for guidance from behavioral science, it is now. Yet most ideas about this kind of community change are as yet unproven.

This leads to the second facet of the opportunity. As communities take steps toward integration in the near future, behavioral scientists will have almost ideal laboratory situations for testing their most likely hypotheses. Research of this kind can thus provide helpful guidelines for local action, while at the same time basic contributions can be made to the sociology and social psychology of community processes.

The Proposal

It is proposed that a major research project for this purpose be set up in a southern university. The project might be accomplished along two main lines.

First, detailed intensive study might be undertaken of five to ten carefully selected communities, chosen so as to represent the range of community situations in relation to school integration found throughout the South. Here the objective would be to describe the several sociological dimensions of each community with special attention to its population composition, institutional structure, stratification patterns, leadership and power structure, and ecology. In a near-experimental situation, the effects of a stimulus -- pressure toward school integration -- would be observed and described. What individuals and groups take what action and why? What formal communication media and informal communication networks function in what ways and with what results? What techniques of securing community action have what effects? What do informal leaders, office holders (public and private), and power leaders do with what effects? Data collection would involve semi-participant observations, interviews, questionnaires, and the like.

A second research attack on the problem would be to develop standby researchers or research teams at several centers in the region, trained and ready for spot studies of critical incidents related to school integration. Incidents in which this kind of quick inquiry might be most productive could be discovered through the reporting system recommended elsewhere by this conference. This approach would perhaps not lead to as definitive findings as the more intensive studies, but the sum total of data collected through spot studies would undoubtedly be additive since a uniform theoretical framework and outline would be followed. Conclusions reached in the intensive community studies could be checked in the spot studies.

The project should be so organized that tentative results of the research are fed back into the selected communities for further research observation and evaluation. Plans should be made, perhaps through the Southern Regional Council, to disseminate the research findings to school and other public officials without delay. In addition the usual scientific media of research presentation would of course be utilized.

The project should be carried out in a research center where advice and collaboration of a number of behavioral scientists are easily available. A recognized behavioral scientist with field research experience should direct the undertaking. At least part time of several additional scientists would be required, as well as considerable junior staff to aid in data collection and analysis. One member of the project staff should be responsible for channeling the findings to special elements of the region through appropriate groups.

Budget and Time Schedule

Obviously the study should get underway as soon as possible. It should be set up for an initial period of three years.

Depending upon how many communities are to be covered in both approaches of the project, an annual budget of $50,000 to $100,000 would be required.

It is possible that this might have appeal for the Fund for the Republic, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, or the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation.

D, A STUDY OF MANPOWER UTILIZATION IN THE SOUTH AS RELATED TO THE STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH'S ECONOMY

~~PRIORITY II~~ (2)

PURPOSE:

There would be four purposes of this study:

1. To reach a definitive understanding of the ~~purposes~~ of economic development in the South and the functional relation of the Southern economy and the national economy.

2. On the basis of this understanding to isolate the problems of manpower use in the region and to analyze the effects of current practices upon economic development in both the South and the non-South.

3. To indicate the economic implications of specific charges in manpower integration practices in the South, including their effects on population shifts, industrial expansion, productivity, personal income, and public receipts and expenditures within the region.

4. To indicate the specific types of enlargement opportunities for Negroes in the South that would appear to offer the best opportunities and most practical economic advantages to the region in the immediate future.

SPECIFIC PROJECT:

It is proposed that efforts be made to obtain a grant to finance a research project organized for this study as follows:

1. The central project would be independent of any institution ~~ex~~ within the retion but component research projects would be "farmed out" by a central staff to economists at Southern institutions.

2. Director of the project would be an economist of international reputation (possibly from outside the United States in order to lend a special aura of objectivity) and soundly trained in theoretical as well as applied economics. Maybe Brookings

3. The project would continue over a two-year period, at the end of which a ~~xxx~~ manuscript would be expected ready for publication.

ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS:

The great bulk of the research analysis and interpretation could be undertaken by economists located at various Southern colleges and universities. However, the central staff would be independently located and the final product would be responsibility of a special staff of experts set up for this study ~~xxxxxxx~~ purpose.

RESULTS ANTICIPATED:

The ultimate results desired would be clear public understanding of the economic consequences of current practices of manpower utilization in the South and clear indications of where Negroes might be further integrated into the region's labor force. However, the indirect ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ or secondary results might turn out to be nearly as important. In order to understand the economics of manpower use, it is necessary first to understand the Southern economy - its structure, its role in the U.S. economy, the forces affecting it, the particular significances of the South's manpower supply to its present ~~xx~~ or potential development. No concrete analysis of the region's economy has ever been made, and the work done in this connection as a part of this study would have great importance itself.

~~Page 2~~

METHODS TO BE USED:

All existing data sources would of course be utilized by the various teams. However, some additional primary or new fact-finding would also be necessary. In general, the project would be broken down into the following bread study categories:

1. ~~The~~ Basic analysis in theoretical terms ("colonial status of South", viability of Southern economy, state of "maturity", etc.)

2. Definition of "working economy" on a state-by-state basis.

3. Inventory of the region's raw materials and natural resources and analysis of forces affecting their use.

4. Analysis of institutional forces affecting the South.

5. Analysis of the distribution, training and utilization of Southern manpower.

6. Interpretation of the significance of the above findings (central project)

KEY NAMES:

Possible directors might be Gunnar Myrdal(Sweden) or Colin Clark (England) Many outstanding Southern economists would be pulled in to direct sub-projects including such men as Hoover and Ratchford (Duke), McFerrin (Florida) Hicks (Mississippi) Swanson (Emory) Roback (TVA) Nichols (Vanderbilt) and Heath and Ashby(North Carolina)

RESOURCES NEEDED:

A sum of approximately $120,000 would be needed to finance this research undertaking. It is possible that foundations with diverse interests might be interested, inasmuch as the study would ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ yield significant material in several fields including economic developments, natural resources use and conservation, manpower and human relations.

TIMING AND PRIORITY:

This project is <u>not</u> regarded as an urgent one of immediate priority necessitated by the Supreme Court decision. However, it is so fundamental to possible action programs in race relations that it should be put forward to the foundations or other sources of funds as soon as possible.

E. SOUTHWIDE SPEAKER RESOURCES

PRIORITY II

PURPOSE: To compile a list of speakers, white and Negro, distributed throughout the Southern states, who can inform local groups of the facts about school integration. The list should be as inclusive as possible of various religious, occupational, and interest groups.

The list should be reproduced and made available through religious, civic, labor, social work, and other organizational channels.

The Southern Regional Council is the appropriate organization to prepare and distribute and promote the use of such a speakers list.

F. CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Priority II

We suggest that a survey be made of Southern chambers of commerce to single out those which might be most disposed to cooperate in local community activity aimed at educational integration.

We suggest that a firm of business consultants be employed to make this evaluation and advise the Southern Regional Council on ways of enlisting their cooperation through local leadership. It is thought that a successful precedent of this kind could spread the pattern throughout the South.

~~KEY NAMES: Hannes & Company.~~

RESOURCES NEEDED: $1500.

~~TIMING AND PRIORITY: As soon as feasible.~~

Professional School People
Lay Educational People } G. (PRIORITY II)

~~ITEM ONE:~~ INTEGRATION OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Professional associations, whether local, state, regional or national, fall roughly into three categories.

(a) Those functionally organized-as school principals- classroom teachers - supertendents, etc.

(b) Those organized around specific disciplines - as social sciences - mathematics,

(c) Those covering all aspects of education as the N.E.A. ~~&~~ Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools - various state educational associations.

IT IS RECOMMENDED: -

(1) That Associations that cut across state lines be encouraged to set up committees on cooperation between the respective Negro and white groups.

(2) That this be done through the persons, Negro and white, within each state who are legally qualified by virtue of their membership in the organization to make the approach. (Southern Education Foundation might be a catalytic agent here.)

14

(3) That the Southern Regional Council provide a list of professional organizations of all types which have already been integrated.

(4) That where possible on the state level the two educational associations within the state follow the precedent of Kentucky and set up a joint committee to study the possible impact upon the state of the integration of the schools.

ITEM TWO: INTEGRATION OF PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS ON LOCAL LEVEL

IT IS RECOMMENDED : -

That the Commissions on Higher Education and secondary Education of the two divisions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools be asked to suggest to state and local superintendents the advisability of initiating cooperative meetings of supervisory and teaching personnel at the local level.

ITEM THREE: INFORMATION FOR GUIDANCE OF STATE HEADS BE PROVIDED BY SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

IT IS RECOMMENDED :

That a joint meeting of State Superintendents and State Agents by held. (This meeting to be underwritten by the Fund for the Advancement of Education and to be arranged and organized by the Southern Regional Education Board - ~~Dr. John Ivy)~~

X

H. A memorandum -- longer than that described under Priority I to church women's groups. It is believed that the impact of it on coming change can best be handled by church women's groups. Means to establish a continuing method of discussion and education in the matter ought to be studied and adopted so that the educational process might continue over a long period of time. Statement should be prepared by Mrs. Tilly and others for women's groups on the christian commitments. To it should be added a list of available materials and list of community resources.

I. In conference with PTA officials in the primarily separate white and Negro PTA bodies, attempt to arrange a national pressure toward integration of the two bodies.

In working with local PTA groups, white and Negroes, sometimes directly with PTA's, sometimes through church or other community groups, urge locally integration of PTA bodies.

Attempt to influence PTA's on channels for educating the members to use more and better materials looking toward integration of the schools and of PTA's. Help can be had on this matter through Mrs. David Jones, Tilly and Hamilton.

PRIORITY III

A. Afford all workable means of increasing the voting strength of Negro groups

B.

B. A STUDY OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN RELATIONS OF URBAN RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT AND PATTERNS IN THE SOUTH

(3)

PURPOSE:

This research project would attempt to provide a clear understanding of the economic and social effects and costs of the new patterns of urban residence by race that are emerging in the region. The overall farm-to-city population shift has already been analyzed in the Maclachlan population study. This new project would analyze data on racial patterns within the fast growing urban areas and the implications of these patterns for public policies related to human relations. The analysis would be directly tied in to the location of schools and the inter-relation of school attendance and residential patterns, and hence the results can be directly useful to local policy makers.

SPECIFIC PROJECT:

The specific proposal is to set up this research project at a Southern college or university. It is anticipated that the project would require the full-time attention of a research staff of three to five people for a period of approximately 18 months.

ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS:

Inasmuch as this project would require specialists in both economics and sociology, it would be desirable to set it up at an institution where the staff are strong in both fields. A number of Southern institutions qualify. It is suggested that an institution with experience in statistical analysis (such as Atlanta University or Fisk University) would be best qualified to undertake this study.

RESULTS ANTICIPATED:

This project should yield important information bearing upon the following problems:

1) The extent to which Negroes as a class are being denied the advantages of suburban living in the South's growing urban areas.
2) The extent to which Negroes are being forced to a) double up for their housing; b) occupy sub-standard units; c) pay more for their housing than do whites for housing of the same quality; d) occupy housing of a poorer quality than that which they desire and for which they can pay.
3) The extent to which Negroes' residential expansion is being restricted to overcrowded and second hand central districts.
4) Deterrents to the construction of new housing units for which there is a firm market on the part of Negro buyers or renters.
5) Social problems of congested Negro residential areas (crime, delinquency, illness, rackets, family breakdown, etc.)
6) Tensions resulting from expansion of Negroes into former white residential areas.

It is anticipated that the analysis would furnish information that would be particularly helpful to 1) school boards and others concerned with problems of attendance and districting; 2) real estate and investment people interested in the size and nature of the Negro housing market; 3) social workers and city planners interested in eliminating the causes of social tensions and breakdown and in providing the facilities that are needed; 4) city officials and the public-at-large interested in the costs of public services.

METHODS TO BE USED:

A large part of the data used in this study would be found in detailed tables by Census tracts available on most of the larger Southern cities as of 1950. These date would have to be supplemented by some field checks. The project would call for a great deal of statistical analysis involving the use of punch cards and sorting and tabulating machines.

RESOURCES NEEDED: This 18 month project would cost about $40,000.

TIMING AND PRIORITY:

This project obviously could not be completed in time to be helpful in the immediate transitional period. However, there is need for its completion as soon as possible to guide local policy leaders in the rapidly expanding urban areas of the South. Efforts to obtain the necessary funds should be pushed forward.

XXXXXXXX

(3)

C. A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF RURAL-COUNTY DOMINATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH

PURPOSE. The purposes of this study would be to compile and examine the available evidence on possible adverse economic effect of rural domination in state legislatures (and through them in state government administration) in the region. The project would try to answer these questions:

1. Does this dominance retard the economic development of the region?

2. Does it retard the working out of equitable race relations?

3. Does it result in a denial of human rights?

SPECIFIC PROJECT. A great deal is already known about rural-county domination of state governments (see the works of Alexander Heard and V. O. Key). In effect, this proposed project would examine the economic and social implications of these findings of political science. The main line of inquiry would be the examination of state legislation and programs (or evidences of an absence of legislation and programs) and specific instances where such acts have had adverse local effects.

ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS. This project might cut across several disciplines. Consequently, it might be most easily undertaken in an instituion such as the University of North Carolina where representatives of the particular disciplines involved are located. The fields so involved are political science, public administration, sociology, economics and city planning.

RESULTS ANTICIPATED. Questions for which answers would be sought have already been listed.

It is suggested that this study mightbe tied in with a broader study of problems of metropolitan government which is badly needed in the region. Rural-county domination of state legislature has been a major deterrent to city-county corporation or consolidation, and to recognition of new forms of metropolitan governments This has had an adverse effect upon the Negro's political strength which has been limited to the central city areas and effectively denied access to suburban county areas. Without effect on the county power structure, the Negro has little chance of breaking out of the residential straitjacket into which he has been put. Whatever happens in working out problems of metropolitan areas will have a direct bearing upon Negro welfare.

METHODS TO BE USED.

This project would involve both study of records and a substantial amount of field work

RESOURCES NEEDED. The project would probably take eighteen months of the time of two persons full-time and several persons part-time. The cost would be about $30,000.

TIMING AND PRIORITY. There is no immediate urgency in this project.

D. SRC should prepare a pamphlet describing the setting up of local agencies over the state, and particular attention should be paid to existing southern examples of such committees. cost $5,000 and upwards.

IDEAS BROUGHT FORWARD IN STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING SATURDAY NIGHT -- NO PRIORITY ASSIGNED.

A. A number, not large, of people distinguished and respected in various fields of southern life should be persuaded to give up a month or six weeks time this summer to travel in the South for conferences and discussions with acquaintances and associates. Various suitable persons were suggested: An industrialist; a retired state school superintendent; a distinguished lawyer; a Memphis industrialist, a southern born, but northern resident church executive; a retired university president, an ex-governor. These persons should be briefed insofar as needed and asked to go out. Travel would have to be offered, though not necessarily have to be paid. No salary. Cost. Between $5,000and $10,000.

B. The South has its own traditional suppliers of news -- local newspapers, radio stations, etc. Increasingly, we in the South receive an impact from national news and opinion forming media. Reach this.

C. We now need to reach out of the south to what are described as fugitive Southerners, men still with a deep interest in southern matters who have achieved fame and/or fortune "elsewhere" and whose veiws would be greatly respected. We have such persons here named. Some of these persons could be adduced to travel in the South and write syndicated material which would be read with intense interest all over the South.

The National Citizens Committee for the public schools could quite properly be brought to spell out a special southern committee, focusing and increasing that agency's activities in this field. Here would depend upon the composition of the special southern committee.

D. It should be somebody's duty -- should have been long since somebody's duty -- or has been long since somebody's duty -- to work up a list of 100 to 50 people who could be gotten together if needed within just a few days after the Court's decision. Material should be prepared for this.

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P.C.

Joe Hammer
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Pa. Chet
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Yuca

White Women

Mrs. J. Birdsall Calkins - - - Arlington, Virginia	Member National Board Y. W. C. A. Member World Council Y. W. C. A. Chairman U. S. Atlantic Area Commission Member K Street Y. W. C. A. -Washington
Mrs. John Welborn Greenville, S. C. 30-40 wh.	Member National Board Y. W. C. A. Member National Advisory Committee -Ford Exchange Project; President Greenville Y. W. C. A. Is a Baptist. Husband - Business man
Mrs. William Heuser 3318 Trinity Road Louisville, Kentucky	Member National Board, Y. W. C. A. Chairman Council of Church Women Member Kentucky District Com. Y. W. C. A. Husband - Business man
Mrs. Barbara Marx 6897 Washington Boulevard Falls Church, Virginia	Parents Teachers Association Various civic groups in neighborhood of Arlington, Virginia
Mrs. Eleanor Dew Latta, S. C.	Formerly with State Staff Child Welfare League Husband - former State Senator
Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham Rte 14 Box 240B Huntsville, Texas	Formerly-Staff Dept. Agriculture Active in Suffrage Movement Present-Active in Democratic Party-Texas
Mrs. E. J. Sparling Hot Springs, Ark.	Member National Board Y. W. C. A. Member State Board of Education Member National Public Affairs Committee Active Womens Groups - Civic Groups Husband - physician
Mrs. [illegible] Arrington Mississippi	Prominent; Official - National Methodist Church Women's Association Husband - Official of Utilities Company
Dr. Hallie Farmer Head Political Science Dept. Alabama College for Women Montevallo, Alabama	Has been actively related to student and community interests in liberal southern tradition.

GROUP TWO - NON POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Promote interest on part of community groups such as PTA, League of Women Voters, Church groups, etc., in attending open meetings of School Board to hear policy making and decisions.

2. Recommend promotion of community human relations committees with membership drawn from representatives of both races and with status in the community so that their studies may be implemented. Rock Hill committee as example.

3. Explore means by which white and Negro PTA groups may meet together either on local or state level or in executive groups on national level.

4. Urge church women's group or other such interested groups to work on the idea of acceptance by the white children or Negro children in newly integrated schools. Church groups have special concern for this education and such groups should be urged to have specially trained leaders to work with parents and children on this matter.

5. Work to increase Negro registration and voting so that it will be impractical for politicians to use race baiting in campaigns.

6. Condemnation of use of race for political purposes by prestige groups.

*7. Conference of top business leaders on problem of transition following the Court decision (necessity for preserving order and maintaining stability etc.) top prestige membership

8. Conferences called of interfaith and interracial groups to work on problems of transition - ministers and laymen included.

9. Appointment of special ad hoc bodies of representative people to advise on specific problems of transition.

*To Group IV

GROUP ONE - SCHOOLS (PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL PEOPLE AND LAY EDUCATIONAL PEOPLE)

1. Suggest way be studied to implement the integration of Professional Associations and groups who can help with such integration.

2. Work toward integration of teachers and principals of both school systems so they will have experience of each other.

3. Proposal that information be gathered and made available for workshop to be held by Southern Education Foundation for state education heads.

4. Work for open meetings of School Boards at which policy is made and decisions arrived at with members of community present. Get interested groups to attend.

5. Urge County and City School officials to look at their facilities and plan for their best use for all children, not on the basis of the dual system now existing.

6. Propose to school officials that they make a study of cost for providing adequate education for all children in area, then cost of two systems for segregated system, and finally to look at how they can with the facilities they have best provide for adequate education for all their children.

7. Since attitude of teachers in the changeover is most important, propose ways for educating teachers in human relations. Explore possibility of:
   1. Asking teacher training institutions to include this summer two or more days for workshops on human relations for their teachers attending summer school.

   2. Approaching administrative heads of teacher training institutions about inclusion of courses in human relations in their curriculum-such courses to carry credit toward certificate.

8. Suggest to NEA or some such group the possibility of setting up agency to handle requests for employment from teachers let out of jobs by the integration of schools. Such groups or group would handle crediting of teachers in other states, and would place teachers in places where shortages were acute. Also if some sentiment could be aroused in North and West about picking up teachers who had been unfairly let out of jobs because of prejudice, this would have effect on attitude toward using Negro teachers in South.

9. Propose that Supt. of Education in each state be given four specially trained teachers who would act as "trouble-shooters" and "preparers" for places where integration is put into effect. Distribution might be 2 white and 2 Negro. This means working for acceptance of the idea by the County Supts., and helping him to make best use of these people as well as finding and training such supervisors.

10. Promote joint meetings of Negro and white teachers, joint events of Negro and white children (music, etc) and other occasions where intergroup meetings of teachers and children might be helpful.

11. Urge Superintendents of education to meet in their states and with those of other states for exchange of experiences.

12. Direction of school leaders and officials (guide on policy - inevitability of ultimate integration)

13. Development of special resources to help local school boards meet their problems (professional consultants on districting, etc.)

14. Steps for training in human relations.
    a. Specific training of human relations specialists
    b. Institutes or conferences in teacher training institutions
    c. Course additions in curricula of these institutions.

GROUP THREE - LEGAL AND GOVERNMENTAL

1. Suggest that some agency be found (or agencies) to look for inequitable distributions of school districts (jerrymandering) and take up matter with school board, proving that this is simply a device to evade the law.

2. Recommend the promotion of community human relations committees, with membership of representative people from both races and with status in the community which committee would study community needs, work our remedies and deal with complaints of citizens. Example: Rock Hill Committee.

3. Work toward the spreading of the election or appointing of representative Negro members of school boards over the South, both on the state and county and city level. SRC to gather information on places already having members.

4. Necessity for increasing Negro vote, thus making the demagogue keep quiet because he needs the Negro vote.

5. Research in the effects of rural area representation in legislative bodies and the relation of reapportionment and problems of human relations.

6. Stimulation of further litigation and coordination of groups promoting litigation ("equalization of benefits")

7. Appointment of special ad hoc bodies of representative people to advise on specific problems of transition.

8. Proposal to U. S. Conference of Mayors regarding appointment of Mayor's Committees on human relations (also under the sponsorship such as Chamber of Commerce - might work through U. S. Chamber on "our state and stability," etc.

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GROUP FOUR - PUBLIC INFORMATION

1. Propose to find money and personnel to do popularized version of the McLougland studies on population changes for wider reading than the full version.

2. Proposal that some way be found to get case studies of places where integration has been achieved now reported in the "Ashmore Report" into shorter form and then to get this before school personnel and officials, as well as to wider groups. Possible workshops for school officials to present this material. Also need to get it to people who send children to school.

3. Suggest need for some clearing house to gather, and make available information needed for such discussions. Southern Education Foundation has plans for performing this function.

4. Acceleration of voluntary integration.

5. Prevention of violence.

6. General public education to shape climate for public policies under prestige auspices.

7. Direction of school leaders and officials (guide on policy -- inevitability of <u>ultimate</u> integration.

8. Conference called of inter-faith and interracial groups -- ministers and laymen -- to work on problems of transition.

9. Special continuous effort to keep the press fully informed on developments during period of transition.

10. Popularization of the reporting of experiences in transition in different parts of the South.

11. Popularization of the figures on racial trends in population distribution

12. Steps to offset the distribution of hate sheets

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7. Direction of school leaders and officials (guide on policy -- inevitability of ultimate integration.

8. Conference called of inter-faith and interracial groups -- ministers and laymen -- to work on problems of transition.

9. Special continuous effort to keep the press fully informed on developments during period of transition.

10. Popularization of the reporting of experiences in transition in different parts of the South.

11. Popularization of the figures on racial trends in population distribution

12. Steps to offset the distribution of hate sheets

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18 copies

GROUP FIVE - RESEARCH AND FACT-FINDING

1. Recommend the need for continuing studies on population changes in the South with proper publication of results to change existing beliefs of vastness of Negro population in South and to put down fears.

2. Proposals to find ways of getting information on economics of integration and on instances in which integration has been accomplished to heads of various Boards of Education in states since/many instances these state boards provide much of the financial support for schools in cities and counties.

3. Possible promotion of study of changes in population, economic conditions, etc. "Black Belt" area with idea of reducing misunderstandings and mis-information of people there.

4. Promote the further study of the expansion of employment opportunity in the South such as the ones recently done by the NPA Committee of the South. Suggest that studies be made of relations of the Negro and his job opportunities to the economy of the South. This needs immediate attention.

5. Research in the effects of rural overrepresentation in legislative bodies and the relation of reapportionment in problems of human relations.

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School (pers) ~~Prof + lay bodies~~ + Offels - Prof + Lay -
~~Church~~ - Non Coll Org -
~~Legal~~ Legal + Comm -
~~Rich + Jud Friday~~

LK

Proposals for action programs made by Group A as based on the Premises.

Public Sch + Fed Jud

1. In the first steps toward integration of the school system, should be integration of the Professional Educational Associations. Suggest that ways be ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ studied ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to implement the integration of these associations and groups be found who can help with such integration. (1)

2. Work toward integration of teachers and principals of both school systems so that they will have experience of each other. (1)

3. Work toward integration of school in areas where Negro population sparse so that dual system is uneconomic and integration of Negroes likely to be more acceptable. (1)

4. Recommend the need for continuing studies on populations changes in the South ~~xxxxxxxx~~ with proper publication of ~~xxxx~~ results to ~~xxxxx~~ change existing belief of vastness of Negro population in South and to put down fears. (5)

5. Propose to find money and personnel to do popularized version of the McLougland studies on population changes for wider reading than the full version. (4)

6. Suggest that some agency be found (or agencies) to look for inequitable distributions of school districts (jerrymandering) and take up matter with school board, proving that this is simply a device to evade the law. (3)

7. Proposal to find ways of getting information on economics of integration and on ~~xxxxxxxx~~ instances in which integration has been accomplished to heads of Boards of Education in states since in many instances these state boards provide much of the financial support for schools in cities and counties.

8. Proposal that information be made available for the workshop to be held by the Southern Regional Education Board for state education heads. (1)

9. Proposal to work toward open meetings of School Board at which decisions are arrived at and policy made. Promote interest in these school board meetings, with special groups such at PTA League of Women Voters and Church women urged to attend regularly. (2)

10. Stress importance of having all groups discussing the matter of school desegration contain both races - not one race only.

11. Recommend the promotion of community human relations committees, with membership of representative people from both races and with status in the community which committee would study community needs, work out remedies and deal with complaints of citizens. Example Rock Hill committee. (2+3)

12. Possible promotion of study of changes in population, economic conditions, etc. ~~xxxx~~ "Black Belt" area with idea of reducing misunderstandings and mis-information of people there. (5)

13. Urge County and State school officials to look at their facilities and serving all children - not white and Negro children - and to plan for best use of facilities on that basis, rather than on dual system basis. (1)

14. Propose to school officials that they make study of what it would cost to set up an adequate school system for all children in their state, then what it would cost to set up two such systems for segregated schools and then how, with the facilities they have, they can best use them to provide an adequate education for all the children in their area.

15. Proposal that some way be found to get case studies of places where integration has been achieved now reported in the "Ashmore Report" into shorter form and then to get this before school personnel and officials, as well as to wider group. Possible workshops for school officials to present this material. Also need to get it to people who send children to school.

16. Suggest need for some clearing house to gather, and make available information needed for such discussions. Southern Education Foundation has plans for perform this function.

17. Explores means by which groups of White and Negro PTA members may meet together, either locally or on the regional or state basis - with possible beginnings in the Executive groups of each PTA.

18. Since the attidude of the teacher in this changeover is so important, propose that ways to educate the teachers in human relations be explored and implemented.

1. Urge that teacher training institutions include in their summer courses this year 2, 3 or 4 days of special emphasis on human relations using all resources available.

2. Work toward inclusion in curriculum of courses in human relations for teachers which will carry credit. This to be promoted with administrative heads of such institutions.

19. Suggest to NEA or some such organization the formation of an agency to which teachers may apply for jobs - thus teachers in Southern states where integration may cause them to lose their jobs, may apply and with the agency arranging for exchange of credits, etc. be placed in states where teacher shortage is acute. This would give them feeling of security and help to take care of attitude that segregation must be preserved in order to preserve their jobs. Also if some sentiment could be stirred in the North and West about picking up people unfairly let out of jobs, would change attitude toward hiring Negro teachers for integrated schools.

20. Propose that each supt. be provided with four special supervising teachers, specially trained (2 white and 2 Negro probably distribution) who would act as emergency people to work in areas before integration and help "smooth the path". Proposal that such people be specially trained at some institution such as Peabody, with funds to be found from some source and with the best available educators to train them. Work with Heads of State Education in each state and with County Supts. to accept this program and to use these teachers to the best advantage.

21. In education of the community in integration, the point be stressed the legal aspect of desegration is not enough but that we work on the positive attitude of integration.

3

22. Work toward the spreading of the election or appointing of representative Negro members of school ~~xxxx~~ boards over the South, both ~~on~~ the state and county and city level. SNC to gather information on places already having members.

1

23. Promote joint meetings of Negro and white teachers, locally, of special events in which all children participate (music events, etc.) and all other occasions for intergroup meetings of school children , and teachers.

2

24. Urge church women's groups and other religious groups to adopt Christian ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ conscience on matter of acceptance of white children by Negro children and Negro children by white children in newly desegrated schools. This is a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ special concern of the churches. Suggest that the denominations train special workers to deal with problem in like manner as special supervising teachers in schools.

5

25. Promote the ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ further study of the expansion of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ employment opportunity in the South such as the ones recently done by the NPA Committee of the South. Suggest that studies be made of relations of the Negro and his job opportunities to the economy of the South. This needs immediate attention.

2r 3

26. Necessity for increasing Negro vote, thus making the demogue keep quiet because he needs the Negro vote!

1.

27. Superintendent of Education to meet with superintendents of other states to share experiences.

1 Brooke
Clement
Dixon (ch)
~~Bell~~
Parrish
Bell

2 - Mr D Jones
Shean Griffin
~~Bell~~
Calhoun (ch)
Jones
Selby.

3 - Christy
Hays.
O Hell
Abram (ch)

4 - Alexander (ch)
Johnson
Ross
Hamilton (ch)
Fleming.

5 - ~~Bell~~
Hamer (ch)
Blackwell (ch)

(1)

Document 21

or could be interested

1. Organizations which, in addition to SRC are interested/in field of race relations (or human relations) (1) NCJJ, (2) CIO, (3) AFL, (4) Friends Service Committee, (5) YMCA,(6) YWCA (National Board (7) NEA (8) National Association of School Superintendents () National Social Welfare Assembly (10) National Council of Churches, (11) Fellowship of The Concerned (12) American Association of School Superintendents(13) Committee of the South (14) Anti-Defamation League (15) AJC (16) American Association of University Women (17) General organization (including ~~xxxxxxx~~ doctors, lawyers, etc.), (18) League of Women Voters,(19) State Press Associations.

2. Suggested developing some kind of packaged program of recommending and calling together another conference of people who are not necessarily related to any of the organizations interested in race relations.

3. Impact of urbanization trend upon the Negro ~~xxxxxx~~ population. It was felt that the Negro would not be getting the advantages. ~~in/terms/of/housing/welfare/~~

4. Biggest Untapped resource is Negro labor. There has been no significant change in employment patterns in the south.

5. Concern for mediocre leadership for Negroes by Negroes.

6. Go to Business leaders and take supreme court decision.

7. List opportunities for new projects which various groups might tackle, such as responsibility for training people in states to be experts in how to get integration going in communities

8. Increased political action by all population groups.

9. Action research: 1. How things get accomplished in local communities more about ~~xxxxxx~~ direct action through structure and process of the community.

~~10.~~

10. Use of voluntary association to learn more about the position they hold in the community.

~~11.xxxxxx

21. Some way of providing public, especially school people, with information on what is happening on the issue of desegregation throughout the South. If facts are known, it would stimulate communities to move ahead with a positive approach.

22. A clear statement on policy by leaders with prestige

23. Firm enforcement of changed policy by authorities. Willingness to deal with attempted violations by resort to law and strong enforcement action.

24. An appeal to individual concern. Also, calling a conference based on "Snob Appeal" to orient business men to responsibility to take action based upon leadership and influence in community.

25. Getting information to communities, according to proportion of Negroes in population, economic pressures, etc., as to how the Supreme Court decision would affect them. Contacting national councils of school boards, newspapers, etc.

   a. aiding some communities in moving forward in desegregation voluntarily
   b. calm some communities to prevent violence
   c. ~~publish~~ push educational programs for Negroes so that they will come to favor segregation (security)
   d. educational programs for school board members and local teachers' bodies
   e. include an analysis of economic relevance -- such as in communities where it will be economically unsound for the maintenance of separate institutions.

Alexander
Chas Johnson
Hamilton
Calhoun
Mitchell

Ashmore
Christopher
~~Williams~~ Shean
Dixon
Clement
Dent
Tilly
Hammer
Abram
Pritchard
~~Caldwell, John~~
Hays
Griffen
Hurley

Oliver Hill
Parrish
May 6-7-8-9.
~~Coker or~~ Ross or Coker
~~Mrs D Jones~~
Moron
EC Colwell
Schisler
Blackwell
Heard
Bell (Tdvtt)
Picott
~~Brooke~~
Brooke

Rserve
Wesley
McGill
Ross
Coker
Mays in lieu Clement
Popham
Mynders
E. Caldwell
Staunton Smith
Schisler
B/ Short of Tenn.

~~Olivey Hill Pol~~
~~Parrish~~
as sub for
Dent or
Clement.
Wheeler

Hardy
Dillard
of
Va.
(Jas M's
Son)

Mrs David
Jones
Moron

Catewallet
Tex

Lg. of W. Bros
Harvester guy

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Steering Committee:

X Will Alexander NC
— X Charles S. Johnson Tenn
X Grace Hamilton Ga
X Malcolm Calhoun Ga
— X George Mitchell Ga

Committee Members:

X Harry Ashmore Ark
— X Ralph McGill Tex
Carter Wesley Tex
Joe Ross Tex
James L. Coker SC
— X Paul Christopher Tenn, SC
X Curtis Dixon
— X Rufus Clement Ga
X Albert Dent La
— X Benjamin Mays Ga
X Charles Dobbins
John Bopham
X Alfred Mynders Tenn
— X Mrs. M. E. Tilly Ga
X James Carmichael
Monroe Swilley
Oveta Culp Hobby
— X Phil Hammer
X J. M. Dabbs
— X Truman Pierce Tenn
— X Morris Abram Ga
Gordon Blackwell NC
— X Ernest Colwell Ga
X Carson Pritchard Ga
John Caldwell Ark
Stanton Smith
— Brooks Hayes Ark
X V. Dabney
X Guy B. Johnson
X John Griffin Ga
Ruby Hurley Ga
President of the U. of Louisville (?)
P. B. Young, Sr. (or Thomas W.) Va
Edgar Stern
X John Ivey
William Gordon
Robert Childers (Houston)
X Alex Heard NC
Catholic representative
T. Dull NC

7 N's

~~May~~ April 29 - May 2
Thurs - 6 pm
Sun - 5 pm

Thu. Sun
May 6-7-8-9

Methodist
Epis. Dep. (Colored)
HCF
K.S.

Fol Gray & Gunderson

HCP
Inventory of forces, & how improve & coordinate

Land tenure
Political reform
Schools
& vocational training
Churches.

Health
Housing
Law enforcement.
Police

Education
What wanting

Colleges.
Federal aid
Mountaineers

Rule of Watauga

Objectives
Broad
~~Detail~~

Inventory details objectives
Methods or methods

Transportation

Secretarial service

Farmersville, CN going in Hamilton.
return Mr Cochrane drives.

~~Churches~~

Religion – wait for Calhoun

Inventory

Theo Schools

Training Schools

Ch Boards

Local units

Ch. student applicants

Joint ~~[illegible]~~ assn.

Jewish Cmty Relations fields

Education

Resources

the law should be clear

Money for all schools.

Edcl'nal materials

(1) Broad objectives

(2) Inventory: organization & developments

(3) Detailed objectives

(4) How & What

Inventory

1. Employment opportunities
   agricultural & commercial
   industrial participation
2. Democratic ~~of Negro vote~~
   growth of Negro
   League of W. V.
   ~~Negro~~ voters groups
   anti-discrimination units
   warped structure of
   State government
   (communities)
   University Political Sciences
   Political Parties
   Representation on
   appointive bodies
   NAACP
   Urban League
   Ministers' Conference
   80
   Grass Roots
   Grassroots aid
   SRC outfits
   Trade union political
   activity
   federal state & local
   employment practices
   University Research - propaganda findings
   Adult education
   Student volunteer groups
   (press)

Sub. propaganda

How & What

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Re[redacted]C.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]IA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Economic opportunity

(a) Ag
(b) Industry & Commerce

Valley & Resource - use
Accounts for
Migratory labor

Industry & Commerce
Use outside ownership for positive
So. employment opportunity.
Govt contracts
Unions, racial practices
Vocational education.

Schools

Churches
+ their Board interests

Colleges + universities

NAACP

Urban League

Negro voters groups

Leagues of women voters

Democratic Party + subordinates

Republican Party

Veterans organizations

Teachers organizations

PTA's + Hdq + W.

Y M + Y W C A's.

Jr. Governmental Conferences

The Bar

The Press

Radio + television

Federal Aid on Schools

NCCJ
AJC
ADL
etc.
organized labor

Schools + workshops in human relations

What meetings
What streams of info.

Medicine, etc
Law Enforcement
Chs of Commerce
Welfare assn.

Law organizations

Army Post communities.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Adv. copies
of Ashmore Report

⊛ GSM to ask Loescher
to get Crobs. to
release 20 copies
of advance proofs
(about April 20)
for the Conf.
participants.

⊛ Population map, dubbed

List of Agencies
⊛ in Human Relations

Directory of Colls
List of open

List of N. School Bd men

Our Master map

Our pamphlets

Vastime

Ford Budget (SRC)
Ford Request (all)

File Copy

MEMORANDUM

May 20, 1954

To: Participants in the Williamsburg Meeting,
May 6-9, 1954

From: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

The meeting was assembled to discuss the impact upon the South of whatever might be the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, and to discover and draw up from the body ideas as to suitable action programs which might be indicated as consequences of the decision. While the Southern Regional Council served as the organizing agency for the Conference, it was specifically not a Southern Regional Council meeting. None of the persons present were asked in any way to commit themselves or agencies to which they might be related to any particular set of views or to any particular program.

Here is some report of the proceedings and findings of our meeting. The following were the persons who attended:

Morris B. Abram
Will W. Alexander
Tartt Bell
Gordon Blackwell
Rev. W. Carroll Brooke
Malcolm Calhoun
Paul R. Christopher
Rufus E. Clement
J. Curtis Dixon
Harold C. Fleming
John A. Griffin
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Philip G. Hammer
Honorable Brooks Hays
Oliver Hill
Charles S. Johnson
Mrs. David D. Jones
Miss Mary Alice Jones
George S. Mitchell
C. H. Parrish
Joseph Ross
Very Reverend M.V. Shean, C.C.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Rupert Picott

Others who were present for a portion of the gathering as guests were Reverend Francis Craighill, Rector of Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg; Mr. and Mrs. William B. Walker, Jr., of Newport News, Virginia; Mr. and Mrs. William Warner Moss, of the College of William and Mary.

Some days before the Conference, the Conference members were sent the attached memorandum headed "Premises."

After a preliminary briefing on the evening of May 6, those present divided into two groups, under the chairmanship respectively of Rufus Clement and Phil Hammer. Each group chose a representative to the Conference Steering Committee, which, thus enlarged, was made up of Will Alexander, Charles Johnson, Malcolm Calhoun, John Griffin, George Mitchell, and Harold Fleming.

During the whole day of May 7, each of the two groups into which the Conference had been divided got out onto the table rough ideas for action programs. One of the groups did this mainly by going through the Premises and recording the various suggestions made by its members. The other spent the greater part of its time reviewing organizational, functional, and leadership resources in the South, but discussed the Premises also.

Various suggestions came from this first day of work, but for convenience they will not be carried here, though they will be made available on request from any of the members of the Conference.

The Steering Committee met on the evening of May 7, and compiled, and in some cases combined, the various ideas put forward by the two Conference groups during the day. The Steering Committee then drew up a recommended distribution of the Conference into five functional groups, respectively to be concerned with schools; matters legal and governmental; non-political organizations; public information; and research and fact-finding.

On the morning of May 8, at a meeting of the whole Conference, the topics arising from the discussions on May 7, and as grouped by the Steering Committee, were accepted by the various sub-groups for discussion and possible refinement into action programs. Again for convenience, these rough topics are not carried here, but can be available.

On conclusion of the discussion in the sub-groups during May 8, the various project proposals were handed in to the Steering Committee. This Committee, in a lengthy session, tentatively assigned priorities to the proposals by dividing them into Priorities 1, 1½, 2, and 3.

Priority 1 was thought of as items requiring immediate action; Priority 1½ as items of which some portions were postponable, but having other portions requiring immediate attention; Priority 2 as matters deemed urgent but not immediate; Priority 3 as long range items, the launching of which should be in the near future, but the results from which could not be had for three or four years.

At the conclusion of the meeting of the Steering Committee on May 8, the various proposals were roughly summarized by members of the Conference staff.

On the morning of May 9 -- the final session of the Conference -- the proposals with the Priorities as tentatively assigned by the Steering Committee, were read to the entire Conference and subjected to discussion and comment from the whole body. The attached memorandum, headed "Proposals made at the Williamsburg Meeting, May 6-9, 1954" is a restatement prepared by the Conference staff after the conclusion of the Conference, of the several project proposals with the Priorities as agreed to by the Conference. The Conference was in agreement that a restatement of this kind was unavoidable.

The Conference concluded with expressions of gratitude to the Williamsburg Lodge, and to the Steering Committee and staff, and to all responsible for making possible the generally very helpful Conference occasion.

PROPOSALS MADE AT THE WILLIAMSBURG MEETING, MAY 6-9, 1954

Priority 1

A. Preparation of a leaflet on "The Christian Conscience and the Schools." Assign to Mrs. M. E. Tilly to prepare such a pamphlet in cooperation with various other religious leaders. Quite possibly the various denominations would care to get out, in short order, similar leaflets for their own groups. The leaflet should have regard to its useability, particularly by young people's groups. Should be issued in ample time to get into the programs of the various religious Summer School programs being held from July 1, 1954 forward.

B. Pastors Schools. Various church groups or church-related bodies have already arranged their customary Summer Pastors Schools. Material should be prepared suitable for use by these schools, and efforts made to bring about in as many of them as possible sound discussion of a positive approach toward peaceful integration of children in the schools. It was thought that this plan would be successful in proportion as modest funds were put into it to cover travel and salaries for two persons for some months, and preparation and distribution of literature. Estimated cost $8,000.

C. A meeting which should be called within, at most, two or three weeks of professional workers in the field of human relations attached to Southern religious or other organizations, which group of this kind has met on three previous occasions to consider some particular problem in the South. Previous subjects have been the violence resulting from changing housing patterns in Southern cities; the use of racial prejudice in political campaigns; and the approaching problem of the Supreme Court decision and the schools. Interested or active in these meetings have been the American Friends Service Committee, Methodist Church, Protestant Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Urban League, The Southern Regional Council, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, American Jewish Committee, YWCA National Board, Southern Region, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Georgia Council of Churches, and National Council of Negro Women.

The particular purposes of this meeting would be to plan a common strategy for lessening tension occasioned by the Supreme Court decision. Items for discussion would be the provision and distribution of materials through appropriate channels. The Southern Regional Council has previously served as a coordinating staff for meetings of this group and could conveniently arrange a similar meeting at a later date.

Priority 1 is given only to the planning of the meeting. The meeting itself is assigned Priority 1½.

D. Getting human relations training to teachers by 1954 Summer Session. Letters should go out, possibly to the Directors of Summer Sessions of teacher-training institutions, urging the setting up of human relations institutes in their coming Summer Sessions to discuss the problems likely to arise from the Court's decision. Wherever possible, such workshops should be interracially organized, or at the very least

should have one or more Negro staff members.

The organizing agency should work in cooperation with other agencies having an interest in human relations.

E. An emergency nation-wide employment exchange for displaced teachers. The Executive Secretary of the American Teachers Association, Mr. H. Councill Trenholm at Alabama State College for Negroes at Montgomery, should be asked to approach the appropriate officials of the National Educational Association and explore with them the possibility of setting up a clearing agency under NEA auspices, through which the states that need teachers could be informed of the availability of qualified teachers in other states. The employment exchange officials would have the task of attempting to overcome the various problems of inter-state teacher certification certain to arise, being sufficiently informed as to the background, qualification and experience of the various teachers offered for exchange, to be able effectively to assist cooperating state departments of education in the choice of teachers and should attempt to obtain valid offers for exchange of this kind. Under present conditions, the possibility is that teachers, particularly Negro teachers, in some areas of some of the Southern states, if judged redundant by their own state departments of education, would have considerable difficulty in fitting into teaching opportunities within their own states. This is the more true because, generally speaking, in the Southern states the supply of Negro teachers is in excess of the demand. At the same time, it is believed to be the case that in many Northern and Western states an absolute shortage of teachers exists.

The precaution was expressed that no attempt should be made to place any poorly qualified teachers. At the same time, it was believed that the existence of an agency to assist fully qualified teachers to obtain employment would strengthen the sense of security; and the placement of some teachers in other situations would be helpful to the cause of integration both in Northern and Southern areas.

After the details have been worked out in negotiations by the agency concerned, appropriate foundation support should be sought.

F. The training and use of trouble-shooters to work as teams where needed, upon request of state superintendents. It is recommended that persons already on the staffs of state departments of education be utilized as "trouble-shooters" and that the additional training required for these persons and the possible addition of new persons for this work be determined in light of the demand.

G. Businessmen's Conference. Find an appropriate Southern businessman who will invite a group of top-level Southern business men to consider the implications of the Supreme Court decision. Owing to the fact that this must be accomplished delicately, informally, and privately, it is impossible to formalize the procedure whereby it can be effected.

H. While there should be no letup in the drive for fully representative public bodies in educational administration, official ad hoc or general human relations committees should be encouraged, provided that they are integrated and genuinely representative. It should be the task of the

Southern Regional Council to stimulate local groups, including religious groups, to work for the formation of such committees at city or state levels. The U. S. Conference of Mayors and the Governors' Conference would be helpful channels on this matter.

I. Under the sponsorship of the Committee of the South, Professor Maclachlan at the University of Florida, has completed a major work on the significant population trends in the South. It was suggested that with the permission of the Committee of the South, the Southern Regional Council should prepare a popular pamphlet, drawing on those facts in the Maclachlan study which bear directly on the school situation. The pamphlet should be brief, simple, and should interpret the facts in a colorful and graceful style. Distribution to be made to the two organizations principally involved and to church groups, schools, councils of social agencies, etc. Estimated printing 20,000. Estimated cost for production, printing, and distribution, $2,500.

J. Immediate publicity following Court's decision. Issuance as soon as possible after the decision of a sound analysis of its meaning to the South carrying legal as well as sociological authority and the wide dissemination of such an analysis.

This is in some respects a follow-up of the Ashmore project and could well be done through the same group of specialists, sociologists, editors, lawyers, etc., who worked in that. SRC could play an important part in the implementation of this idea. By getting out widely the true implications of the decision, emotional responses would be discouraged.

Use would be made of advance contact with wire services, major daily newspapers, news magazines, radio and television networks, and national news commentators. All of these persons would be furnished the analysis or release. In addition, the wire service should be requested by subscriber papers to gather constructive statements on the decision by the more enlightened Southern governors, educators, and particularly religious leaders.

This proposal was communicated to Harry Ashmore by telephone call from persons at the Williamsburg Conference, and was discussed at the meeting held in Nashville, Tennessee, May 11. It is understood that Harry Ashmore, in cooperation with the Fund for the Advancement of Education and project personnel, will carry out such a plan.

K. A Reporting System on Racial Integration in the Schools of the South.

Whatever the impending decision of the Supreme Court, one may be sure that the next few years will see the beginnings of the breakdown of segregation in schools where this form of discrimination still prevails. Wide dissemination of information concerning specific steps taken in this direction by particular localities should have several beneficial results:

1. Local school officials might be enouraged to move forward in the matter by knowing what other communities have done and with what results.

2. Various approaches and techniques of influencing public opinion and key leadership could be shared

3. Rumors could be avoided or quieted

4. Knowledge concerning problems and obstacles might be shared as they arise.

It is therefore proposed that a reporting system be set up with region-wide coverage to accomplish these purposes:

1. Collect accurate information on significant events relating to school integration in localities;

2. Channel this information in usable form to school and other public officials;

3. Channel this information to the general public throughout the region through the various mass media, and through action organizations.

4. Make the information available for behavioral science and historical research

Since both the reporting and the communication aspects of the project should involve journalists, the reporting system might well be guided in policy terms by a board comprising prestige editors of the region, educators, and social scientists. Headquarters might be established at a convenient center such as Nashville where cooperation would be available from Fisk, Peabody, and Vanderbilt.

Coordination should be effected with such regional groups as the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Education Foundation. Cooperation would probably be needed from state press associations and other groups representing the mass media.

The director of the project should be a person with outstanding ability with experience in the communications field and with some knowledge and appreciation of social science. He should have a central staff of sufficient size and competence to administer what may become a sizeable operation. Communication specialists would be especially important in the staff.

Newspaper reporters of known competence and objectivity would be spotted over the region and retained on a stand-by basis to cover the kinds of local events specified by the director. Outlines to follow in reporting would be made available by the central office.

The possible need for some kind of formal or informal training of the reporters for this specific assignment should be considered.

Whether the project should be decentralized on a state basis for its communication functions should be considered. Cost may make this prohibitive.

The central office (or state offices if these prove feasible) would prepare periodic press releases based on reports from the field. Special magazine stories or programs for radio and television would be stimulated. Special "beaming" of materials would be arranged for school and other local public officials. Occasional summary analyses on progress would be proposed.

Research on the data should be planned either as part of this project or as separate projects. Behavioral scientists might test certain hypotheses about community action leadership, economic factors, population ratios, and the like. There should also be historical research to document this significant movement in the development of the region. To assure that the information collected will be usable for these research purposes, social scientists should have a voice in planning the project, in developing the reporting outline, and possibly in training the reporters.

Details of the budget require considerable more spelling out of how the project would work than we can undertake here. Suffice it to say, without adequate financing on a rather large scale, the project should not be attempted. In determining budget needs much attention should be given to the task of:

1. Channeling the information to the public and to official groups

2. The needs of research, as to

3. The collection of the information.

Obviously, the project should be established as soon as possible and should be financed for an initial period of three to five years.

(The Fund for the Advancement of Education has undertaken a project of this kind as a logical follow-up of the Ashmore Project.)

PRIORITY 1½

A. A large South-wide meeting of representatives of community organizations.

After the Supreme Court makes its decision, it is proposed that representatives of community organizations be summoned to a South-wide meeting. The call might be issued by an ad hoc Committee of a dozen or so recognized Southern leaders in the fields of education, civic, and church activities.

The purposes of such a meeting would be:

1. To study the decision and its implications for the region.

2. To make available the advice of resource persons -- constitutional lawyers, social scientists, education specialists, and human relations experts.

3. To stimulate interest in further such meetings at local and state levels.

4. To encourage the representative persons to work through their organizations for the establishment of local citizens committees to assist in constructive changes in the public school systems of their communities.

5. To make available materials and advisory services for local groups that would perform a "watch dog" and public information function. Such materials and advice would deal with questions of school districting, teacher utilization, and community inventories based on the soundest educational principles rather than race.

It may be that local organizations would be willing to defray the expenses of the representative to such a conference; or alternatively, a grant might be sought which would meet these expenses, in whole or in part. In either case, funds would be needed for the overhead costs of the conference -- staff, correspondence, materials, and physical arrangements.

B. Stimulation of studies by local school officials of their school systems, on a basis mainly of providing education for the full number of children within the system without regard to race. If a county or a city system drew up such a plan and tentatively allocated teachers and buildings and transportation and funds in strict accord with the educational needs of children as children, it would then be possible for the school officials (and possibly the local public) to understand and appraise their departures from such a program insisted upon in the name of racial separation. A bulletin should be prepared for the guidance of local school officials covering the following points:

1. A brief analysis of facilities and personnel already at hand, assuming a completely integrated school system.

2. The cost of an adequate dual system of schools (separate but equal).

3. The cost of an adequate integrated system of schools.

Such a bulletin might be prepared by the Southern Regional Council, distributed by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the Southern Education Foundation.

Possible sources of funds were suggested. Estimated cost $5,000.

C. Public information services. Authentic information and interpretation of the Southern scene are in great and continuous demand by the various media of national communication -- press, radio, television, and periodicals. In addition to the active demand, there are many opportunities of this kind which might be realized by promotion. Apart from the many requests that are already in evidence, these media would welcome a responsible Southern agency's taking the initiative in calling their attention to meaningful developments in the region.

Purpose: To carry on continuous fact-finding, stimulation of research, cumulative evaluation of Southern events, the maintenance of comprehensive documentary material, and direct services to the national media of communications.

Project: The establishment of a public information department, perhaps within the Southern Regional Council with adequate staff and resources to carry out the purposes described. This staff would collect facts region-wide, maintain clipping files and reference materials, serve the press on a day-to-day basis, develop a continuous relationship with the radio and television industries, stimulate interest in constructive story ideas among magazines and other publications of national circulation, and assist the writers in preparing their articles and materials.

Resources needed: Estimated $20,000 per year for additional staff, travel, and other overhead.

Within or without the framework of this project, we believe that there should be established regular channels of cooperation with national human relations agencies having good public relations contacts in Washington and New York, to secure national dissemination of the fact-finding and interpretation by the various Southern organizations.

D. Some appropriate agency should be found to take on the task of preventing so far as possible the unfair assignment of children to schools -- otherwise being to prevent the gerrymandering of school districts. The economic and educational advantages of proper school districting should be pointed out, an analysis made of the disadvantages of gerrymandering, racial or otherwise, and these analyses should be laid before the public community by community. Legal attacks on gerrymandering should be employed where other remedies have failed.

Such a service will take money and staff. The need is immediate and work should be begun in advance of the Supreme Court decision. The problem will continue and a program should be planned for at least five years.

PRIORITY 2

A. A study of the economics of school integration.

Aside from studies in Washington, D. C., and St. Louis, Missouri, there is little information on the costs of a dual system of education in relation to the savings that might be offected through integration. Since one of the strongest appeals with leaders and the general public is economy of tax funds, accurate information on the economics of integration is needed for localities of various types.

No single South-wide study providing regional figures is possible or desirable. State-wide studies would likewise be difficult to accomplish and their value for action purposes may be questioned. What seems to be especially needed are: (1) a proven methodology for local studies of the problem which can be applied in any locality; (2) the application of the methodology to selected counties and cities so as to illustrate the range and variation in the economics of integration

through the region; and (3) directions as to how to make local self-studies of this problem.

It is proposed that a research project be undertaken in some Southern university which would accomplish these three objectives. Collaboration between specialists in public finance, educational administration, and demography is indicated.

Pilot studies for the development of a methodology should first be initiated in three to five carefully selected localities (both counties and cities). Criteria for selection of localities would include Negro ratio in the population, pattern of settlement by race, financial ability of the locality, and respective levels of educational support for whites and Negroes under the dual system.

Following study of the cost of education under the dual system, techniques would be devised for predicting costs under an integrated system. The assumption might be made that quality of education will remain the same as at present in white schools. Preliminary work along this line in a Master's thesis in sociology at the University of North Carolina under the direction of Guy B. Johnson has revealed the complexity of this kind of study, yet its feasibility.

Once a workable methodology has been developed, two concurrent steps remain. First, the technique should be applied in studies of a number of communities selected throughout the South on the basis of the above criteria. This research might be performed by collaborators in other Southern universities. The results summarized by the central project staff, should be made available without delay throughout the region. Finally, an easily understood and readily applied manual, presenting a simplified version of the methodology, should be prepared and circulated, perhaps through the Southern Regional Council, to school officials and community groups throughout the region. The objective of this manual would be to stimulate local self studies of the economics of integration.

The project should obviously be initiated as soon as possible and should be set up for two years. Estimated budget needs would be:

Pilot studies to develop methodology	$10,000
Application of methodology in selected Southern localities; publication of results	20,000
Preparation and publication of manual	5,000
Total for the two years	$35,000

B. Provision for further and more detailed population data. The purpose of this proposal would be to provide accurate figures on population in the South for the period between censuses and current analyses of changes in the residence, composition and characteristics of the Southern population by race.

It is proposed that grants be sought for the establishment and support (for a minimum of five years) of a population research center at a Southern college or institution. After the initial five-year period,

the maintenance of this regional research center might possibly be shifted to the Southern states as the value of the work becomes recognized.

A great deal of work has been done and is currently being done on Southern population trends. John Maclachlan of the University of Florida has recently completed a comprehensive study (based on Census figures) of population trends in the South up to 1952. John Folger of the University of North Carolina has also recently completed a study of Southern population trends and projections. John Ashley and Rupert Vance of the University of North Carolina have maintained a continuous analysis of available population figures (with emphasis by the former on migration trends). It would seem logical that the new population research center be located either at Gainesville or Chapel Hill.

The most significant characteristic of the South's population (particularly the Negro population) has been change. In turn, population change has directly affected all aspects of the human relations problems -- as regards schools, housing, political influences, etc. It is extremely important in all programs dealing with the relations of the races in the South to have up-to-date information on population changes.

It would be anticipated that this project would develop estimates that would bring the figures in the major Census classifications up-to-date. Such information would be extremely valuable to persons working in race relations fields. In addition, the information would have significance to many other people, including local governments, Chambers of Commerce, businessmen, and social workers.

A large volume of vital statistics is maintained in various local and state government offices. These statistics can be used as a basis for estimating changes in population. With verification by sample field checks, formulas can be derived for calculating shifts in the number and major composition characteristics of population by relatively small areas. It would be necessary to set up a great number of basic storage tables which could be maintained and the data for which could be analyzed by machine tabulation.

It would take approximately $50,000 for the establishment and maintenance of this center in the first year, and $30,000 a year thereafter. As indicated earlier, it would be hoped that funds from the various Southern states (either as direct state appropriations or as allocations via college budgets) would subsequently become available to maintain this center.

Because of the recent works of Maclachlan, Folger and Ashley, it would be desirable if this center could be established soon. Also, in the next few years, the need for this data will be very great, as problems of schooling and housing involving the races are worked out. Here, it is suggested that the activation of this project not be delayed too long.

C. Behavioral Science study of community processes in school integration.

The anticipated move toward school integration in hundreds of Southern communities, gradual as it may often be, presents a unique opportunity for behavioral science research. This opportunity is of two kinds.

In the first place, it is tremendously important for the region and the nation that the transition take place as rapidly and as smoothly as possible without rekindling of prejudice, resort to new kinds of discriminatory practices, and perhaps even violence. If ever there were need for guidance from behavioral science, it is now. Yet most ideas about this kind of community change are as yet unproven.

This leads to the second facet of the opportunity. As communities take steps toward integration in the near future, behavioral scientists will have almost ideal laboratory situations for testing their most likely hypotheses. Research of this kind can thus provide helpful guidelines for local action, while at the same time basic contributions can be made to the sociology and social psychology of community processes.

It is proposed that a major research project for this purpose be set up in a Southern university. The project might be accomplished along two main lines.

First, detailed intensive study might be undertaken of five to ten carefully selected communities, chosen so as to represent the range of community situations in relation to school integration found throughout the South. Here the objective would be to describe the several sociological dimensions of each community with special attention to its population composition, institutional structure, stratification patterns, leadership and power structure, and ecology. In a near-experimental situation, the effects of a stimulus -- pressure toward school integration -- would be observed and described. What individuals and group take what action and why? What formal communication media and informal communication networks function in what ways and with what results? What techniques of securing community action have what effects? What do informal leaders, office holders (public and private), and power leaders do with what effects? Data collection would involve semi-participant observations, interviews, questionnaires, and the like.

A second research attack on the problem would be to develop stand by researchers or research teams at several centers in the region, trained and ready for spot studies of critical incidents related to school integration. Incidents in which this kind of quick inquiry might be most productive could be discovered through the reporting systems recommended elsewhere by this conference. This approach would perhaps not lead to as definitive findings as the more intensive studies, but the sum total of data collected through spot studies would undoubtedly be additive since a uniform theoretical framework and outline would be followed. Conclusions reached in the intensive community studies could be checked in the spot studies.

The project should be so organized that tentative results of the research are fed back into the selected communities for further research observation and evaluation. Plans should be made, perhaps through the Southern Regional Council, to disseminate the research findings to schools and other public officials without delay. In addition, the usual scientific media of research presentation would of course be utilized.

The project should be carried out in a research center where advice and collaboration of a number of behavioral scientists are easily available.

A recognized behavioral scientist with field research experience should direct the undertaking. At least part time of several additional scientists would be required, as well as considerable junior staff to aid in data collection and analysis. One member of the project staff should be responsible for channeling the findings to special elements of the region through appropriate groups.

Obviously the study should get underway as soon as possible. It should be set up for an initial period of three years.

Depending upon how many communities are to be covered in both approaches of the project, an annual budget of $50,000 to $100,000 would be required.

It is possible that this might have appeal for the Fund for the Republic, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, or to the Ford Foundation's interest group in the behavioral sciences.

D. A study of manpower utilization in the South as related to the structure and development of the South's economy.

There would be four purposes of this study: (1) to reach a definitive understanding of the economic development in the South and the functional relation of the Southern economy and the national economy; (2) on the basis of this understanding to isolate the problems of manpower use in the region and to analyze the effects of current practices upon economic development in both the South and the non-South; (3) to indicate the economic implications of specific changes in manpower integration practices in the South, including their effects on population shifts, industrial expansion, productivity, personal income, and public receipts and expenditures within the region; (4) to indicate the specific types of enlargement opportunities for Negroes in the South that would appear to offer the best opportunities and most practical economic advantages to the region in the immediate future.

It is proposed that efforts be made to obtain a grant to finance a research project organized for this study as follows: (1)

1. The central project would be independent of any institution within the region but component research projects would be "farmed out" by a central staff to economists at Southern institutions.

2. Director of the project would be an economist of international reputation (possibly from outside the United States in order to lend a special aura of objectivity) and soundly trained in theoretical as well as applied economics. Maybe Brookings.

3. The project would continue over a two-year period, at the end of which a manuscript would be expected ready for publication.

The great bulk of the research analysis and interpretation could be undertaken by economists located at various Southern colleges and universities. However, the central staff would be independently located and the final product would be responsibility of a special staff of experts

set up for this study purpose.

The ultimate results desired would be clear public understandings of the economic consequences of current practices of manpower utilization in the South and clear indications of where Negroes might be further integrated into the region's labor force. However, the indirect or secondary results might turn out to be nearly as important. In order to understand the economics of manpower use, it is necessary first to understand the Southern economy -- its structure, its role in the U. S. economy, the forces affecting it, the particular significances of the South's manpower supply to its present or potential development. No concrete analysis of the region's economy has ever been made, and the work done in this connection as a part of this study would have great importance itself.

All existing data sources would of course be utilized by the various teams. However, some additional primary or new fact-finding would also be necessary. In general, the project would be broken down into the following broad study categories:

1. Basic analysis in theoretical terms ("colonial status of South," viability of Southern economy, state of "maturity," etc.)

2. Definition of "working economy" on a state-by-state basis.

3. Inventory of the region's raw materials and natural resources and analyses of forces affecting their use.

4. Analyses of institutional forces affecting the South.

5. Analyses of the distribution, training and utilization of Southern manpower.

6. Interpretation of the significance of the above findings (central project)

Possible directors might be Gunnar Myrdal (Sweden) or Colin Clark (England). Many outstanding Southern economists would be pulled in to direct sub-projects including such men as Hoover and Ratchford (Duke), McFerrin (Florida), Hicks (Mississippi), Swanson (Emory), Robuck (TVA), Nichols (Vanderbilt), and Heath and Ashby (North Carolina).

A sum of approximately $120,000 would be needed to finance this research undertaking. It is possible that foundations with diverse interests might be interested, inasmuch as the study would yield significant material in several fields including economic developments, natural resource use and conservation, manpower and human relations.

This project is <u>not</u> regarded as an urgent one of immediate priority necessitated by the Supreme Court decision. However, it is so fundamental to possible action programs in race relations that it should be put forward to the foundations or other sources of funds as soon as possible.

E. South-wide Speaker Resources. Purpose: To compile a list of speakers, white and Negro, distributed throughout the Southern states, who can inform local groups of the facts about school integration. The list should

be as inclusive as possible of various religious, occupational, and interest groups.

The list should be reproduced and made available through religious, civic, labor, social work, and other organizational channels.

The Southern Regional Council is the appropriate organization to prepare and distribute and promote the use of such a speakers list.

F. Chambers of Commerce. We suggest that a survey be made of Southern Chambers of Commerce to single out those which might be most disposed to cooperate in local community activity aimed at educational integration.

We suggest that a firm of business consultants be employed to make this evaluation and advise the Southern Regional Council on ways of enlisting their cooperation through local leadership. It is thought that a successful precedent of this kind could spread the pattern throughout the South. Resources needed: $1500.00.

G. Integration of Professional Associations. Professional associations, whether local, state, regional, or national, fall roughly into three categories.

1. Those functionally organized -- as school principals, classroom teachers, superintendents, etc.

2. Those organized around specific disciplines -- as social sciences, mathematics, etc.

3. Those covering all aspects of education -- as the NEA, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, various state educational associations.

It is recommended:

1. That associations that cut across lines be encouraged to set up committees on cooperation between the respective Negro and white groups.

2. That this be done through the persons, Negro and white, within each state who are legally qualified by virtue of their membership in the organization to make the approach. (Southern Education Foundation might be a catalytic agent here.)

3. That the Southern Regional Council provide a list of professional organizations of all types which have already been integrated.

4. That where possible on the state level the two educational associations within the state follow the precedent of Kentucky and set up a joint committee to study the possible impact upon the state of the integration of the schools.

Integration of Principals and Teachers on local level. It is recommended that the Commissions on Higher Education and Secondary Education of the two divisions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools be asked to suggest to state and local superintendents the advisability of initiating cooperative meetings of supervisory and teaching personnel at the local level.

Information for guidance of state heads be provided by Southern Education Foundation. It is recommended that a joint meeting of State Superintendents and State Agents be held. (This meeting might be underwritten by the Fund for the Advancement of Education and arranged and organized by the Southern Regional Education Board.)

H. A longer memorandum for church women's groups. One of the most effective forces for handling the impact of the coming change can be the church women's groups. Means should be stated for establishing a continuing method of discussion and education exchange between the various groups so that the educational processes might continue with some uniformity over a long period of time. A program memorandum might be prepared by Mrs. Tilly and others for women's groups spelling out their Christian commitments. To it should be added a list of available materials and a list of community resources.

I. A continuing follow-up effort to obtain integration of the Negro and white PTA bodies, and to influence PTA's on channels for educating the members to use more and better materials looking toward integration of the schools. The names of persons who would be helpful were suggested.

PRIORITY 3

A. The group recognized the importance of all workable means of increasing the voting strength of the Negro group, but had no recommendations as to detailed means.

B. Continue and strengthen the various efforts underway to educate the Southern population toward avoiding the use of racial or religious prejudice in political campaigns. Experience has shown in several states that the adoption and publication of resolutions of this kind long before periods of political activity affords opportunity in the development of political campaigns to refer back to the earlier resolutions, and thus markedly to influence the public against prejudiced political material. Chambers of Commerce, religious bodies, state and local leagues of women voters, and other civic groups carrying prestige in their communities, have found this a helpful device.

C. A study of the implications for human relations of urban residential development and patterns in the South. This research project would attempt to provide a clear understanding of the economic and social effects and costs of the new patterns of urban residence by race that are emerging in the region. The overall farm-to-city population shift has already been analysed in the Maclachlan population study. This new project would analyze data on racial patterns <u>within</u> the fast growing urban areas and the implications of these patterns for public policies related to human relations. The analysis would be directly tied in to the location of schools and the interrelation of school attendance and residential patterns, and hence the

results can be directly useful to local policy makers.

The specific proposal is to set up this research project at a Southern college or university. It is anticipated that the project would require the full-time attention of a research staff of three to five people for a period of approximately 18 months.

Inasmuch as this project would require specialists in both economics and sociology, it would be desirable to set it up at an institution where the staff are strong in both fields. A number of Southern institutions qualify. It is suggested that an institution with experience in statistical analysis (such as Atlanta University of Fisk University) would be best qualified to undertake this study.

This project should yield important information bearing upon the following problems:

1. The extent to which Negroes as a class are being denied the advantages of suburban living in the South's growing urban areas.

2. The extent to which Negroes are being forced to (a) double up for their housing; (b) occupy sub-standard units; (c) pay more for their housing than do white for housing of the same quality; (d) occupy housing of a poorer quality than that which they desire and for which they can pay.

3. The extent to which Negroes' residential expansion is being restricted to overcrowded and second hand central districts.

4. Deterrents to the construction of new housing units for which there is a firm market on the part of Negro buyers or renters.

5. Social problems of congested Negro residential areas (crime, delinquency, illness, rackets, family breakdown, etc.)

6. Tensions resulting from expansion of Negroes into former white residential areas.

It is anticipated that the analysis would furnish information that would be particularly helpful to (a) school boards and others concerned with problems of attendance and districting; (b) real estate and investment people interested in the size and nature of the Negro housing market; (c) social workers and city planners interested in eliminating the causes of social tensions and breakdown and in providing the facilities that are needed; (d) city officials and the public-at-large interested in the costs of public services.

A large part of the data used in this study would be found in detailed tables by Census tracts available on most of the larger Southern cities as of 1950. These data would have to be supplemented by some field checks. The project would call for a great deal of statistical analysis involving the use of punch cards and sorting and tabulating machines.

This 18 month project would cost about $40,000.

This project obviously could not be completed in time to be helpful in the immediate transitional period. However, there is need for its completion as soon as possible to guide local policy leaders in the rapidly expanding urban areas of the South. Efforts to obtain the necessary funds should be pushed forward.

D. A Study of the effects of rural-county domination of state government in the South. The purposes of this study would be to compile and examine the available evidence on possible adverse economic effect on rural domination in state legislatures (and through them in state government administration) in the region. The project would try to answer these questions:

1. Does this dominance retard the economic development of the region?

2. Does it retard the working out of equitable race relations?

3. Does it result in a denial of human rights?

A great deal is already known about rural-county domination of state governments (see the works of Alexander Heard and V. O. Key). In effect, this proposed project would examine the economic and social implications of these findings of political science. The main line of inquiry would be the examination of state legislation and programs (or evidences of an absence of legislation and programs) and specific instances where such acts have had adverse local effects.

This project might cut across several disciplines. Consequently, it might be most easily undertaken in an institution such as the University of North Carolina where representatives of the particular disciplines involved are located. The fields so involved are political science, public administration, sociology, economics and city planning.

Questions for which answers would be sought have already been listed. It is suggested that this study might be tied in with a broader study of problems of metropolitan government which is badly needed in the region. Rural-county domination of state legislature has been a major deterrent to city-county corporation or consolidation, and to recognition of new forms of metropolitan government. This has had an adverse effect upon the Negro's political strength which has been limited to the central city areas and effectively denied access to suburban county areas. Without effect on the county power structure, the Negro has little chance of breaking out of the residential straitjacket into which he has been put. Whatever happens in working out problems of metropolitan areas will have a direct bearing upon Negro welfare.

This project would involve both study of records and a substantial amount of field work. The project would probably take 18 months of the time of two persons full-time and several persons part-time. The cost would be about $30,000. There is no immediate urgency in this project.

E. A pamphlet should be prepared describing the extent of the movement for state and municipal official human relations agencies in the North and the West, and reviewing the program and accomplishments of these groups. Attention should be focused on the existing Southern examples of such bodies

and sample By-Laws, and other encouragements to formation of groups of this kind should be displayed. Cost about $5,000.

The above constituted the general recommendations of the Conference group. Certain other ideas were advanced in the final meeting, on May 8, of the Steering Committee. No opportunity was found to assign priorities to the proposals here laid before the general Conference in the meeting on May 9.

/A. A number, not large, of people distinguished and respected in various fields of Southern life should be persuaded to give up a month or six weeks time this summer to travel in the South for conferences and discussions with acquaintances and associates. Various suitable persons were suggested: An industrialist; a retired state school superintendent; a distinguished lawyer; a Memphis industrialist, a Southern born but Northern resident church executive; a retired university president, an ex-governor. These persons should be briefed insofar as needed and asked to go out. Travel would have to be offered, though not necessarily have to be paid. No salary. Cost between $5,000 and $10,000.

/B. The South has its own traditional suppliers of news -- local newspapers, radio stations, etc. Increasingly, we in the South receive an impact from national news and opinion forming media. Reach this.

/C. We now need to reach out of the South to what are described as fugitive Southerners, men still with a deep interest in Southern matters who have achieved fame and/or fortune "elsewhere" and whose views would be greatly respected. We have such persons here named. Some of these persons could be induced to travel in the South and write syndicated material which would be read with intense interest all over the South.

The National Citizens Committee for the Public Schools could quite properly be brought to set up a special Southern committee, focusing and increasing that agency's activities in this field. Here all would depend upon the composition of the special Southern committee.

/D. It should be somebody's duty -- should have long since been somebody's duty -- or has been long since somebody's duty -- to work up a list of 50 to 100 people who could be gotten together if needed within just a few days after the Court's decision. Material should be prepared for this.

/E. In general discussion May 9 of all of the proposals the following among other ideas came out:

Wider use should be made in local meetings of the present generation of college students from colleges where integration has been experienced. These young people would be particularly helpful in church group and other meetings.

Every effort should be made to get the Ashmore Report into local channels of circulation to bookstores and otherwise, and into local use.

Insufficient attention has been paid to visual aids in this field. Most high schools now have motion picture projectors and moving pictures or film strips should be prepared to further education toward integration.

The YWCA has long been an effective agency with an interest in this field, and wider use could be made of its discussion groups and other facilities.

Effort should be made to get state and local bar associations to take a stand in favor of law and order. One of the members of the Williamsburg Conference undertook to be in touch with suitable figures in the Southern Bar Association toward the working out of this proposal.

P R E M I S E S

In the light of the advancing situation in the South, and particularly in the light of the impending decision of the Supreme Court, what programs can contribute to the lessening of racial distinctions, and what priorities should be assigned to these programs?

Discussion is invited of the following premises. Although they are drawn from the particular area of public education, they lead naturally to consideration of the whole range of human relations in the South. During the discussion, it is hoped that agreement, disagreement, and qualification will be expressed; that the broad implications of the premises will be explored; that detailed programs in many areas can be projected; and that priorities for programs can be agreed upon.

1. The Supreme Court's decision, whatever its precise nature, will define the goal toward which the South will be committed to move, but it will produce no immediate widespread changes in the dual school system.
2. Reactions to the decision will vary widely in different parts of the region, depending on such factors as Negro-white population ratio, economic patterns, urbanization, strength of the Negro vote, etc. Of these, the proportion of Negroes to whites is the readiest index to potential resistance to integration.
3. At the state level, variations will depend heavily on the degree to which it is still politically practicable to stigmatize Negroes as a group. This is related, in turn, to the degree of over-representation of rural counties in the respective state legislatures.
4. The recently inaugurated school improvement programs in the Southern states are likely to continue, regardless of the

outcome of the Supreme Court cases. The demand for statewide equalization of school facilities -- for whites and Negroes alike -- transcends purely racial considerations.

5. Regardless of the legal framework, patterns of schooling will remain predominantly segregated so long as patterns of housing continue to be so. In many Southern cities segregation in elementary schools can, and likely will, be largely preserved by the device of redistricting.

6. It will be difficult to maintain high-school segregation by districting, since high schools normally draw their students from a wide area without respect to neighborhood groupings.

7. In most rural areas segregation is both administratively and financially more difficult to maintain than in the city. But in rural areas of the "Black Belt" the social and economic pressures supporting segregation are most powerful -- often more so than the state legal sanctions that give them expression.

8. In many upland areas where the proportion of Negroes is small the sheer expense of trying to provide separate and truly equal facilities would tend to bring about integration as the least objectionable alternative.

9. Even though public school segregation ceases to exist legally, many administrative devices will be employed to maintain it in practice. Rapid improvement of "Negro" facilities will no doubt be continued as one means of holding Negro demands for integration to a minimum.

10. The tremendous population shifts occurring during and since World War II have a heavy bearing on the human relations

problems of the South, including desegregation and/or equalization of the schools. The trend of Negro migration (and, to a smaller degree, white) is from rural to urban areas within the South, and from the South to the big cities of the North and West.

11. Most Southerners are not aware of the marked decline in the Negro-white ratio in the region, especially in rural farm areas. This lack of awareness reflects the longstanding tendency of white Southerners to over-estimate the proportion of Negroes in the population.

12. The nature of the population changes makes equality in separate schools increasingly difficult of attainment. In the cities, the growing Negro communities are served by the central city schools, which are usually the oldest and least adequate; while new schools must necessarily be built to serve the new and expanding white suburbs. In the rural areas, new consolidated schools built for the declining Negro population will have more and more empty classrooms, if the population trend continues.

13. If previous experience is any indication, anticipated difficulties of achieving integration will be far greater than the actual difficulties once determined action is begun.

14. The earliest precedents of school integration in the South will be critical; to a large degree they will condition the whole regionwide experience, favorably or unfavorably.

15. In any community move toward desegregation, the role of the school superintendent and his board is crucial. If they proceed with firm, explicit policies, the chances of a

successful transition are greatly enhanced. If they do not, opposition will be much more severe.

16. A Southwide movement toward school desegregation will call for a new educational specialty -- skill in the administrative and human-relations methods of effective integration.

17. "Desegregation" and "integration" are used more or less interchangeably, but strictly speaking they are two distint processes. "Desegregation" has the negative; legalistic meaning of eliminating race as a formal criterion for admission. "Integration" carries the positive implication of mutual acceptance and participation as equals.

18. In the long run, harmonious adjustment to the court decision will be possible only through full Negro participation on school boards and other official bodies which determine the detailed administration of the school systems.

19. Second only to Negro representation on official bodies is the need for planning across racial lines by such voluntary groups as PTAs and teachers' associations.

20. Church groups have a unique responsibility to foster acceptance of the Supreme Court decision. They are in a particularly advantageous position to encourage friendly acceptance of Negro children admitted to predominantly white schools (and vice-versa).

21. The Supreme Court decision on public-school segregation and its consequences will influence racial practices in many other community institutions.

22. Public and private agencies concerned with social welfare will also have a special obligation to further the positive values

of desegregation in their particular interest areas.

23. Expanded employment opportunities for Negroes are an essential condition of the community-wide integration necessary to true integration of the public schools.

24. In non-Southern experience, whenever the burden of choice has been put on Negro pupils and their parents, relatively few have elected to enter formerly all-white schools. This is likely to be equally true in the South, where official and unofficial disapproval of integration will be even more openly manifested.

25. In non-Southern experience, reluctance to assign Negro teachers to white pupils has often retarded integration more than the prospect of mixed classes. Negro teachers themselves, fearing for their jobs, have sometimes been a strong influence for the retention of "voluntary" dual systems.

26. Many, if not most, white Southerners accept the generalization that "segregation is going." The big questions, about which there is no clear common understanding, are when? and how?

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New Hope Farm
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Atlanta, Georgia

File - Wilton Park

January 23, 1967

Mr. Robert Delson
Delson & Gordon
120 East 41st Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Delson:

Thank you for the information about the "American Friends of Wilton Park." I think this is an excellent idea and will be happy to assist in any way possible.

In terms of financing the program, there is probably every likelihood of adequate support from foundations and major corporations. Several similar programs have been successful with these sources. For instance, the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. has for a number of years received support from these sources for its work. You, or someone, might like to talk with the director of that program, Dr. Frank S. Loescher, United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., 101 South 39th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., 19104.

My thinking on this is undoubtedly influenced by the fact that my agency is largely supported by foundations and while I doubt that the foundations with which we have a close relationship are the most appropriate for your purpose. I believe the procedure for approaches and proposals would be the same. If I can be of any assistance in this please let me know.

Incidentally, my home address has changed from 295 Alpine

Way, Forest Park, Georgia to 1728 Moores Mill Road, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia. However, I would prefer the office address.

Again, I think the idea is excellent and welcome the idea to be a part of it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

January 18, 1967

Dear Friend of Wilton Park:

A number of you are already aware, from our previous correspondence, that we are in the process of organizing a group to be known as "The American Friends of Wilton Park". We have had several very successful gatherings for alumni and friends in the New York area.

This letter is to advise all alumni and friends of the progress which we have made, and on our plans for the immediate future.

We would also greatly welcome any suggestions or criticisms from you, and your views on what we -- and you -- might do to achieve our two major goals of raising funds to defray the travel expenses of American participants in the Wilton Park conferences, thus ensuring continuing American participation in these conferences; and of attempting to bring to the attention of an ever increasing number of Americans the work, the purposes, and the elan of Wilton Park.

We hope that you will take a few minutes to read the enclosed statement of our plans for formalizing the "American Friends of Wilton Park", and will also take one or two additional minutes to fill out a questionnaire which we have also enclosed, so that we may better assess the degree of interest and nationwide participation which we can expect in fulfilling the purposes of the "American Friends of Wilton Park".

Thank you very much for taking the time to help us initiate this project. We look forward to having you join

with us as a fellow member of the "American Friends of Wilton Park".

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth J. Brown
President
Lithographers & Photoengravers
International Union

Max Delson
Partner, Delson & Gordon

Robert Delson
Partner, Delson & Gordon

Dexter Keezer
Economic Adviser
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.

David MacEachron
Program Director
Council on Foreign Relations

William Olson
Dean, School of Inter. Affairs
Columbia University

(Affiliations are shown for purposes of identification only.)

Solon Chadwick Reed
Vice President
Mitchell-Hutchins & Co., Inc.

Reply form (copy attached) Mailed 3/15/67. mf

LAW OFFICES
DELSON & GORDON
120 EAST 41ST STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
MURRAY HILL 6-8030
CABLE "DELEGOR"

Make file "~~Friends~~ "Wilton Park, Friends" 8

March 9, 1967

Dear Friends of Wilton Park:

Thank you very much for your reply to our questionnaire. Plans for the organization are proceeding very smoothly, and we expect to be able to file our initial Certificate of Incorporation within the next week.

Response to the questionnaire was highly gratifying. Even we were surprised at the tremendously enthusiastic reception which our plans received. 69 questionnaires were returned to us (out of approximately 150 originally mailed). Only two of the alumnae who replied indicated no interest in joining The American Friends of Wilton Park. Five alumnae were undecided, and 62 indicated a desire to join with us in this project. Of those indicating a desire to join, 46 said they would be willing to serve as members of the Board of Directors.

The geographical distribution of those willing to serve as directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park has -- at least for the present -- solved our problem of whether to have "expanded board" or "regional representation". For, merely by seating on the Board all or most of those interested in being directors, the entire United States will be well represented. (See attached summary of geographical distribution).

The questionnaire previously sent you asked only for an informal commitment to serve on the Board of Directors. We would now like you to indicate more formally your willingness to serve as a member of the Board of Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park. Therefore, please indicate on the enclosed reply form your continued interest or, if you replied to the questionnaire in the negative and have since changed your mind, your present interest in serving as a member of the Board

We also wish to notify you of a forthcoming event of great importance to The American Friends of Wilton Park. On April 25, 1967, a cocktail party is to be given in New York

City in honor of Dr. Henry Koeppler, Warden of Wilton Park. This party, to be given by Mr. Francis MacGinnis, Deputy Director of the British Information Services, will provide an ideal occasion for the American alumnae of Wilton Park to turn out "in full force". Therefore, this would also be an excellent time to hold our initial meeting of the membership and Board of Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park. Warden Koeppler will be present at this meeting. The meeting will be held in the afternoon of the 25th at approximately 3:00 or 4:00 o'clock.

The maximum number of directors stated in the Certificate of Incorporation is 50. Therefore, unless there are more than 50 applications for seats on the Board of Directors, all those who have indicated their willingness to serve on the Board will be formally designated Directors at the April 25th meeting. In the event that there are more than 50 applications for seats on the Board of Directors, it will be proposed at the membership meeting that election to the Board be as follows:

> All those attending the April 25th meeting who desire a seat on the Board will be seated.
>
> Selection of the balance of the Board up to the maximum of 50 will be according to geographical distribution.

Your attendance at this meeting is, of course, ardently hoped for, but is not a prequisite, either to membership in The American Friends of Wilton Park or to holding a seat on the Board of Directors.

Election of officers will also be held at this April 25th meeting. All members of The American Friends of Wilton Park present at the meeting shall have the right to nominate and vote for officers. A majority vote of members present will be sufficient for election. Election results, decisions taken at the first meeting, and a membership list will be sent to all members of The American Friends of Wilton Park in the beginning of May.

Finally, we would also like to report that on February 28 several of the signers of the Wilton Park letter met in the offices of Delson & Gordon. The purpose of the meeting was to make initial plans for the April 25th meeting, and also to begin discussion of some of the problems which would have to be faced in the organization of the American Friends of Wilton

Park. Topics discussed were: Dues (the consensus was that token dues from the membership -- $5.00 or $10.00 -- plus requests for additional voluntary contributions was the best initial approach). Mr. S. Chadwick Reed also suggested a plan for raising larger sums whereby corporations and labor unions would be invited to become "patrons" of The American Friends of Wilton Park. Patrons' annual subscriptions would be $500.00 or more, and each patron would have the right to nominate one or more persons to attend an annual one-day meeting in New York which, in Mr. Reed's words, would be "a kind of Wilton Park conference in miniature". This conference, and other informational devices, would be used to provide the patron companies or labor unions with access to information about business, trade, economics, etc. in Britain which might not be easily available, and which, therefore, would justify the patron's subscription from the business point of view. A committee of three, composed of Messrs. Reed, Robert Delson, and Dean William Olson, was established to study this and other fund-raising ideas, and to prepare a report for the April 25th meeting. A more detailed report of activities and accomplishments, and a proposed set of by-laws for The American Friends of Wilton Park will also be presented at that meeting.

We sincerely hope that you will be able to attend, and we look forward to seeing you on April 25th.

Very truly yours,

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

Robert Delson

Robert Delson

P.S. Would you please give further thought to organizations and foundations which we might approach for grants. Please advise us of any suggestions you might have, as soon as possible, since we expect to be receiving tax exempt status.

dd

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

OF

PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

WEST AND WEST COAST		
San Francisco	6	
Los Angeles	3	
Portland, Oregon	1	13
Seattle	1	
Salt Lake City	1	
Cheyenne, Wyoming	1	
EAST COAST		
New York	7	
Washington	7	
Connecticut	3	
Philadelphia	1	19
Boston	1	
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN		
Michigan	5	
Indiana	2	
Missouri	3	
Georgia	1	13
Ohio	1	
Oklahoma	1	

Also, we have one alumnus, willing to serve on Board of Directors who will be in Peru until the end of next year.

REPLY FORM

1. Name Paul Anthony

Address 5 Forsyth Str., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Occupation Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

2. Are you willing to serve as a member of the Board of Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park?

Yes

3. Will you be able to attend the April 25th first meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park

(Check One): YES X NO_____ PERHAPS_____

4. In order for Mr. MacGinness to estimate the number of Friends of Wilton Park who will attend the cocktail party in honor of Warden Koeppler, please indicate if you plan to attend WITH or WITHOUT your spouse.

Without

5. Do you favor dues of $5.00 or $10.00? (Circle one)

6. Would you object to dues of $10.00?

7. If you referred the names of any individuals to us in the original questionnaire, or if you are now able to give us the names of any individuals you think might be interested in joining The American Friends of Wilton Park, would you have any objections to our contacting them directly, using your name as a reference?

Paul Anthony
Signature

Might be of some help in approaching New York based foundations.

Please address replies to:

Robert Delson
Delson & Gordon
120 East 41st Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Perhaps it would be best to approach others as members after formation of organization —

LAW OFFICES
DELSON & GORDON
120 EAST 41ST STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
MURRAY HILL 6-8030
CABLE "DELEGOR"

April 11, 1967

Dear Friend of Wilton Park:

This is to inform you that the First Annual Meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park will be held on April 25, 1967 at 3:00 P.M. at the English Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. A.G.R. Rouse, British Consul-General, will address the meeting. In addition, Warden Koeppler is expected to be present at the meeting and will, undoubtedly, also favor us with a few remarks.

At the meeting, by-laws will be proposed for ratification by the membership, nominations and elections of officers will be held and plans will be discussed for the immediate future.

Inasmuch as another meeting has been scheduled for the conference room at the English Speaking Union at 5:00 P.M., we must vacate the room by that time; therefore, we would greatly appreciate your arriving as promptly as possible. The meeting will begin by no later than 3:15 P.M.

We hope you will be able to attend and we look forward with great anticipation to meeting you at this first meeting and to working with you in the future on behalf of The American Friends of Wilton Park.

Very truly yours,

Bruce D. Weizel

BDW:hb

Bruce D. Weizel
For The American Friends of
Wilton Park

15 V.P.'s

AGENDA

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

1. Welcome and Introduction - Robert Delson
William Olsen

2. Opening Remarks - A.G.R. Rouse,
British Consul-General

3. Proposed By-Laws - Bruce D. Weizel

   (a) Summary of By-Laws and Tax-Exemption Application

   (b) Vote on By-Laws

4. Nomination and Election of Officers [redacted]

5. Speech by Warden Koeppler

6. Discussion of Fund-Raising
   Ideas - S. Chadwick Reed

   (a) Suggestions by Members of Other
   Fund-Raising Ideas

7. Closing Remarks

Venue, membership -
Land-Tax - Parents agencies -

vs So Africa Inter Exch Pgm.

60 [redacted] 70

REPORT TO THE MEMBERSHIP

Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park

The First Annual Meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park was held at the English Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, New York City, on April 25, 1967. The meeting was opened by Robert Delson at 3:15 P.M. Mr. Delson's remarks were followed by Dean William Olson's welcoming speech. Mr. Delson, who presided at the meeting, then introduced Mr. A.G.R. Rouse, Consul-General of the United Kingdom, who delivered a brief opening address. In his speech, Mr. Rouse emphasized the special relationship and common bonds existing between the United States and the United Kingdom. He also stressed the necessity of continuously renewing these ties and "refreshing the relationship" through cultural and political exchanges.

Following Mr. Rouse's speech, the By-Laws were then read by Bruce D. Weizel, who acted as Secretary at the meeting. After some debate, the By-Laws, as proposed, were approved unanimously and were adopted with three principal revisions:

(1) The quorum for meetings of the Executive Committee was increased from three to five.

(2) The time for the Annual Meeting was changed from "during the last week of April" to "within the month of April".

(3) The maximum membership of the Executive Committee was set at 25.

In addition, Mr. Rudolf Berle proposed, and the membership agreed, that counsel was to be instructed to make "such changes as were required by law."

A copy of the By-Laws as adopted at the First Annual Meeting is annexed to this report.

Meeting of the Board of Directors of
The American Friends of Wilton Park

The meeting of the membership having been adjourned at 3:50 P.M., those assembled then donned their hats as Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park. Max Delson then delivered the report of the Nominating Committee which report, plus additional vice presidential and Executive Committee nominations from the floor, was accepted by the Board of Directors. The Secretary was thereupon directed to cast a single ballot.

The Directors then elected the next speaker, Henry Koeppler, Warden of Wilton Park, as an honorary member of The American Friends of Wilton Park. In his speech, Warden Koeppler stated that occasions like this are "of enormous encouragement to myself and my colleagues at Wilton Park". After enumerating the European counterparts of The American Friends (in Scandanavia, Iceland, Germany, Austria and Switzerland) and the increased foreign (now including Japanese) participation in the Wilton Park conferences, Warden Koeppler then discussed his hopes for the future of American participation in Wilton Park.

Warden Koeppler also referred to the formation of the

"Wilton Park International Service Awards" at Iowa State University, under which two Americans from Iowa State would be sent each year to Wilton Park. Warden Koeppler also mentioned that he was "looking hopefully at the University of Michigan" in regard to continued American participation in the Wilton Park conferences.

Following Warden Koeppler's speech, Mr. Robert Rankin delivered a most comprehensive report on another related development which was the subject of recent discussions between himself, Dean Olson and various government officials, and also with a group of Congressmen concerning the possibilities of establishing an "American Wilton Park". The substance of these discussions and of further investigations along these lines will be made the subject of a special report in the near future. The discussions with the Congressmen may be summarized as "remarkably constructive and instructive", but while there was, in Dean Olson's words, "universal support" there was also "great reluctance". It was RESOLVED that the Executive Committee act as a "continuing committee" to explore this question and to appoint to the group interested in this project anyone with special talents or interests in this area."

The Directors then turned their attention to the vital subject of fund raising. Mr. S. Chadwick Reed, newly elected Treasurer of The American Friends of Wilton Park, outlined his proposal for raising funds. Under the "Reed Plan" corporations, especially those with Anglo-American business interests,

would, upon a suitable financial contribution to our cause, be designated "Patrons" of The American Friends of Wilton Park, and would be entitled to send representatives to attend a luncheon and meeting at which high level British and American political and business figures would discuss and analyze Anglo-American problems and key developments in the areas of trade, economics, politics, etc. A more detailed version of Mr. Reed's proposal is attached to these minutes.

Mr. Reed's plan received an enthusiastic reception and engendered a lively discussion. In this discussion, it was pointed out that our primary task would be to approach foundations for funds. It was emphasized by several speakers that it would be necessary to find foundations with both the interest and the ability (financial and constitutional) to grant aid to The American Friends of Wilton Park. One of many extremely hopeful notes in the discussion concerning fund raising was Mr. Paul Anthony's observation that he found it "inconceivable that we cannot raise at least $50,000 per year."

A Finance Committee was then established to give further thought to this problem and to come up with suggestions for further discussion. The Finance Committee is comprised of Mr. Paul Anthony, Mr. Bernard Cherin, Mrs. Ruth Weir Miller, Mr. Robert Rankin, and Mr. S. Chadwick Reed.

With Warden Koeppler's noting that he would like to have "six or seven American participants (plus spouses) at every Wilton Park conference", and with the decision to put together a press release to publicize the formation of The American Friends of Wilton Park, the meeting was adjourned at 5:10 P.M.

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS

OF WILTON PARK

Elected at First Annual Meeting April 25, 1967

PRESIDENT

William C. Olson
Dean
School of International Affairs
Columbia University

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Robert Delson
Attorney
New York City

VICE PRESIDENTS

Justin Blackwelder
Association Management
Washington, D.C.

Kenneth Brown
President
Lithographers & Photoengravers International Union

Miss R. Jean Brownlee
Dean
University of Pennsylvania College for Women
Philadelphia, Pa.

Bernard Cherin
Executive Director
Big Brothers of America
Washington, D.C.

William Hunt Conrad
Kern County Land Company
San Francisco, California

Max Delson
Attorney
New York City

Michael Flack
Professor
University of Pittsburgh

Miss Frances R. Grant
Secretary-General
Inter-American Association for Democracy
New York City

David Mac Eachron
Executive Director
Council on Foreign Relations
New York City

Clark W. Maser
Attorney
San Francisco, California

Robert Rankin
Vice President
Danforth Foundation
St. Louis, Mo.

Mrs. Robert J. Stuart
President
League of Women Voters
Spokane, Washington

Mrs. Thyra Thomson
Secretary of State
Cheyenne, Wyoming

John C. Weaver
President
University of Missouri

SECRETARY

Bruce D. Weizel
Attorney
New York City

TREASURER	S. Chadwick Reed Mitchell-Hutchins & Co. New York City
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE	Rudolph Berle Attorney New York City
	Stanley Frankel The Ogden Corporation New York City
	Dexter Keezer Economic Adviser McGraw-Hill Publishing Company New York City
	Kenneth Lussier International Division Chase Manhattan Bank New York City
	Walden Moore Director Declaration of Atlantic Unity New York Cdty

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I

Membership

Membership in The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc. is open to all persons who have attended a conference at Wilton Park, and who desire to further our major goals of: (a) assuring continuing participation by qualified Americans in the Wilton Park conferences; (b) promoting international cooperation and greater understanding of contemporary world problems; (c) strengthening Anglo-American relations; and, (d) providing a forum, through a series of meetings, seminars, and lectures, for carrying on an exchange of ideas on world affairs among interested members of the entire American community. Membership shall also be open to other persons and organizations interested in the aims of The American Friends of Wilton Park; provided, that such persons or organizations shall be recommended by an alumnus of Wilton Park or by a member of The American Friends of Wilton Park.

ARTICLE II

Dues

The annual dues for individual members shall be $10.00 per annum.

ARTICLE III

Meetings

A. Annual Meeting. There shall be an Annual Meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park. This Annual Meeting shall be held within the month of April in each year.

B. Notice of Annual Meeting. Notice of the Annual Meeting, signed by the Secretary, shall be mailed to the last recorded address of each member at least ten days before the time appointed for the meeting. All notices of meetings shall set forth the place, date, time, and purpose of the meeting.

ARTICLE IV

Board of Directors

A. Number. The property, affairs, business, and concerns of The American Friends of Wilton Park shall be vested in a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than three nor more than 100 Directors. The members of the Board, shall, upon election, immediately enter on the performance of their duties and shall continue in office until their successors shall be duly elected.

B. Election of Directors and Term. At least three weeks prior to the date selected for the Annual Meeting for

each year, there shall be mailed to each of the members of The American Friends of Wilton Park an application for a seat on the Board of Directors. Unless there are more than 100 applications for seats on the Board of Directors, each member who has indicated, on the application form, his or her desire to serve on the Board of Directors will, upon approval by a majority of the members present, be formally designated a Director at the Annual Meeting.

In the event that there are more than 100 applications for seats on the Board of Directors, election to the Board will be as follows: All those present at the Annual Meeting who desire to serve on the Board of Directors will, upon approval by a majority of members present, be elected. In the event that there are present at the Annual Meeting more than 100 members desiring seats on the Board, those who have not previously served as Directors will be seated first. Selection of the balance of the Board of Directors up to the maximum of 100 will be, so far as is possible and practical, according to geographical distribution of members present at the Annual Meeting if more than 100 members desiring to be Directors are present, or of all members if less than 100 members desiring to be Directors are present at the Annual Meeting. Any disputes relating to selection according to geographical distribution shall be resolved within three weeks from the date of the Annual Meeting by majority vote of a quorum of the Executive Committee.

If there are fewer than 100 applications for seats on the Board of Directors, nominations for the remaining seats, up to the maximum of 100, may be made at the Annual Meeting.

Except where there would be a conflict with the principles set forth in the preceding paragraphs of this Article, Directors may serve any number of consecutive annual terms.

C. Duties of Directors. The Board of Directors may: (1) Devise and carry into execution such measures as they deem proper and expedient to promote the objects and purposes of The American Friends of Wilton Park and to best protect the interests of the members and the organization; (2) Appoint committees on particular subjects from the members of the Board, or from other members of The American Friends of Wilton Park; (3) Carry on correspondence and communicate with individuals and organizations, including corporations and charitable foundations; (4) Print and circulate documents and publish articles.

D. Meetings of the Board. The Board of Directors shall meet at least twice annually. One of these meetings of the Board of Directors shall immediately follow the Annual Meeting unless a quorum is not present. In such event, a meeting of the Directors shall be called within three weeks

of the date of the Annual Meeting. In addition, the President or the Chairman of the Board of Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park may, when either deems necessary, or the Secretary shall, at the request in writing of five members of the Board, issue a call for a special meeting of the Board.

Notice of all meetings of the Board of Directors, signed by the Secretary, shall be mailed to the last recorded address of each member of the Board of Directors at least ten days before the time appointed for the meeting. In cases of special urgency, special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called upon only five days' notice by mail, or upon such other shorter notice by telegram as may be reasonable.

E. Quorum. If there are more than twenty Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park, eight Directors shall constitute a quorum for meetings of the Board of Directors. If there are fewer than twenty Directors, the quorum shall be five. Decisions shall be taken by majority vote. In case of a tie vote, the Presiding Officer shall have the power to cast an additional tie-breaking vote.

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

In the interim between meetings of the Board of Directors, the power to make decisions concerning the day to day affairs of The American Friends of Wilton Park shall be

vested in an Executive Committee to be composed of the President, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and such other Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park as shall be elected by majority vote at the meeting of the Board of Directors which follows the Annual Meeting of the membership. Provided, however, that the maximum number of members of the Executive Committee, including officers, shall be 25.

Five members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall meet at least quarterly. Decisions shall be by majority vote. In case of a tie vote, the Presiding Officer shall have the power to cast an additional, tie-breaking vote. Members of the Executive Committee may serve any number of consecutive terms.

ARTICLE VI

Officers

A. Number. The Officers of The American Friends of Wilton Park shall be a President, a Chairman of the Board of Directors, no more than 15 Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The offices of the Secretary and the Treasurer may be vested in one person who shall then be designated Secretary-Treasurer.

B. Method of Election. The membership shall elect all Officers for a term of one year.

Election of Officers shall take place at the Annual Meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park. Each active member present at the Annual Meeting shall be entitled to one vote for each officer to be elected, and the candidate receiving a majority of the votes cast shall be declared elected. Officers may be reelected and may serve consecutive terms. Upon election, the Officers shall immediately enter upon the performance of their duties and shall continue in office until their successors shall be duly elected and qualified.

C. Duties of Officers. The duties and powers of the Officers of The American Friends of Wilton Park shall be as follows:

PRESIDENT

The President shall preside at the Annual Meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park. He shall also, at the Annual Meeting and such other times as he deems proper, communicate to the membership or to the Board of Directors or to any of the Committees of The American Friends of Wilton Park such matters and make such suggestions as may, in his opinion, tend to promote the purposes and objects and increase the usefulness of the corporation, and shall perform such other duties as are necessarily incident to the office of President of The American Friends of Wilton Park.

In case of the death, disability or absence of the President of The American Friends of Wilton Park, the Chairman of the Board of Directors shall assume the duties of the Office of President.

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Chairman of the Board of Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Wilton Park and, in addition, shall have the same powers as the President to communicate to the membership or to the Board of Directors or to any of the Committees of The American Friends of Wilton Park such matters and make such suggestions as may, in his opinion, tend to promote the purposes and objects and increase the usefulness of the corporation. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform such other duties as are necessarily incident to the Office of Chairman of the Board of Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park. In case of the death, disability or absence of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the President shall assume the duties of the Office of Chairman of the Board.

VICE PRESIDENTS

The Vice Presidents shall, so far as is practical or possible, be from various geographical regions. They

shall attempt to carry out the purposes of The American Friends of Wilton Park, and to coordinate the activities of the members, especially, but not exclusively, within their own regions.

SECRETARY (Secretary-Treasurer)

It shall be the duty of the Secretary (Secretary-Treasurer) to give notice of and attend all meetings of The American Friends of Wilton Park and all Committees and keep a record of their doings; to conduct all correspondence and carry into execution all orders, votes, and resolutions not otherwise committed; to keep a list of the members of the associations; to prepare, under the direction of the Board of Directors, an annual report of the transactions and condition of The American Friends of Wilton Park. In case of death, disability or absence, of the Secretary, the Executive Committee may appoint a Secretary pro-tem. The Secretary shall be the keeper of the seal of The American Friends of Wilton Park.

TREASURER (Secretary-Treasurer)

The Treasurer (Secretary-Treasurer) shall collect all annual dues and all other monies received by The American Friends of Wilton Park, and shall keep an account of all monies received and expended for the use of The American Friends of Wilton Park. He shall deposit all sums received

in a bank, or banks, or trust company approved by the Executive Committee, and make a report at the Annual Meeting or when called upon by the President. Funds may be drawn only upon the signature of the Treasurer and also of such other officer or officers as the Executive Committee may designate.

The funds, books and vouchers in his hands shall at all times be under the supervision of the Executive Committee and subject to its inspection and control. At the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver over to his successor all books, monies and other property, or, in the absence of the Treasurer-elect, to the President. In case of the death, disability or absence of the Treasurer, the Executive Committee may appoint a Treasurer pro-tem.

ARTICLE VII

Amendments

These By-Laws, with the exception of Article VIII, may be amended, repealed, or altered in whole or in part by a majority vote at any duly organized meeting of the Board of Directors or at the Annual Meeting of The American Friends of Wilton Park. The proposed change shall be mailed to the last recorded address of each member of the Board of Directors, or, if the change is to be voted upon at the Annual Meeting, to each member of The American Friends of Wilton Park at

least ten days before the time of the meeting which is to consider the change.

ARTICLE VIII

Dissolution

In the event that The American Friends of Wilton Park shall ever be dissolved, the funds which shall have been accumulated to further the corporate purposes shall be turned over to an existing and on-going charitable or educational entity, or entities, to be used for the promotion of international cooperation, greater understanding of contemporary world problems, and, in particular, the strengthening of Anglo-American relations.

The Board of Directors shall have the power to designate, by majority vote, the charitable and/or educational entity or entities to which such funds shall, upon the dissolution of The American Friends of Wilton Park, be turned over.

Once ratified, this Article may not be amended.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

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John C. Weaver, President
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Columbia, Missouri

Bruce D. Weizel
120 East 41st Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

VP?

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

May 29, 1967

Dear Friend of Wilton Park:

We have the pleasure of informing you that The American Friends of Wilton Park is now a reality. Our First Annual Meeting was held in New York City on April 25, 1967. Attendance at this meeting was highly gratifying, and participation in the discussions was extremely enthusiastic. Twenty-seven members of The American Friends of Wilton Park attended - from such diverse localities as Cheyenne, Wyoming; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Atlanta, Georgia; St. Louis, Missouri; Jenkintown and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Lakeville, Connecticut; and, of course, Boston, New York and Washington, D. C. A list of the officers and members of the Board of Directors is enclosed. We are presently preparing a complete membership list which we will send you in a few weeks.

As you will see from the minutes of the first meeting and of the By-Laws which were adopted at that meeting, copies of which are enclosed herewith, a great deal was accomplished. We feel we have made an excellent start towards achieving the major goals of The American Friends of Wilton Park.

The actual achievement of those goals, however, is up to you. We, therefore, ask that you send us as soon as possible the names and addresses of any organizations and individuals who may be interested in assisting us in our efforts to raise funds to insure continued American participation in the Wilton Park conferences. Also, would you let us know of any individuals or organizations with whom you might have some influence or personal acquaintance, and whom you would be able to contact personally, in order to ascertain whether they would be willing to be of assistance. Although it will be necessary for us to first coordinate these personal solicitations, we feel that it would be advisable for such personal contacts to be made before The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc. submits a formal application. It may well be that as a result of informal approaches, formal applications may not be necessary in every case

If, after you have read the enclosed materials, you have any further suggestions or ideas for improving The American Friends of Wilton Park, we would be most appreciative if you would let us know your views. Will you at the same time please send us your first year's dues of $10.00.

One final note of a more informational nature: A press release has been prepared by several of the Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park and, with the kind cooperation of the British Information Service, has been released to more than 400 newspapers and other informational media throughout the United States. If an article on The American Friends of Wilton Park should appear in your local press, we would be most grateful if you would forward a copy to us.

Also, our application for tax exemption is proceeding quite smoothly and we expect to have an answer by not later than the second or third week in June.

We look forward to hearing from you, to receiving your views on what can be done to best accomplish the goals of The American Friends of Wilton Park, and to working with you to accomplish these goals.

Very truly yours,

Robert Delson

Robert Delson
Chairman of the Board
of Directors

Bruce D. Weizel

Bruce D. Weizel
Secretary,
The American Friends of
Wilton Park

Please address replies to:
Bruce D. Weizel
Delson & Gordon
120 East 41st Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Amer. Friends of Wilton Park file!

June 28, 1967

Mr. Robert Delson
Chairman of the Board
American Friends of Wilton Park
c/o Delson & Gordon
120 East 41st Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Bob:

Please forgive me this delay in responding to your memorandum of May 29th, but I have been on vacation. In fact, I was in London very briefly and tried to get in touch with Warden Keppler while there but was unable to do so.

On further reflection it seems to me that as soon as tax exemption is granted a list should be drawn up of major American corporations doing business in England and each of them approached, preferably by personal visit, to determine if they would be willing to support this program.

I think this would be more productive as a start than approaching foundations. If, however, you and others feel that foundations should also be approached at this point, the Russell Sage Foundation of

New York maintains a Foundation Library Center with information on all foundations that make public reports. I expect that it would have indexed those foundations which have a particular interest in Great Britain, in international relations, and in exchange programs. If someone could spend a few hours at the Center they probably could pull together all of this with the help of a Library Center staff person. And, while it might not be productive, a brief open-ended request might be submitted to all of these. I am by no means eager for the job, but if you wish I would be happy to do a draft of such a brief proposal.

A member of the staff of the United States-South Africa Leaders Exchange Program is now director of the Foundation for Voluntary Services. His name is James C. Brewer and may be written to at 1 Mitchell Place, 1st Avenue at 49th Street, New York. Phone number: 758-1670. I am doubtful that this foundation would be interested in providing funds. However, it might be worthwhile for you to have lunch with Jim and get briefed on how the U.S.-South Africa group raised its funds, particularly from industry.

Finally, it may not be cricket, but Robert Rankin is with the Danforth Foundation, and that is a foundation which may be interested in giving some funds. I don't imagine Mr. Rankin would mind an inquiry as to potential interest and support from the foundation.

It would be good if the Finance Committee could meet in the early fall, and during either September or October I will have a need to be in New York for several days. If a date could

be agreed upon by the New York members, I would be happy to try to arrange my trip to coincide with it.

Incidentally, I was under the impression I had been elected one of the Vice-Presidents. This is no reflected on the list of officers. It is by no means important, but would you straighten me out on this?

Enclosed is my check for $10.00

Sorry about the length of this letter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #443; $10.00)

Wilson Fink

file

LAW OFFICES
DELSON & GORDON
120 EAST 41ST STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
MURRAY HILL 6-8030
CABLE "DELEGOR"

June 30, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of June 28 and the check enclosed therewith.

You will be pleased to know that we have already received tax exemption and we are about to write all of our members to this effect. In the meantime, we have just had a meeting of our Executive Committee and have approved the suggestion of our Treasurer, Chad Reed, that he should prepare a form of application for financial assistance to be sent in the first instance to the Eli Lilly Foundation and depending upon its reception there, to be used or modified as a basis for requests to other groups. The suggestion of approaching Lilly came from Mr. Robert Cummins of P.R. Mallory & Co., Inc., which was accompanied by a suggestion for preparing a budget and the like which we also agreed upon.

With respect to the Danforth Foundation, I certainly agree with you that we should be in touch with them and I am sure that this will be the very next effort we will make.

Mr. Reed is also intending to analyze the Russell Sage Foundation list with a view to determining which foundations could be of the most help to us. I am sending him a copy of this letter and I am sure he will welcome any assistance that you might want to give in this regard. I agree with you that we should look forward to meeting with the Finance Committee in the early fall. In the meantime, the Executive Committee will carry on.

I am not certain whether you were elected Vice President. We would have to check the records further on this, but I am certain that everyone would very much like to have you serve in this capacity and we shall take steps to inquire into this.

I think the idea of a personal approach to the American companies doing business in England is a good one. Perhaps we could allocate this assignment among a number of members of the Executive Committee.

I am very appreciative of your having taken the time to write so full a letter on this most important subject of fund raising.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert Delson

tt
cc: Mr. S. Chadwick Reed

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
120 East 41st Street
New York, New York 10017

July 11, 1967

Dear Friend of Wilton Park:

We are pleased to inform you that The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc. has been granted tax exempt status by the United States Internal Revenue Service. This means that all gifts and contributions made to The American Friends of Wilton Park are tax deductible.

We are also most happy to announce that Mr. Kenneth Brown, one of our Vice Presidents, in his capacity as President of the Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union has made the first contribution to our organization in the amount of $500.00. We hope that other members will be able to make similar contributions or pledges on behalf of themselves or their organizations.

In order to derive the maximum and speediest possible benefit from our newly acquired status of tax exempt organization, a meeting of the Executive Committee was held last week in the offices of Delson & Gordon. The meeting dealt generally with the question of fund raising, and specifically with the problems involved in approaching foundations and other organizations (such as corporations doing business both in the United States and Great Britain) for their support.

The Executive Committee voted to accept the very kind offer of Mr. Robert V. Cummins, a member of our Board of Directors, to contact the Eli Lilly Foundation in Indianapolis, Indiana. Our Treasurer, Chad Reed, has prepared a brochure describing Wilton Park and The American Friends of Wilton Park. This brochure forms the basis not only of our approach to the Eli Lilly Foundation but is also available to introduce The American Friends of Wilton Park to any and all other foundations which you, the members, feel can be of assistance to us. If you know of any such foundations or organizations which you might be able to contact in behalf of The American Friends of Wilton Park, please let us know as soon as possible. We will then forward to you the brochure and any other materials which you find might be necessary for an effective presentation.

Finally, if you have not already done so, please forward to us as soon as possible any suggestions you might have for raising funds for The American Friends of Wilton Park, and also your first year's dues of $10.00.

Very truly yours,

William C. Olson
President

Robert Delson
Chairman

file
Amer Friends of
Weizmann Park

July 18, 1967

Mr. S. Chadwick Reed, Vice-President
Mitchell, Hutchins & Company, Inc.
1 Wall Street
New York, New York 10005

Dear Mr. Reed:

I am writing at the suggestion of Mr. Bruce Weizel to indicate my eagerness to meet with the Finance Committee in September. Since I have to be in New York during that time, with reasonable warning I am certain I can be there on other business at the convenience of the Finance Committee.

Incidentally, enclosed is information about the Hazen Foundation copied from the July issue of Foundation News.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Mr. Bruce D. Weizel

Enc.

Rec'd
7/14/67

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
120 East 41st Street
New York, New York 10017

July 10, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks very much for your letter of June 28, 1967, addressed to Robert Delson. As Robert Delson informed you in his letter of June 30th, we have already acted upon several of your suggestions, and we have every intention of pursuing Robert Rankin and the Danforth Foundation with every effort.

I regret that your name was inadvertently omitted from the list of vice presidents. You were indeed elected a vice president at our First Annual Meeting, and this fact will be reflected on the revised membership and officers list which we are in the process of preparing. My apologies for the omission.

In regard to your suggestion concerning a meeting of the Finance Committee, may I suggest that you contact directly the Chairman of the Finance Committee, our Treasurer, S. Chadwick Reed. Chad Reed's address is:

S. Chadwick Reed
Vice President
Mitchell, Hutchins & Co., Inc.
1 Wall Street
New York, New York 10005

Between the two of you you should certainly be able to convene a most effective meeting of the Finance Committee, and perhaps you might even exchange ideas on the subject of fund raising before the Fall.

Once again, my apologies for leaving your name off the list of vice presidents. We look forward to meeting with you when you are in New York.

Very truly yours,

Bruce D. Weizel

Bruce D. Weizel,
Secretary
THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

DELSON & GORDON

ANNOUNCE THE REMOVAL OF THEIR OFFICES

TO

230 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

(212) MU 6-8030

Tele -
Amber. Franks
Walton
of Park

DECEMBER, 1967

1 ab

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

November 27, 1967

Dear Member of the Board of Directors:

In accordance with Article IV D of the By-Laws of The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc., this is to inform you that there will be held a meeting of the Board of Directors of The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc. on Thursday, December 14, 1967 at 4:00 P.M. at the English Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, New York, New York.

The purpose of this meeting is general. There will be a report on fund raising and finances from our Treasurer, S. Chadwick Reed.

We look forward to seeing you on December 14th. We hope you will be able to attend.

If possible, please let us know whether or not you plan to attend this meeting of the Board of Directors.

Very truly yours,

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

Bruce D. Weizel

Bruce D. Weizel,
Secretary

Please send replies to Bruce D. Weizel, Delson & Gordon, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York (after December 1, 1967).

File American Friends of Wilton Park

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF
THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK
1967

1. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

2. W. Andrew Axline
Assistant Professor
Dept. of Political Science
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

3. David W. Barkley
Professor
Dept. of Political Schience
Northeastern University
Boston, Mass. 02115

4. Ross N. Berkes
5234 Reynier Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90056

5. Rudolf P. Berle
29 Kingston Road
Scarsdale, New York

6. Justin Blackwelder
1730 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

7. Roger Boas
3329 Washington Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94118

8. Dr. F.A. Breier
3249 Jackson Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94118

9. John D. Briscoe
Silent Meadow Farm
Lakeville, Conn. 06039

10. Mrs. John D. Briscoe
Silent Meadow Farm
Lakeville, Conn. 06039

11. Kenneth J. Brown
233 West 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

12. Miss R. Jean Brownlee
249 So. 38th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

13. David P. Calleo
765 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn.

14. Bernard Chefin
Executive Director
Big Brothers
3608 Rittenhouse Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

15. William Hunt Conrad
600 California Street
San Francisco, Calif.

16. Walter P. Coombs
Executive Director
Los Angeles World Affairs Council
612 S. Flower St.
Los Angeles, Calif.

17. Robert V. Cummins
3029 E. Washington Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

18. Glenn S. Dumke
Chancellor
California State Colleges
5670 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90036

19. Max Delson
120 East 41st Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

20. Robert Delson
120 East 41st Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

21. Charles H. Ellis, Jr.
508 Rodman Avenue
Jenkintown, Pa. 19046

22. The Rt. Rev. R. S. Emrich
368 Washington
Grosse Point, Michigan 48230

23. John S. Ewing
Casilla 396
Arequipa, Peru

24. Robert H. Farber
Dean of the University
DePauw University
Greencastle, Indiana

25. Russell H. Fifield
Dept. of Political Schience
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

26. Leslie E. Grayson
61 East 86th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

27. Lawrence J.R. Herson
Chairman
Dept. of Political Science
The Ohio State University
216 North Oval Drive
Columbus, Ohio 43210

28. Harold Karan Jacobson
1320 Wines Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103

29. Lester S. Jayson
Director
Legislative Reference Service
Library of Congress
7512 Newmarket Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

30. William T. Kendall
7606 Geranium Street
Bethesda, Maryland

31. Dexter M. Keezer
601 East 20th Street
New York, N.Y. 10010

32. A. J. Kondonassis
Chairman
Dept. of Economics
University of Oklahoma
512 Manor Drive
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

33. Adolph M. Koven
593 Market Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94105

34. Oliver M. Langenberg
409 North 8th Street
St. Louis 1, Mo.

35. Kenneth Lussier
333 East 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

36. D. W. Mac Eachron
Executive Director
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, N. Y. 10021

37. Clark W. Maser
84 5th Avenue
San Francisco, Calif.

38. Mrs. Ruth Weir Miller
Executive Director
World Affairs Council of
Philadelphia
Alden Park Manor - 108B
Philadelphia, Pa. 19144

39. Walden Moore
Director
Declaration of Atlantic Unity
156 East 52nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

40. Dr. Frank Munk
3808 S.W. Mt. Adams Dr.
Portland, Oregon 97201

41. Ralph J. Nunziato
24 Ogden Road
Scarsdale, New York 10583

42. William C. Olson
11 Harcourt Road
Scarsdale, New York 10583

43. James K. Pollock
440 Highland Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan

44. Robert Rankin
Vice President
The Danforth Foundation
607 North Grand Blvd.
St. Louis, Mo. 63103

45. Armin Rappaport
1079 Creston Road
Berkeley, Calif.

46. S. Chadwick Reed
c/o Mitchell, Hutchins & Co. Inc.
One Wall Street
New York, New York 10005

47. Charles A.H. Thomson
1320 Monument Street
Pacific Palisades, Calif. 90272

48. S. Grover Rich
Director,
Institute of International Relations
University of Utah
2641 St. Mary's Way
Salt Lake City, Utah

49. Mrs. Thyra Thomson
Secretary of State
Cheyonne, Wyoming

50. Stephen Joel Trachtenberg
Special Assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
Room 4A037
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

51. Dr. Melville J. Ulmer
Dept. of Economics
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland 20740

52. John C. Weaver
President
University of Missouri
102 Burnam Road W.
Columbia, Missouri 65201

PROPOSED PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF
"THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK"

Statement of Purposes of the "American Friends of Wilton Park"

There are three basic purposes of the "American Friends of Wilton Park":

a) to assure continuing participation by qualified Americans in the periodic conferences held at Wilton Park;

b) to enable the members to relive what one of our number has aptly termed "the envigorating experience of Wilton Park"; and

c) to provide a forum, through a series of meetings, for carrying on an exchange of ideas among interested members of the entire "American" (North, South and Central American) community.

Henry Koeppler, Warden of Wilton Park, has written:

> ". . . To discuss world affairs amongst Western nations without hearing American and Canadian views is a little like 'Hamlet' without the Prince of Denmark . . . North American participation has given an extra dimension to the exchange of views amongst Wiltonians. Recruiting for Wilton Park in the United States is almost solely undertaken by our alumni (anglice: Old Boys); and such has been their enthusiasm that the Americans now form the second largest contingent on an annual basis; in some conferences they had even toppled the Germans from their traditional first place in numbers. Numbers are not everything. But I know that our European participants, both British and Continental, share my views on the value of having so many well qualified Americans amongst us."

As you may know, American participation in the Wilton Park Conferences has been financed by a very generous grant from the Ford Foundation. However, inasmuch as it is the policy of the Ford

Foundation constantly to seek out new projects, rather than to continue financing the same ones, the Ford grant, which has helped to defray the travel costs of Americans participating in the Wilton Park Conferences, was of a limited, non-renewable nature.

It is to seek to fill the financial void left by the expiration of the Ford Foundation grant that we are organizing the "American Friends of Wilton Park".

In order to accomplish our primary goal of continued American participation, we also hope to mobilize the membership of the "American Friends of Wilton Park" not merely to contribute their time and energies to our efforts, but also to "spread the gospel" of Wilton Park, and to attempt to convey to wider circles of Americans the intellectual excitement of Wilton Park, the advantages -- both to the individual and to the nation -- to be gained from continued American participation, and the necessity of financial aid to support that continued American participation.

Finally, we hope ultimately to expand the "American Friends of Wilton Park" into a forum for the exchange of ideas among the membership and other interested participants. On a smaller scale (perhaps through an annual, or at most, a semi-annual meeting or conference) we hope to create an intellectual counterpart to the British Wilton Park. Something of the goals both of Wilton Park and of the "American Friends of Wilton Park" can perhaps be best summed up in the following statement of Warden Koeppler:

> "Responsible citizens feel concern for the trends in international politics, for the confrontation between the rich and the poor nations and between what used to be called the Western and the Eastern blocs. Wilton Park exists to serve such citizens, to serve people who believe, with President Kennedy, that one man can make a difference, and every man should try."

Form of Organization

We plan to create a "membership corporation" under the New York Membership Corporations Law. This will permit the members to join and act in behalf of the organization without fear of personal legal claims against them as a result of actions by or in behalf of the membership corporation.

The membership corporation will also provide us with a vehicle to request (and, in all likelihood, be granted) tax exempt status as a corporation "organized and operated exclusively for .... charitable .... or educational purposes". [Internal Revenue Code Section 501(c)(3)]

The formal name of the corporation will be "The American Friends of Wilton Park".

Tax Exemption

The principal task of the "American Friends of Wilton Park", at least initially, will be to raise money, both from foundations and individual contributions, to defray travel expenses of American participants in the Wilton Park Conferences in England. Perhaps we might ultimately set up an endowment fund.

Actual solicitation of contributions will not begin until -- or will be made contingent upon -- our being granted tax exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service so that contributions to the "American Friends of Wilton Park" will be tax deductible.

The legal work of the corporation will be performed without charge by the firm of Delson & Gordon.

Membership in the "American Friends of Wilton Park"

Membership will be open to all who have attended a conference at Wilton Park and desire to further our major goals , as well as to other persons interested in the aims of the corporation <u>and</u> who are recommended by an alumnus of Wilton Park or a member of the "American Friends of Wilton Park".

Direction of the Corporation

(Our plans in this area are still indefinite and subject to comprehensive revision.) We most heartily welcome any suggestions you might have for:

(a) Providing for effective day-to-day direction of the affairs of the "American Friends of Wilton Park"; and

(b) Achieving the widest possible participation of interested persons throughout the United States.

Subject to your comments and criticisms (and any better ideas which we might come up with ourselves), we offer the following tentative plan of organization of the "American Friends of Wilton Park".

1. In order to get the organization functioning smoothly and to provide for the overall operation of the "American Friends of Wilton Park", the power to act on behalf of the corporation will be vested in a Board of Directors composed of not less than five, nor more than thirty, members of the corporation, subject to increase if desired. (The maximum figure will enable us to expand the Board of Directors to reflect regional representation once the corporation has been set up and begins to function throughout the country.)

2. In the interim between meetings of the Board of Directors, the power to make decisions concerning the day-to-day affairs of the "American Friends of Wilton Park" would be vested in an Executive Committee to be composed of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and one or two other persons to be designated by the Board of Directors. The officers of the corporation will be the four mentioned in the preceding sentence, but could well include further

Vice Chairmen.

The Chairman or his delegate shall have the power to make binding decisions on behalf of the corporation in regard to all routine matters not involving the commitment or expenditure of (more than a specified minimal amount of) corporate funds.

Membership on the Board of Directors

Initially, all members who indicate a willingness to serve on the Board of Directors shall automatically become members of the Board of Directors (provided only that they indicate that they anticipate being able to attend at least one meeting annually of the Board).

Initially, officers shall be elected or appointed by the Board of Directors.

Once the membership of the corporation becomes nationwide, or if at any time there are more than thirty requests for a seat on the Board of Directors, we are considering two alternative plans to meet the increased demands. The simplest plan would be merely to expand the Board of Directors so that all who desired to be members of the Board could be accommodated. A second method would be to provide for "regional representation" (although we have not yet resolved the problem of how to define "region" -- city, state, "area" [e.g. New York, New Jersey, Connecticut]).

Regional representation on the Board of Directors might be achieved along the following lines: Every "region" (however defined) which has three to five members in it shall be entitled to designate one member of the Board from that region. Each region with six to ten

members shall be entitled to representation on the Board of Directors by two Directors; and regions with more than ten members may designate three Directors.

Meetings

While we are still in the "fund-raising" stage (that is, before our "forum" objective has been achieved), the Board of Directors will meet semi-annually, and the Executive Committee will meet at least quarterly. There will be one annual meeting for the entire membership.

Quorum

Five members shall constitute a quorum for meetings of the Board of Directors. A quorum for meetings of the Executive Committee shall be no fewer than three members of the Executive Committee. Decisions shall be taken by majority vote.

Dues

We have tentatively set dues at the nominal figure of $5.00 annually. This figure is, of course, merely a token of support for the purposes of the "American Friends of Wilton Park", and a sign of each member's continued interest.

We have already received a number of comments on the question of dues: some feel that dues should be more substantial; others are of the view that there should be no dues, but rather voluntary contributions.

However, in the event that the $5.00 figure is adopted, it is our hope, of course, that members' annual contributions will greatly exceed the $5.00 designated for "dues".

*REPLIES: Robert Delson
Delson & Gordon
120 East 41st Street
New York, New York 10017

QUESTIONNAIRE*

1. Name Paul Anthony

2. Address Southern Regional Council
~~5 Forsyth St., N.W.~~
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

3. Year(s) when you attended Wilton Park 1964

4. Are you interested in becoming a member of the "American Friends of Wilton Park"?

yes

5. Do you think you might be interested in serving as an officer or a member of the Board of Directors? (An affirmative reply will not in any way commit you at this time.)

yes

6. Do you have any suggestions for improving the proposed organizational plan? (If so, please indicate in space below or by separate note.)

no

7. Which of the two proposed plans to meet the demands of a nationwide membership do you think is best -- an expanded Board of Directors or "regional representation"?

Would you favor some other plan?

regional representation

8. Can you define "region" more explicitly than we have been able to?

Wouldn't this depend - in part - on number of members in given area?

9. Are the proposals for meetings adequate? Do you think an annual meeting of the entire membership is a good idea; (a workable idea)? Should this annual meeting be used as the stepping stone for reaching our third goal: "The American Friends of Wilton Park" as a forum for debate and discussion among the membership.

Annual meeting & social program an excellent idea -

10. What is your opinion of the $5.00 annual dues? Should dues be higher, lower; should there be dues?

Too low —

11. Are you active in, do you have any contacts in or with, or do you know of any groups, institutions, charitable foundations, etc., which might be sources of financial assistance to the "American Friends of Wilton Park"? If so, please specify.

Foundations are most promising source. See letter enclosed.

12. Do you know any individuals who you think might be interested in joining and/or contributing to the "American Friends of Wilton Park"? Please furnish names and addresses.

Paul Anthony

Signature

File
Friends of Wilton Park

VIA AIR MAIL

March 18, 1968

Mr. William Olson
President
Friends of Wilton Park
Wiston House
Steyning
Sussex, England

Dear Mr. Olson:

Thank you so much for your note from Wiston House. I envy your being at the 100th Wilton Park Conference.

I plan to be at the meeting at the British Embassy on April 18th, and look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

WISTON HOUSE,
STEYNING,
TEL. 2025-26. SUSSEX.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Greetings from the 100th Wilton Park conference! 19 countries are represented, with 5 participants from the United States.

I hope very much that you, as a member of the Board, will be able to come to the annual meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park at the British Embassy in Washington on April 18. A number of

important matters will be on the agenda.

Sincerely,

Bill Hoon

President.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
(212) MU 6-8030

file

April 11, 1968

Dear Friend of Wilton Park:

This is just a note to inform you that parking for the annual meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park (Thursday, April 18, 1968, at 5:00 P.M.) will be available on the grounds of the Naval Observatory next to the British Embassy. Please enter the Gillis Avenue gate (the gate nearest the British Embassy on Massachusetts Avenue). A guard will direct you to the parking area. Cars should be parked facing the 34th Street gate which should be used as an exit. Cars will be expected to leave by 8:00 P.M.

We look forward to seeing you at the annual meeting.

Very truly yours,

Robert Delson

Robert Delson
Chairman

Delson + Gordon Law Firm
120 E. 41st Street
N. Y.
Murray Hill 6-8030

B R Delson -
R. D
CO 5-8100

MINUTES
of the 2nd Annual Meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park

The Second Annual Meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park was held at the Chancery of the British Embassy in Washington, D. C., on April 18, 1968. At 5:15 p.m. the meeting was called to order by William Olson, President, who read a cable from Warden Keoppler sending warm greetings from Wilton Park.

Acting as Secretary, William T. Kendall read the report of Secretary Bruce D. Weizel, a oppy of which is incorporated into these minutes. Mr. Weizel's report included the present status and activities of the American Friends of Wilton Park as well as its goals.

In the absence of S. Chadwick Reed, Dr. Olson read the report of the Treasurer, which showed a balance of $2,393.13. A complete report is attached.

Robert Delson, Chairman of the Board, gave a summary of the status of the organization. He thanked the members for their help and cooperation in carrying out the fundamental purposes of the organization -- to seek out the highest caliber of American participation in the Wilton Park discussions, thus promoting Atlantic unity. Mr. Delson emphasized the need for funds to provide fellowships for qualified Americans who might otherwise not be able to attend a Wilton Park conference.

Dr. Olson reported that certain foundations had expressed some interest in the work of the American Friends. An ad hoc Committee is at work preparing a text for a presentation to the foundations on the need for funds for the AFWP Fellowships. Chairman of the Committee is Mr. Blackwelder, assisted by Messrs. Reed and Van Wagenen.

The report of Mr. MacEachron, Chairman of the Fellowship Committee, was then read. The report set forth suggested criteria for Travel Awards, noting in particular the need for a well-balanced American representation in terms of occupational, geographic and racial factors, It also stressed that well-qualified

individuals should not be prevented from attending because of financial reasons.

During the discussion which followed, it was informally agreed that those attending Wilton Park should do so as individuals rather than as representatives of institutions, corporations or governmental agencies. Dr. Olson reported on a meeting with William Boswell, Director of International Conferences, Department of State. Dr. Olson informed Mr. Boswell that our group was not seeking State Department funds but a general endorsement by the Secretary of the work of the American Friends of Wilton Park. He emphasized that several potential donors were particularly interested in the views of the State Department.

Reporting for his brother, Max Delson, Chairman of our Nominating Committee, Robert Delson presented the names of the officers of last year, who were duly re-elected, with the exceptions of Treasurer and Senior Vice President. Marcus Cohn was elected Treasurer, and Rudolph Berle was elected Senior Vice President.

Before adjournment, the Chairman suggested that the Third Annual Meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park be held in San Francisco. This was accepted by the group. The Third Annual Meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park will be held in San Francisco on March 26, 1969.

MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

Immediately following the Annual Meeting, the Board of Directors was convened by Chairman Robert Delson. It was moved and passed that a note of thanks be sent to Chester Carlson for his generous contribution to the American Friends of Wilton Park in the amount of $1,000.

Further discussion was held concerning possible sources of contributions to the American Friends of Wilton Park.

Regional meetings for members were suggested as a possibility to enable more members to attend.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:15 p.m.

Mr. Sidney Hebblethwait of the Embassy served as host at cocktails following the meeting. The Ambassador made a brief welcoming speech at 7:00 p.m. and wished us well.

Respectfully submitted,

William T. Kendall

William T. Kendall
Acting Secretary

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

Secretary's Report - 1967-68

April 18, 1968

The first year of operations of the American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc. has been an extremely rewarding one. Membership has grown to over 120 American alumni and friends of Wilton Park, and now includes members in almost every part of the United States. The largest concentrations of our members are in the Washington and New York areas and in California. Many very active members of the American Friends of Wilton Park also inhabit points in between.

We have been granted tax exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service, and this has enabled us -- and will certainly aid us in the future -- to seek substantial contributions from charitable and educational foundations. Presentations have already been made to several foundations and these have met with a certain amount of success. We are hopeful that they will bear much greater fruit in the not too distant future.

In addition to these presentations, principal activities of the American Friends of Wilton Park have included:

-- The awarding of the first American Friends of Wilton Park Fellowship to Mr. Zygmunt Nagorski, Jr., Special Assistant to the President of the Foreign Policy Association.

-- The presentation of a gift of books written by members of the American Friends of Wilton Park to Warden Koeppler on the occasion of the 100th Conference at Wilton Park.

-- The establishment of a system of more effective coordination with the staff at Wiston House. American participants are now informed of the existence of the American Friends while still in England. Their names are then forwarded to us to be followed up with direct communication on this side of the Atlantic. On the average, each new conference has brought us two or three new members.

-- Finally, the Executive Committee and Board of Directors of the American Friends have met at regular intervals to discuss and implement plans for achieving our major goals of broadening American participation at Wilton Park conferences, and also continuing the Anglo-American dialogue.

The year ahead promises the realization of many of the projects initiated in our first year. We look forward to your help and active participation in carrying each of these through to a successful conclusion.

Respectfully submitted,

Bruce D. Weizel

Bruce D. Weizel
Secretary

BDW:adb

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

TREASURER'S REPORT

1967-68

May 12, 1967 to April 15, 1968 -	Annual Dues Received - 89 Members @ $10 each.....$ 890.00	
	Seven contributions, totalling 650.00	
	Interest..... 35.52	
	Total Monies Received.....	$1,575,52
Less Disbursements: 4/5/68 -	Wolberg Printing & Engraving Co., Inc..... - 182.39	
	Total Money on Hand.....	$1,393.13
	(Plus contribution of $1,000.00.....	1,000.00)
		$2,393.13

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS

OF WILTON PARK

Elected at Second Annual Meeting - April 18, 1968

PRESIDENT

William C. Olson
Rockefeller Foundation
New York City

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Robert Delson
Attorney
New York City

VICE PRESIDENTS

Rudolph Berle
Attorney, New York City
(Senior Vice President)

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Justin Blackwelder
Association Management
Washington, D.C.

Kenneth Brown
President
Lithographers & Photoengravers
International Union
New York City

Miss R. Jean Brownlee
Dean
University of Pennsylvania
College for Women
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Bernard Cherin
Executive Director
Big Brothers of America
Washington, D.C.

William Hunt Conrad
Kern County Land Company
San Francisco, California

Max Delson
Attorney
New York City

Michael Flack
Professor
University of Pittsburgh

Miss Frances R. Grant
Secretary-General
Inter-American Association
for Democracy
New York City

David MacEachron
Deputy Executive Director
Council on Foreign Relations
New York City

Clark W. Maser
Attorney
San Francisco, California

Robert Rankin
Vice President
Danforth Foundation
St. Louis, Mo.

Mrs. Robert J. Stuart
President
League of Women Voters
Spokane, Washington

Mrs. Thyra Thomson
Secretary of State
Cheyenne, Wyoming

John C. Weaver
President
University of Missouri

SECRETARY	Bruce D. Weizel Attorney New York City
TREASURER	Marcus Cohn Attorney Washington, D.C.
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE*	Stanley Frankel The Ogden Corporation New York City
	Dexter Keezer Economic Adviser McGraw-Hill Publishing Company New York City
	Kenneth Lussier International Division Chase Manhattan Bank New York City
	Walden Moore Director Declaration of Atlantic Unity New York City
	S. Chadwick Reed Mitchell-Hutchins & Co. New York City

* The Officers previously listed are also members of the Executive Committee.

Green copy!
File.
Wiston Park,
Friends 08

April 23, 1968

Mr. William C. Olson
11 Harcourt Road
Scarsdale, New York 10583

Dear Mr. Olson:

It was a pleasure being with you last Thursday afternoon. I do look forward to our luncheon on Tuesday, April 30th. On the afternoon of the 29th, or early on the 30th, I shall call your office to see if you are available and if so, to arrange getting with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

P. S. -- I have just discovered I did not have your office address or telephone number, thought I hope it is 230 Park Avenue. If not, I shall call Mr. Delson's office on the assumption I can get your telephone number there.

File

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
(212) MU 6-8030

June 27, 1968

Dear Member:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting, the Secretary's Report 1967-68, Treasurer's Report 1967-68, List of Officers elected at the meeting, and the Membership List for 1968-69.

We hope that you will continue your interest in the American Friends of Wilton Park. At this time we would like to request you to send in your annual dues for 1968-69 to our Treasurer at the following address:

Mr. Marcus Cohn, Esq.
317 Cafritz Building
Washington, D. C.

Sincerely,

Robert Delson

Robert Delson
Chairman of the Board

RD:at

July 15, 1968

file

Mr. David W. MacEachron
The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc.
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. MacEachron:

I shall be pleased to serve as a member of the Fellowship Committee of the American Friends of Wilton Park, and to do anything possible to assist the program.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
(212) MU 6-8030

July 10, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As you may know the American Friends of Wilton Park have now established a Fellowship Committee to make travel grants to individuals to enable them to attend conferences at Wilton Park. The enclosed statement sets forth the rationale which will guide the Committee in making its selections.

So far we have a very modest budget, and coming as I do from the puritan tradition I rather hope we never get too rich. There's not much danger of this in actual fact. However, I would hope that we would have a $2000-$5000 a year to dispose of for these travel grants.

The Fellowship Committee is composed of the following: Bob Delson, Bill Olson, and Bruce Weizel, all ex-officio and in addition Rudolph Berle, Berle & Berle; Armin Rappaport, Provost, The Third College, University of California; and Harold Jacobson, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan. I serve as the chairman.

We would very much like to have you join the Committee. Among other things we feel strongly that this opportunity should be made available to various individuals who would be less likely to find their way to Wilton Park un-assisted. Among these certainly are Americans of African descent as well as white leaders in the South. Your range of contacts and your knowledge would be of great value to this group, and I hope that you will accept this invitation to join.

The demands on your time will be modest. We have tentatively planned to have three meetings a year, fall, winter, spring, and we will keep all the procedures as simple and flexible as possible. Although it obviously will not be as easy for you to attend these meetings, we will make every effort to schedule them at a time when it might be possible for you to be in New York. On those occasions when you would not be able to be here, we will make a special effort to give you advance notice of the individuals applying for fellowships and to solicit your views on them by phone or otherwise before the meeting.

Hoping to hear favorably from you.

Sincerely,

David MacEachron

David W. MacEachron

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

CRITERIA FOR TRAVEL AWARDS

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, Inc.

Unless sufficient funds again become available to defray the travel costs of all American participants in Wilton Park, we have to have some basis for selecting those to assist with such awards as we are now in a position to grant. This memo sets out the criteria for awards.

Travel awards by The American Friends of Wilton Park should be designed to further the type of American representation sought at Wilton Park conferences. In general, Wilton Park seeks to attract parliamentarians from national and local assemblies, senior civil servants, journalists, and others influential in forming public opinion, such as industrialists, trade-unionists, university professors and other teachers, and so forth. The American Friends of Wilton Park should have a special concern for the representative character of the American participation.

Awards, either for full or partial travel costs, should be designed to supplement other possibilities enabling Americans to participate including: self-financed travel whether for business or pleasure, travel financed by an individual's compnay or organization, Americans resident in Europe, etc. The presumption would be that the majority of Americans should be able to arrange their own transportation in one of these ways.

Within the limits of available funds, travel fellowships would be supplemental in two principal ways: a) for individuals who are particularly appropriate for Wilton Park Conferences on the basis of personal qualifications and who would be prevented from attending for financial reasons, and b) for individuals who will increase the representative character of the American participants (racially, geographically, and occupationally).

These two categories are not mutually exclusive, and some might well fall into both categories. Somewhat different considerations, however, would apply in the case of individuals being offered fellowships in order to improve the balance in American representation. Fellowships should only be offered to whose who are considered thoroughly qualified to participate in Wilton Park Conferences and who are acceptable to the management of Wilton Park. Anyone who has been invited to Wilton Park and has declined on grounds of not being able to finance the trip should be considered for a travel award. Other individuals who meet the criteria will be considered for awards if, in the opinion of the Fellowship Committee, there is convincing evidence that a desirable participant would be deterred for financial reasons.

The Fellowship Committee should keep in mind the importance of awarding grants, within the limits of available funds, with a view to encouraging attendance during those periods of the year when American attendance may be low.

March 1968

August 20, 1968

Mr. David W. MacEachron
The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc.
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. MacEachron:

Tentatively, the date of October 14 is available for me for our next meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park. I am, however, serving on the September-October Grand Jury and either the 14th or 22nd would be contingent on the work of the Jury and my responsibility to it. Nevertheless, I do hope I can be with you on either date.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
(212) MU 6-8030

August 14, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The October 22 date tentatively set for the next Fellowship Committee meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park has proved inconvenient for one of our out-of-town members, and I would like to accomodate him if possible without inconveniencing everyone else. I suggest as an alternative that we hold the meeting on October 14. Is it possible for you to make it then? I will be in touch with you to confirm the date of the meeting. In the meantime please hold the 22nd in case we find that we have to stay with that date.

Sincerely,

David W. MacEachron

David W. MacEachron

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
(212) MU 6-8030

file

September 5, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We find that we will have to stick with the October 22 date for the meeting of the Fellowship Committee, so please keep this firmly on your calendar. We will have a working luncheon meeting starting at 12:30. I will inform you later as to the place.

Sincerely yours,

David MacEachron

David W. MacEachron
Chairman, Fellowship Committee

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 7, 1968

Mr. David W. MacEachron
Chairman, Fellowship Committee
The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc.
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. MacEachron:

I deeply regret that I will be unable to attend the meeting on October 22nd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
(212) MU 6-8030

October 4, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Let's plan to assemble at the Council on Foreign Relations for our meeting on Tuesday, October 22. We can gather here at 12:30, and I will have sandwiches and coffee sent in. Please be sure to let me know if your plans change. I look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

David MacEachron

David W. MacEachron
Chairman, Fellowship Committee

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 16, 1968

Mr. Bruce D. Weizel
Secretary
American Friends of Wilton Park
685 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Bruce:

While I can never be absolutely certain, I do think I can make the Board meeting on November 19th and shall make every effort to do so.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK INC.

NOTICE OF MEETING OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

TO ALL DIRECTORS:

Please take note that a meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Friends of Wilton Park will be held on Tuesday, November 19, 1968, at 12:15 p.m. at the Rockefeller Foundation, 42nd floor, Time-Life Building, 111 West 50th Street, New York, New York. A luncheon will be served.

The purpose of this meeting is to act on the following proposed amendments to the By-Laws:

1. To reduce the number of required meetings of the Board of Directors to one. Article IV D presently requires two meetings per year.

2. To reduce the number of required meetings of the Executive Committee to two. Article V presently requires quarterly meetings.

3. To authorize the holding of the Annual Meeting in March or April of each year. Since it was decided at the second Annual Meeting to hold the third Annual Meeting in San Francisco in March 1969, the By-Laws, which presently require the meeting to be in April, should be amended to accomodate this change.

The meeting will also consider other general problems affecting the operations of the American Friends of Wilton Park; in particular, the appointment of a Nominating Committee, and arrangements for the 1969 Annual Meeting.

It is absolutely essential that we have an accurate total of the number of Directors who will be present on November 19th. Therefore, if you will definitely attend this meeting, please send your reply as soon as possible to:

Bruce D. Weizel
Secretary, American Friends of Wilton Park
685 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10017

If you do not plan to attend, no reply to this notice will be necessary.

Very truly yours,

Bruce D. Weizel

Bruce D. Weizel
Secretary

MEMBERSHIP LIST 1968-69

OF

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

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717 West Glengarry Road
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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

file

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

February 19, 1969

Dear Friend of Wilton Park:

This is to inform you that the Third Annual Meeting of the Membership and Board of Directors of the American Friends of Wilton Park will be held this year in San Francisco, California.

DATE: Wednesday, March 26, 1969

PLACE: The University Club
Powell and California Streets

TIME: 5:00 P. M.

The meeting will be preceded by a miniature Wilton Park conference commencing at 3:00 P. M. and featuring a panel, followed by discussion on the part of all participants, on the subject of "Europe after Czechoslovakia". The panel will feature the British Consul-General, John O. Lloyd, together with several participants from past Wilton Park conferences. We anticipate that Warden Koeppler will preside over the panel session.

The meeting will be held in the Wine Cellar of the University Club, and will be followed by cocktails and dinner. Your spouse or other guests are welcome to attend the panel discussion, the Annual Meeting and dinner, and we hope that many will do so. (Of course, non-members will not have voting privileges at the meeting). The price of the dinner is $10 per person.

Please indicate on the enclosed form whether you plan to attend the panel and the meetings of the Membership and Board of Directors. Also, if you plan to attend the dinner, kindly enclose a check made out to Clark W. Maser in the amount of $10 for each reservation.

In accordance with the By-Laws of the American Friends of Wilton Park, election of members to the Board of Directors will take place at the Annual Meeting. You need not be present at the meeting in order to be elected to the Board of Directors. Please indicate on the attached form whether or not you desire a seat on the Board of Directors.

We are taking this opportunity to enclose for your reference a copy of the minutes of the last meeting of the Board of Directors held November 19, 1968 at the Rockefeller Foundation in New York City.

We look forward to seeing you on March 26th and we hope that you will be able to attend.

Very truly yours,

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

Bruce D. Weizel

Bruce D. Weizel
Secretary

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING OF
AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

Held November 19, 1968 at the Rockefeller Foundation, 111 West 50th Street New York, N. Y., a quorum being present:

1. The meeting was opened by President William Olson at 12:55 p.m. In the absence of Marcus Cohn, Dr. Olson presented the Treasurer's Report which showed a balance of $1826.86. However, only 49 members of the American Friends of Wilton Park have paid their dues to the date of this meeting. In light of this rather poor payment record, Armin Rappaport raised the question of the dues requirement and the status of members who had not paid their dues. Since no formal policy has been established with respect to members who have not paid their dues, it was decided that a more definite policy would be adopted at the next Annual Meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park to be held on March 26, 1969 in San Francisco.

2. The Third Annual Meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park was next discussed as Dr. Olson read a letter from Mr. Clark Maser who is handling the arrangements for this meeting. Mr. Maser's letter made the following points:

- The same general format as the previous meetings will be followed.

- The meeting will be held in the late afternoon to be followed by cocktails.

- There is every hope that Warden Koeppler will be on the West Coast at this time and will be able to attend the meeting.

3. The proposed revision in the By-Laws limiting the required meetings of the Board of Directors to one per year was not adopted, and it was decided to leave the required meetings of the Board of Directors at two.

The question of revising the By-Laws to provide for fewer required Executive Committee meetings was referred to a proposed Constitutional Committee, to be appointed by the President. This Committee will study the By-Laws of the American Friends of Wilton Park and will report on suggested changes at the Annual Meeting.

Article III A ("Annual Meetings") of the By-Laws was amended as follows:

"There shall be an Annual Meeting of the American Friends of Wilton Park. This Annual Meeting shall be held within the months of March or April in each year, or at such other time within each calendar year as shall be decided upon by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee".

4. A formal Nominating Committee was then established. Dr. Armin Rappaport has agreed to be Chairman. The members of the Nominating Committee are,

in addition to Chairman Rappaport, Mrs. Ruth Miller and Robert Rankin.

5. Dr. Olson then announced the resignation of David MacEachron as Chairman of the Fellowship Committee. Professor Harold K. Jacobson was proposed to succeed Mr. MacEachron as Chairman of the Fellowship Committee. (Professor Jacobson has since accepted the Chairmanship). The Directors unanimously thanked Mr. MacEachron for his outstanding efforts in organizing the Fellowship Committee and establishing its basic procedures. Mr. MacEachron then delivered a brief report on the operations of the Committee. Seven Fellowships have been awarded to the date of the meeting, and three recipients have already attended Wilton Park. A full report will be presented to the Annual Meeting.

6. A Program Committee was next established. The function of the Committee will be to propose and to coordinate efforts to expand the activities of the American Friends of Wilton Park (in such areas as regional conferences, one day "Wilton Parks" etc.) The Program Committee will also encourage greater member participation on all levels (not excluding financial contributions). Dr. Loyal Gould accepted the post of Chairman of the Program Committee. The members of the Committee are:

Miss R. Jean Brownlee
Miss Frances Grant
Stanley Frankel
S. Chadwick Reed

7. Requests to foundations were then discussed. Dr. Olson reported that, although the Ford Foundation has denied our request for a grant directly to the American Friends of Wilton Park, it has agreed to provide scholarship funds directly to outstanding individuals at the recommendation of the American Friends of Wilton Park. Such a Fellowship has already been awarded to Dr. Carl M. Hill, President of Kentucky State College. Dr. Olson also reported that our request to the Danforth Foundation had been rejected.

Robert Delson next reported on his meeting at the Rockefeller Foundation. While our request for funds could not be accomodated within the 1968 budget, it might be possible to approach the Rockefeller Foundation again in 1969.

8. Miscellaneous matters then discussed were:

Miss Frances Grant suggested corresponding with foreign "Friends of Wilton Park", to establish a mutual relationship between our groups, all of which have similar interests. This relationship would certainly include the exchanging of names of members so that members travelling throughout the United States and Europe would be in a position to contact fellow Wiltonians. Miss Grant is also to coordinate attempts to arrange various lecture dates for Dr. Koeppler on his next trip to the United States in March of 1969.

As the final item of the meeting, it was unanimously:

"RESOLVED, that the sincere appreciation of the Directors of the American Friends of Wilton Park be expressed to the Rockefeller Foundation for providing the most congenial of settings and the most appetizing of meals for this meeting."

9. The meeting was adjourned at 2:20 p.m.

Bruce D. Weizel
Secretary
The American Friends of
Wilton Park, Inc.

Rec'd 6/16/69

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

230 park avenue
new york, n. y. 10017
(212) mu 6-8030

593 market street - 7th floor
san francisco, cal. 94105
(415) ga 1-5484

June 12, 1969

TO: Recipient Alumni, Wilton Park

From: Terrence Cullinan; Secretary, American Friends of Wilton Park (AFWP)

SUBJECT: AFWP Meeting in New York City June 24, 1969

There will be a meeting for Officers, Directors, and Members of the American Friends of Wilton Park, as well as all alumni of Wilton Park, in New York City on June 24th. The meeting will be held at the English Speaking Union, 16 East 69th Street, at 4 P.M. sharp.

The meeting will be an informal one. A host of new AFWP projects will be outlined for comments of those attending. The Warden's summer schedule (the Warden will be summering in the U.S. this year) will be posted, and dates and themes of 1969-1970 Wilton Park Conferences will be available. New AFWP President Clark Maser will be in attendance along with new Board Chairman William Olson and past AFWP officers and directors.

Attendees are invited particularly to suggest possible future nominees for representing the U.S. at Wilton Park. As you know, the AFWP is the formal nominating organization and also provides, when judged appropriate, partial grants to cover portions of travel costs and attendance. A special Grants Committee exists for this purpose.

The Knickerbocker Post of the AFWP -- one of the AFWP's new regional organizations -- will host the June 24th meeting. Business sessions will be very brief; informal social activity will follow.

Hope to see you there.

Regards,

Terry Cullinan

Terrence Cullinan
Secretary

Note: $10.00, tax-deductible annual dues for active AFWP membership July 1 1969 - June 30 1970 are now payable. If you have not done so, please end $10.00 check, payable to "American Friends of Wilton Park", to: T. Cullinan, Secretary, 333 Linfield Place, Menlo Park, CALIF 94025

STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE

MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA 94025

June 13, 1969

TO: Recipients

From: Terrence Cullinan
Secretary, American Friends of Wilton Park (1969-70)

SUBJECT: CULLINAN SCHEDULE IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST, LATTER JUNE

For those of you unable to attend the New York meeting, I would like to give my schedule and where I may be contacted for the latter part of June. I would be pleased to meet with and/or talk with by telephone any alumnus or alumna of Wilton Park with interest, questions, or concerns (including advice).

Please just leave your name, number, and time and place where I can reach you if I am not "in" when you call.

Dates	City location	Contact through	
June 17-20	Washington, D.C.	SRI/Washington:	(703) 524-2403
June 20-22	Philadelphia, Pa.	Bukk Carleton:	(215) MI 9-7342
June 23-26	New York City, NY	SRI/New York:	(212) 661-5313
June 26-29	Boston (and Connecticut)	Mrs. Graham:	(617) 449-0793
June 30-July 1	Atlanta	White House Inn:	(404) 525-4201

TC

July 25, 1969

Mr. Terrence Cullinan
Secretary
American Friends of Wilton Park
333 Linfield Place
Menlo Park, California 94025

Dear Mr. Cullinan:

Please forgive me this delay in sending my annual dues, enclosed, and in raising a question with you about nominations of potential Wilton Park Fellows.

Shortly after the formation of the American Friends of Wilton Park, I raised with our Executive Committee the idea of nominating, periodically, one of our senior staff persons here for consideration as a Wilton Park Fellow. The Executive Committee approved this request and stipulated that should a nomination be made the staff person's salary would be paid during his absence and the time spent at the Conference would not be counted as vacation. I was further instructed to attempt to raise special funds to cover travel expenses for any nominee. This, I have not been able to do.

Very understandably, those who contribute to this organization wish to see their funds used directly in regional development, and go particularly into race relations and in programs to eradicate poverty.

We have several persons on our staff of outstanding professional and academic background who would benefit from such conferences and, I believe, contribute to them.

Under these circumstances, could you give me any guidance on what funds are available for fellowships, and whether or not it would be an abuse of my relationship to make nominations with the request for modest assistance?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.
Ck #1055, $10.00
Active Membership Form: 1969-1970

July 28, 1969

Mr. O. G. Hayward
Director of Administration
Wilton Park
Wiston House, Steyning,
Sussex, England

Dear Mr. Hayward:

It was good to hear from you. Please forgive me this delay in responding to your letter. However, I enjoyed the benefit of a travel grant to Eastern Europe and have been out of the office.

Relative to making nominations, I have written Mr. Cullinan as enclosed. It would be no difficult task for me to flood Wilton Park with nominees, but I do not wish to abuse this. In fact, after hearing from Mr. Cullinan I am very hopeful that I can again attempt to raise some funds toward the travel expenses of at least one participant here to Wilton Park.

You will be hearing from me further. In the meantime my warmest regards to you and your colleagues.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

WILTON PARK
WISTON HOUSE, STEYNING, SUSSEX
BN4 3DZ
Tel.: STEYNING 2025-26, 2332

FOREIGN OFFICE

pk:OGH

30 May 1969

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Since Chandos Harcourt retired at the end of April I have taken over his correspondence with our friends in the United States, and I am very glad to have the opportunity of re-establishing contact with you in this way.

We are particularly happy to see the extent to which the "American Friends of Wilton Park" has blossomed forth. I am today writing to the various Vice Presidents, asking them whether they can join in helping to nominate suitable Americans as participants at our conferences. The number of American participants coming to the next few conferences looks healthy, but, of course, one always has to think of the longer term when trying to maintain good participation.

I should therefore be most grateful for any assistance you are able to give in this matter, and to this end I am enclosing the list of conferences through to the end of 1970. The Warden wrote recently to Dr. Olson suggesting that the Vice Presidents might be encouraged to try and beat him at this nomination game, and I am sure there would be no harm in this !

If at any time you would like any further details about our conferences or a supply of background literature on Wilton Park, please do not hesitate to write. I shall be glad to help from this end at any time.

Yours sincerely,

Oliver Hayward

O.G. Hayward
Director of
Administration

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
ATLANTA
Georgia 30303
U S A

PS Also enclosed is the text of the letter we send to potential American participants when they are recommended to us.

WILTON PARK, WISTON HOUSE, STEYNING, SUSSEX, ENGLAND

WILTON PARK CONFERENCES 1969

(Final Version)

Every Wilton Park Conference deals with a broad range of world problems; during each, however, special attention is devoted to the consideration of one specific aspect of these general problems

108th Conference (one week): January 12 to January 18
Protest and Dissent: the new generation in the Universities and elsewhere

109th Conference: February 2 to February 15
Immigrant and Migrant Labour — the resulting tensions in affluent countries

110th Conference: March 2 to March 15
Cohesion and Conflict within the East and within the West

111th Conference: April 13 to April 26
Social and Economic Policy and its impact on the educational system

112th Conference: May 11 to May 24
National and International Management of the Economy: incomes policy and world liquidity

113th Conference: June 22 to July 5
The American Challenge: its impact on European economics and society

114th Conference: July 13 to July 26
Party Politics and Parliamentary Power; the Civil Service and the Citizen; Problems of Democratic Control

115th Conference: October 5 to October 18
Atlantic Partnership and European Integration

116th Conference: November 9 to November 22
The West and Current Trends in Eastern Europe

117th Conference (one week): December 7 to December 13
North-South and East-West Relations after one year of the new U.S. Administration

15. 11. 1968 (1200)

WILTON PARK, WISTON HOUSE, STEYNING, SUSSEX, ENGLAND

WILTON PARK CONFERENCES 1970

Every Wilton Park Conference deals with a broad range of world problems; during each, however, special attention is devoted to the consideration of one specific aspect of these general problems

118th Conference (one week): January 4 to January 10
The Unification of Europe: a balance sheet

119th Conference: February 1 to February 14
Cohesion and Conflict within the East and within the West

120th Conference: March 1 to March 14
The Politics and Economics of Western Defence

121st Conference: April 12 to April 25
Protest and Dissent in the Affluent Society: problems of higher education

122nd Conference: May 10 to May 23
Development Aid: disappointments, achievements and prospects

123rd Conference: June 28 to July 11
National and International Management of the Economy: incomes and productivity policies, world liquidity

124th Conference: July 26 to August 8
Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs: the rôle of governments, parliaments and the mass media

125th Conference: October 11 to October 24
The United States and Europe: political, economic and defence issues

126th Conference: November 8 to November 21
Modern Technology and its Impact on Man's Environment

127th Conference (one week): December 6 to December 12
The present state of East-West Relations

18. 4. 1969 (1500)

/Date/

Dear

/Introductory first paragraph/

I have great pleasure, therefore, in awarding you, on behalf of Dr. Koeppler, the Warden, a Wilton Park Fellowship.

The Fellowship will cover all expenses during the conference, including board and lodging and extra-mural visits, but please note that you will be responsible for the Wilton Park fee of £30 and your travel.

The enclosed "Notes on Wilton Park Fellowships for American participation in Wilton Park Conferences" will give you further particulars.

With the "Notes" I am also enclosing a copy of our recently concluded conference programme (No.___) together with our list of conferences for 1969 and 1970. You will no doubt also be interested to see the enclosed list of some of your compatriots who have been with us.

These documents will enable you - we hope - to choose a convenient conference and give you an idea of the scope and organisation of Wilton Park.

Please do not hesitate to write and let me know if there is any further point on which you would like information.

Looking forward to hearing from you

Yours sincerely,

O.G. Hayward
Director of
Administration

WILTON PARK

Wiston House,

Steyning, Sussex.

4 August, 1969

Dear Mr. Anthony,

My colleague Hayward being on leave, I have pleasure in replying to your letter of July 28.

Never fear that you would be flooding us. We have a very large deficit in participants from the South so I hope that Terrence Cullinan and the special Grants Committee of the American Friends of Wilton Park will come up with something good.

I will be in the States from mid-August to mid-September, but my schedule is very tight. However, I am going as Visiting Professor to the University of Indiana from mid-January to mid-June next year and during that period it would be good to learn something about the actual situation of the South.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

H. Koeppler

Mr. [illegible]

via air mail December 3, 1969

Mr. O. G. Hayward
Director of Administration
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Wilton Park
Wiston House, Steyning, Sussex
ENGLAND

Dear Mr. Hayward:

Please forgive me the delay in responding to your letter of 14 November.

There is an individual whom I am very anxious to nominate for your February 1-14 Conference. However, until today it was uncertain if his schedule could be arranged should he be invited.

The person whom I should like to nominate is Dr. Emory F. Via, Director of our Manpower and Labor Division. A vita sheet on Dr. Via is enclosed.

Dr. Via is a remarkable and a remarkably capable person, and I have always found him very effective in group situations such as those you create. I think you will find that he will contribute to the Conference and I am confident he would benefit from it. Should he be invited I do hope some financial considerations can be offered, though we at the Council will do what

we can to assist him.

There is a slight possibility that Mrs. Via may accompany Dr. Via. Would there be space at the Conference should she, too, wish to attend? Incidentally Mrs. Via has suffered polio, and while she is able to walk, she does frequently have to use crutches and a wheelchair. Would you be good enough to comment on this relative to the physical layout of Wiston House.

Incidentally, earlier Warden Koeppler informed me that he would be at the University of Indiana this winter and spring. Please let him know that we would thoroughly enjoy having him visit us should he find that possible.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: ~~Mrs. Terrence Cullinan~~
Dr. Harald K. Jacobson
Univ. of Mich.
& Emory Via

WILTON PARK
WISTON HOUSE, STEYNING, SUSSEX
BN4 3DZ
Tel.: STEYNING 2025-26, 2332

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH
OFFICE

14 November, 1969

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I am writing briefly today to say that we have as yet no American nominations for Conference 119 (February 1-14). As we have much appreciated the good American participation (mostly American Friends of Wilton Park recommendations) over the past months, we should greatly regret the absence of any American participants in February, particularly as the special aspect - Cohesion and Conflict within the East and within the West - impinges directly on the USA.

Therefore if you know of anybody who might be encouraged to come to Conference 119 we should be most grateful to hear from you. If any further details are required I can of course easily supply them straightaway.

I hope all is well with you.

Yours sincerely,

Oliver Hayward

O.G. Hayward
Director of
Administration

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta
Georgia 30303
U. S. A.

December 22, 1969

Dr. Harold K. Jacobson
International Organization Program
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Phone:
764-1817 (Univ)
764-6390 (Dept. of Pol. Science)
764-6489

Dear Dr. Jacobson:

Mr. Hayward, Director of Admissions of Wilton Park, has today informed me that Dr. and Mrs. Emory F. Via are being invited to Conference 119 in February, 1970.

Enclosed is biographical data on Dr. Via. Mrs. Via is also a very remarkable person, and among other things, an outstanding artist. We realize that no funds will be available for her expenses. Needless to say, I would be most grateful for any consideration that can be given to assistance for Dr. Via.

Incidentally, Dr. Via is also being invited to lead a plenary discussion.

Best wishes for the Season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

via air mail December 22, 1969

Mr. O. G. Hayward
Director of Administration
Wilton Park
Wiston House
Steyning, Sussex, England

Dear Mr. Hayward:

Thank you for the very welcomed news of the invitation to Dr. and Mrs. Via. They have begun their holiday vacation, but I reached them by telephone this morning, and both were elated. You will be hearing from Dr. Via shortly.

I shall, today, write Dr. Jacobson about the possibility of financial assistance from the American Friends of Wilton Park, though I feel certain these considerations will be taken care of.

My warmest regards for the Season to you, the Warden and all the staff of Wilton Park.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
ANN ARBOR
48104

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION PROGRAM

16 December 1969

Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Anthony:

Thank you very much for sending me the copy of your letter to Mr. Hayward. I trust that you will have Dr. Via get in touch with me if you would like him to apply for a grant.

Sincerely yours,

Harold K. Jacobson

Harold K. Jacobson

HKJ:pg

WILTON PARK,
Wiston House,
Steyning, Sussex.

S.119

12 December, 1969

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for your letter of December 3.

I am very grateful to you for your response to my previous letter and have written to Dr. Via, inviting him and his wife to Conference 119 in February.

The Warden would also be glad if Dr. Via were able to open a plenary discussion. This, besides being a welcome addition to our list of speakers, would also have the advantage of a small "financial consideration" (ten guineas). We should of course also much appreciate anything the Southern Regional Council is able to do to make his visit to Wilton Park possible.

Yours sincerely,

Oliver Hayward.

(O.G.Hayward)
Director of Administration

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303.
U.S.A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
ANN ARBOR
48104

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION PROGRAM

2 September 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Terrence Cullinan has forwarded a copy of your letter to him of 25 July. We would be very pleased to consider the application of one of your staff members. The Grants Committee is deeply interested in broadening the representation of Americans at Wilton Park.

The procedure we normally follow is that first a person is nominated to the Warden at Wilton Park. After the Warden has issued an invitation, the individual then submits an application for a grant from the American Friends. Why don't you proceed and get in touch with me again when it is appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

H. K. Jacobson (signed by G. Grebe)

Harold K. Jacobson

HKJ/pg

Bring up Nov. 1, 1969

August 15, 1969

Mr. Terrence Cullinan
Secretary
The American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc.
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Cullinan:

Thank you for handling my inquiry concerning members of this staff taking part in the Wilton Park program.

The bill before the Congress relative to foundations and to private tax-exempt agencies could play havoc with our future. Therefore, I shall not take any further action until I know the details of the new law under which we will operate. After that, and likely around November, I do hope we can begin to make plans for the first nomination from SRC.

Do let me know how I can be of assistance to the American Friends.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

230 park avenue
new york, n. y. 10017
(212) mu 6-8030

593 market street - 7th floor
san francisco, cal. 94105
(415) ga 1-5484

August 13, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of July 25th concerning Southern Regional Council participant procedure for Wilton Park. I think it would be fine to have increased representation from the SRC; one of the areas from which we have fewest Old Wiltonians is the former "Deep South".

The gentleman responsible for our Fellowship Committee is Dr. Harold K. Jacobson, International Organization Program, Dept. of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich 48104.

I have forwarded your letter to him, in the interests of economy of time, and you should expect to hear from him shortly concerning your question. In brief, all fellowship applications utilizing AFWP funds are channeled through Dr. Jacobson and his Committee, of which I (as AFWP Secretary) am an ex-officio member. Dr. Jacobson will fill you in on the procedure.

I do not believe there would be any harm in making nominations with the request for modest assistance; Dr. Jacobson will, however, inform you more on this subject. We have, of course, only limited funds for assistance, and expect that participants whenever possible will supply there own funds -- particularly when they are being paid full salaries during attendance (which is the preferable way, certainly, and a commendable decision by SRC). In any case, assistance is always for somewhat less than the full cost of transportation.

Thanks again for your letter; hope this interim note will hold the fort until Dr. Jacobson, who may be on vacation at present, has the opportunity to give you a fuller and more specific response.

Best personal regards,

Terrence Cullinan
Secretary

file

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

230 park avenue
new york, n. y. 10017
(212) mu 6-8030

593 market street - 7th floor
san francisco, cal. 94105
(415) ga 1-5484

NEWSLETTER

No. 6970 - 1

Of Interest from Wilton Park

Warden will summer in U.S.: Warden Koeppler will spend August and September in the U.S. this year, with major stop at the Aspen Institute in Colorado. A dinner or lunch will be planned for AFWP members in New York and probably Washington. Old Wiltonians are invited to contact and/or visit him during his stay. Tentative schedule will be available from Mr. Robert Delson at the AFWP New York address (above).

Scotland lays claim to Missouri: Mr. Robert S. Sturrock of the Wilton Park faculty spent five days in June at the University of Missouri taking part in political science seminar work. He also visited New York and Washington. It was Mr. Sturrock's first visit to the U.S. since 1966. Kilts are presently big in styles in St. Louis.

C.G. Harcourt retires: Mr. Chandros Harcourt, O.B.E., administrative manager of Wilton Park, retired this spring. Mr. Harcourt's hand-inscribed billings, and those of his staff, were an indispensible part of every Wilton Park conference since time immemorial. His responsibilities have been assumed by Mr. Oliver G. Haywood, who has announced that Club prices will continue to support the British pound.

British Government honours (honors) Wilton Park: Wilton Park has recently been honored by special recognition by a Government survey team. Henceforth, operations at Wilton Park will be reviewed only once every ten years, instead of once every five years as previously. This honor -- rare in England -- followed completion of the recent quintennial audit and examination of Wilton Park activities. It means ensured funding for Wilton Park through 1979 -- a tribute to past Conferences and, of course, to the Wilton Park staff.

Saturday Review recognizes Wilton Park: Perhaps inadvertently. The cartoon below appeared in a late 1968 issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW magazine:

—John A. Ruge.

"I don't expect the Chinese to behave exactly as we do here in Wilton—but there must be a happy medium."

Of Interest from the American Friends of Wilton Park

Regional system set up: The Third Annual Meeting of the AFWP voted to establish regional Vice-Presidents, each of whom would coordinate occasional AFWP-sponsored activities in his area. A Vice-President for Programs (Dr. Loyal Gould) will develop regional program ideas. A Washington, D.C. regional organization has recently been established.

National programs established: Staff Vice Presidents for Financial Affairs and for "An American Wilton Park" were voted by the Third Annual Meeting. The former officer will head fund-raising activities among foundations; the latter will continue work, dating from several years back and involving several U.S. Congressmen, toward establishing an American version of Wilton Park.

Emphasis areas identified: New AFWP President Clark Maser has suggested three areas for emphasis during 1969-70: (a) Selection procedures for American participants at Wilton Park; (b) Financial growth to permit 1-2 grants being offered for each Conference; and (c) the "American Wilton Park" concept.

Letterhead: An informal letterhead for internal AFWP communications has been tentatively suggested. It appears over this newsletter. Friendship between John Bull and Uncle Sam is the idea. Comments are welcome. The formal letterhead--a standard, reserved business one--will be maintained for official correspondence and foundation proposals. Donated suggestions for new letterheads would be very welcome.

1969-70 addresses: Two addresses will be maintained henceforth for the AFWP. The incumbent operational address will be that of the current AFWP Presidents. The permanent legal address will be that of Delson & Gordon, New York City, in the State of New York where the AFWP is incorporated. The two addresses presently valid are on the letterhead of this newsletter.

Disposition of funds: Funds received by the AFWP are used almost exclusively for grants (no other use of funds is foreseen for 1969-70). Correspondence, mailing, newsletter, and other costs are donated by individual active AFWP members. Travel costs of officers and others are also not paid by the AFWP.

New membership procedure: AFWP annual membership dues will henceforth be valid from July 1 – June 30. Active (dues-paying) members will receive newsletters, minutes of meetings, and invitations to AFWP-sponsored events. Previous attendees of Wilton Park who do not choose to support the AFWP will be contacted once annually (including this letter) and requested to become active members. They will not receive other materials.

Recommend possible Wilton Park participants: Old Wiltonians are urged to recommend possible participants at future Wilton Park conferences at any time. Recommendations should be forwarded to the Warden, with copies for support, if desired, to Dr. William C. Olson, Chairman of the AFWP Board (at AFWP New York address) and Clark Maser, AFWP President (San Francisco Office). Historically, there have been shortfalls of nominees from (a) minority groups; (b) non-academics; and (c) those with domestic as well as international expertise. A limited number of partial travel grants are available through the AFWP alone or the AFWP and Ford Foundation together.

Lost AFWP members: Anyone knowing current address of any of the following AFWP members, please forward same to AFWP San Francisco Office: John W. De Wolf, Harry Leonard Heintzen, Dr. John Seabury Thompson.

Special thanks due: to Marcus Cohn, former Treasurer of the AFWP, for providing the resources to make the Warden's trip to the U.S. possible.

Scheduled Wilton Park Conferences:

115th Conference October 5 to October 18
Atlantic Partnership and European Integration

116th Conference November 9 to November 22
The West and Current Trends in Eastern Europe

117th Conference (one week): December 7 to December 13
North-South and East-West Relations after one year of the new U.S. Administration

118th Conference (one week): January 4 to January 10, 1970
The Unification of Europe: a balance sheet

119th Conference February 1 to February 14
Cohesion and Conflict within the East and within the West

120th Conference March 1 to March 14
The politics and economics of Western Defence

121st Conference April 12 to April 25
Protest and Dissent in the Affluent Society: problems of higher education

122nd Conference May 10 to May 23
Development Aid: disappointments, achievements and prospect

123rd Conference June 28 to July 11
National and international management of the economy: income and productivity policies; world liquidity

124th Conference July 26 to August 8
Public opinion and foreign affairs: the role of governments, parliaments and the mass media

125th Conference October 11 to October 24
The United States and Europe: political, economic and defence issues.

126th Conference November 8 to November 21
Modern Technology and its Impact on Man's Environment

127th Conference December 6 to December 12 (one week)
The present state of East-West relations

Please note: The active membership AFWP list closes August 15th, 1969. Membership contributions must be in the hands of the Secretary by that date. Active members on August 15th will receive the complete list of Old Wiltonians (AFWP members or not), with present addresses; as well as Newsletter #2; minutes of the last annual meeting; and other information as available. Active membership subscriptions received after August 15th will receive subsequent Newsletters and publications. No further materials will be sent to non-members of the AFWP until July, 1970, when a new membership solicitation will be made. It is not possible for the AFWP's communications donors to support mass mailing to all Old Wiltonians -- AFWP members or not -- more than once annually.

(Mailings are made possible by special contributions by individual AFWP members; they do not come from membership dues, which go only for AFWP Grants).

November 26, 1945

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

We want to run photographs of our new officers in the December issue of The Southern Frontier. If you have a glossy print, won't you please send us a copy as soon as possible?

Looking forward to seeing you soon, and with all good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

(via air mail)
special

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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NL = Night Letter
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Y.LC679 NL PD=RICHMOND VIR 21

1945 NOV 21 PM 9 48

DR GUY B JOHNSON, EXEC DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

=63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

=A HEAVY COLD HAS CONFINED ME TO BED THIS WEEK OTHERWISE WOULD HAVE WRITTEN SOONER PLEASE ACCEPT MY PLEDGE TO COOPERATE WITH YOU IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL EXPECT TO VISIT YOU IN DEC WRITING YOU SOON GREETING TO ENTIRE ST YOU CAN REACH ME AT 3320 GLOUCESTER RD RICHMOND REGARDS=

=PAUL D WILLIAMS.

.3320.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Extra Copy

November 29, 1945

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am delighted to have your letter of November 26. We are sorry to hear that you were laid up with a cold last week, and we hope that you are now quite well.

We are all looking forward with much pleasure to your visit to Atlanta. I am somewhat tied up until after December 8, but I shall hold off any other engagements until I know your preference with regard to dates. I hope that we can arrange for our new Associate Director, Mr. Harold L. Trigg, to come down and be with us when you are here. Dr. Reid will continue to be associated with us as research consultant and we certainly want him to be present.

I believe we sent a package of literature the other day, but on the chance that it might not have gone to the right address we are sending another one. In addition we are mailing you some other material, such as minutes of Executive Committee and Board meetings, names and addresses of officers, Executive Committee members, etc. The minutes of the recent annual meeting are not quite ready for final typing, but as soon as they are completed we will send you a copy.

Here are some of the problems which I believe we will want to discuss thoroughly:

(1) A clearer definition of the function of SRC. The main problem here is whether to specialize on doing an over-all educational coordinating and clearing-house job or whether to emphasize the building up and servicing of state and local divisions of SRC. Of course, we are doing some of both, but unless we enlarge our financial support we cannot do too well at either. The former is easier and less expensive, but it does not satisfy the spirit of action as well as the latter. I am sure that the great majority of SRC members are committed to the latter, which of course involves building up a mass membership and financial support, which, in turn, means a considerably larger administrative and clerical staff.

(2) A clearer definition of "action." The cry for action is not always accompanied by clear mandates as to how and what. For example, at our recent annual meeting there was much said about action, and yet it seemed to me that most of the time which might have been devoted to a thorough discussion of ways and means was spent in passing resolutions and reaffirming our stand on one thing and the other. Such resolutions are an important part of the policy and strategy of an organization like this, but I think that we must be aware of the fact that an over-emphasis on this type of thing can hinder the long-run action program of SRC.

(3) A balance between "agressiveness" and "responsibleness." This is closely related to what I have just said. What I mean is that we must be honest and unafraid, but avoid being tagged as "irresponsible." In other words, we must not let ourselves be pushed into the position of being a pressure group. Other agencies are serving that function, and our function, as I see it, is something different. We are gradually trying to build up a reputation for honesty and integrity so that public officials and private agencies will feel that they can come to the Council for advice, surveys, and information which they can depend upon. Several of the Southern governors are friendly, and I believe that we should make a special effort to cultivate all of them and, if possible, win the recognition of the Conference of Southern Governors as an advisory agency on problems of human relations.

(4) Financial support. This is a serious problem as I have already intimated. At present nine-tenths of our income is from grants by two foundations, the Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board. The Rosenwald Fund will be liquidated in a few years and there is no assurance that we will receive a large sum by way of endowment. And quite aside from the question of continued support from the foundations, I think our position will be stronger in proportion to the amount of financial support we can mobilize in the South. We are now preparing a membership and financial campaign which we hope to begin early in 1946. This is certainly something which will need our very thoughtful attention.

(5) Priorities on program matters. We have been authorized to do about ten times as many things as our present staff could possibly do. It is therefore up to the Executive Committee and the executives to establish priorities and work as effectively as possible on the things which seem to be most important. I suggest that the projects on which we should concentrate are as follows:

a. Action toward the goal of equalization of educational facilities for Negroes in the South.

b. Increased efforts in behalf of fair play toward Negro veterans.

c. An educational campaign on the whole subject of fair employment and the relation of the Negro's economic progress to the progress of the South.

d. Active support to efforts designed to remove suffrage restrictions in the South, supplemented by a program of civic education for new voters whose educational level is low.

e. Improvement of our publications with emphasis on wider distribution of simple material to people at the grass roots.

f. A vigorous campaign for new members and contributors.

These are some of the thoughts which are uppermost in my mind. I hope they can serve as a basis for extended discussion when you pay us a visit.

We are all delighted with our new president and his vigorous approach to the problems of the Council.

Our highest esteem and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

(DEPARTMENT OF LAY ORGANIZATIONS, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

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BERNARD J. ROTHWELL, BOSTON, MASS.
JOHN X. WEGMANN, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

3320 Gloucester Rd.,
November 26, 1945.

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am sorry that I had to wire you that I was incapacitated last week due to a heavy chest cold which kept me abed. As a consequence it was impossible for me to write you as I had desired. I expect to be up and out tomorrow and am dictating this over the telephone to my secretary.

I have heard so many fine things about you through mutual friends like Virginius Dabney, Dr. Gordon Hancock, Monsignor McNamara and others that I feel I almost know you. In assuming my duties with the Southern Regional Council it is gratifying to know that we have such an efficient staff in Atlanta under your capable direction.

While I am acquainted with the background of the SRC, that is the meetings in Durham etc., I am not well versed in the present organizational setup. For this reason it seems that the most profitable thing I could do at this time would be to have a conference with you and your assistants. If agreeable to you, therefore, I am making plans for a visit to Atlanta in December. I'll check exact dates with you later. Meanwhile I am taking an orientation course by consulting with various members of the SRC. I have already had a luncheon meeting with Virginius Dabney which proved most helpful. Likewise I have spoken with Dr. Hancock and I have an engagement to see Mr. P. B. Young this week in Norfolk. Later I expect to visit Dr. Odum at Chapel Hill.

Clark Foreman was here last week to fill a speaking engagement and I had a chat with him which brought out several interesting things concerning which I should like to discuss with you personally.

At your convenience please send whatever literature you might have which in your judgment would help me in gaining the over-all picture I need in order to do something substantial for the Council. I would also like to look over the proceedings of the recent meeting in Atlanta and have the names and addresses of the officers, executive board etc., and the organizations they represent.

I would particularly appreciate your own recommendations as to the steps

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PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

#2 - Dr. Guy B. Johnson - November 26, 1945.

we should pursue in the immediate and remote future in order to advance the cause of the SRC.

Please know that my chief desire is to cooperate with you in every possible way.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams N.S.

PDW:ht

Producer of THE CATHOLIC HOUR (NBC Network) and THE HOUR OF FAITH (Blue Network)

December 6, 1945

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter from New York City. I have just wired you that we want you to come ahead on December 13 and 14. The Florida trip can easily be postponed. In fact, I was thinking of doing it anyway because we are not quite ready with our survey plans.

I don't know whether you have made any hotel arrangements for your Atlanta visit, but we have plenty of room at my house and Mrs. Johnson and I would be delighted if you would be our guest.

Thanks a lot for the photograph and biographical sketch. These will be very useful.

We are looking forward to seeing you next Thursday.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

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JOHN X. WEGMANN, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

December 4, 1945

Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

It was a pleasure to receive your letters of November 29th and 30th. I am particularly grateful to have your comprehensive letter of November 29th, which provides the overall problems which should serve as a basis for our discussions when I meet you in Atlanta.

Unfortunately, I am working on a very tight schedule during the month of December. I have planned to spend December 13th and 14th with you and the staff and can not very well change these plans. I hate to see you pass up your engagement in Florida if it can not be gracefully postponed, and therefore I would be quite willing to postpone my own trip until January, if such an arrangement would suit you better. Please, therefore, tell me quite frankly your preferences in the matter and I will do as you wish. Meanwhile, I am holding my reservations until I hear from you. I am here in New York upon business but will return to Richmond late Friday night.

If you think it better for me to postpone my leaving, or if Dr. Trigg can not arrange to be with us in Atlant in December I would be quite willing to visit him in Elizabeth City between Christmas and the New Year.

I trust you received the photograph you requested. I am enclosing a biographical sketch, in case you have any occasion to use it.

In case you wish to reach me by wire, I will be at the Hotel Pennsylvania until about 2 P. M. Friday.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES

RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

December 10, 1945

MEET OUR NEW PRESIDENT!

Our new President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Virginia, will pay us a visit on Friday, December 14. All Council members living in the Atlanta area are invited to an "open house" at the Council Headquarters on Friday between 4 and 6 P.M. We want you to meet Mr. Williams and see our headquarters.

The following instructions may be useful to those who are not familiar with our location. We are in the Wesley Memorial Church Building at the corner of Auburn Avenue and Ivy Street. Enter at the corner door on Auburn farthest from Ivy and take the elevator to the fourth floor.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

ek - MP - B - JM. JBT

M. D. - JHC - DT - RW -
GMM. - aw

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WESTERN UNION

(31)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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DR GUY B JOHNSON=

SOU REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE

TU ATLANTA

NORTHEAST TU ATLA=

GLADLY ACCEPT YOUR INVITATION STAY OVER NIGHT WITH YOU DUE ATLANTA THURSDAY 8 AM SEABOARD SEE YOU AT OFFICE AFTER BREAKFAST REGARDS=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

8 AM.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

December 6, 1945

Mr. Paul Williams
Hotel Pennsylvania
New York, New York

December 13 and 14 satisfactory to us. All good wishes.

Guy B. Johnson

Copy in personnel file

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

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JOHN X. WEGMANN, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

Dec. 30, 1945

Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

Rec. 1-2-46

Dear Guy,

It was good chatting with you over the phone yesterday. I thought the Charles Smith situation important enough to put in a long distance call to you.

I am enclosing the notes I have put together concerning Smith as well as his recent letter. Both present the information necessary for you to consider in advance of his visit with you in Atlanta. Of course the important thing will be his personal conference with you. While Smith has my hearty recommendation the decision to employ him or not rests with you.

If you are impressed with Smith to the point of desiring his association with you, I hope salary will not stand in the way. We will have to pay

(over)

him $6000. or close to it but he is well worth the money. Indeed, I don't know of anyone possessing his qualities who will not cost us as much or more.

I believe you gained the impression, both expressed and implied, while I was in Atlanta that I considered you understaffed. With a person like Smith to assist you, some of our work now in progress will show more tangible advancement and other programs may be inaugurated. In this manner we can meet the criticism of some of our "tough-minded" friends who want and desire more action.

Returning to the question of salary. I hope our budget can be arranged in the years to come, warranted of course by a progressive program for SRC, that we will advocate as a policy a high salary for our staff in Atlanta. In this way we may attract the best leadership both white and Negro for the SRC. The thing will prove cumulative I am sure, for with better leadership and talent ~~will~~ we will inspire more confidence and do a better job on education as well as action.

Possibly you could give Smith some kind of title to justify his salary scale like Assistant Executive

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PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

Director, in which case he could assist both you and Dr. Trigg in the office and do some field work as well. Or you may have a better title to suggest.

Let me know the outcome of Smith's visit with you and your decision. I hope you will be as much impressed with him as I have been.

Please let me thank you for your letter of Dec. 19 and the enclosures. Also permit me to express my gratitude to you and your gracious wife for your kind hospitality during my visit in your home. It's grand to have your friendship.

I was very much pleased with your staff. Give them all my best wishes for a happy New

(over

year. I want you to know that I have complete confidence in your ability to do a grand job for S.R.C. With the cooperation of all of us we should be able to look forward to a banner year.

Please have your secretary make a copy of this letter and return it to me for my files. My secretary has a holiday today.

All good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul

PDW. 4/2/46

cc toJackson Davis at the General Education Board
Guy B. Johnson, at the SRC
Gordon B. Hancock, Virginia Union Univ. Richmond, Va.

COPY

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

January 8, 1946

My dear Mr. Dabney: While I had met Mr. Paul Williams, I had not, until last week, had an opportunity to talk with him at length. I had the good fortune to meet him on the train coming out from Washington to Chicago and two nights later Mr. Embree, Doctor Charles S. Johnson and I had the pleasure of an evening with him for an unhurried talk about the Southern Regional Council and various other matters. These contacts and talks with Mr. Williams have given me great encouragement about the future of the Southern Regional Council. His spirit, interest, intelligence, good judgment, and his contacts seem to me to have prepared him for an unusually effective and useful work as the chairman of the Southern Regional Council.

Those interested in the council and friends of race relations generally in the South are obligated to you for presenting Mr. Williams' name and assisting in securing him for the chairmanship of this organization. I am sure that he will have the whole-hearted support of those now connected with the council and will be able to bring into it additional people of the type needed to further its work. We are all most appreciative and grateful for your interest.

Very truly yours,

~~SUMIKO OURA~~

WILL W. ALEXANDER

WWA:SO

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

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WESTERN UNION

1207

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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F	TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

February 19 /48

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

To Paul D. Williams

Care of or Apt. No.

Street and No. 5520 Gloucester Road

Place Richmond 22, Virginia

Would help greatly if you could airmail soon as possible your preface for Vance study, also his manuscript. We're trying to wrap up the job for printing before end of month. Look forward seeing you here soon. Thanks.

Ray Warwick

Sender's name and address
(For reference only)

March 15, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I am glad that we had a chance to talk on the telephone yesterday. Thanks a lot for the suggestions you gave me.

Here are some brief notes on the subject of encouraging signs in the South which you asked me and Dr. Trigg to send you.

(1) The report of the Kentucky Governor's Commission on Negro Affairs. This official Commission was appointed by Governor Willis in 1944. There was no money appropriated for its work, so it proceeded entirely on a volunteer basis. It collected a great deal of material and made a very forward-looking report. Mr. J. M. Tydings, who served as Chairman of the Governor's Commission, is also Chairman of the Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation, and the Council is actively promoting several specific bills in the present legislature.

(2) Decline of the white primary. The white primary is apparently on the way out. The Supreme Court decision in the case of Smith V. Allwright (Texas) made it very hard for any state to maintain a white primary system without repealing all statutory regulations of primaries. In Texas and Arkansas, many Negroes voted in the primaries last year. In Florida and Alabama, the Democrats seem to have accepted the Supreme Court decision, and I think we can expect a good deal of Negro voting in the next Democratic primaries in those states. A test case in Georgia was brought by a Negro, Primus King, of Columbus, and the federal court in Macon decided in his favor. Georgia Democrats appealed the decision, but it was upheld last week by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. A few die-hards in Georgia are talking about calling a special session of the legislature to repeal the primary laws so that (they hope) Georgia can evade the consequences of the Supreme Court decision. However, it looks as if there will be no special session of the legislature. Negroes voted in several local elections recently, including a special Congressional election to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Ramspeck, and our best guess is that Georgia is going to accept Negro voters in the Democratic primaries. South Carolina repealed its primary laws hoping to get around the Supreme Court decision, and it has got itself into quite a mess. The Progressive Democratic Party, 99 per cent

Negroes, is gaining force and it may become a power to be reckoned with in some of the heavy Negro counties. An item worth mentioning with regard to voting in South Carolina is the fact that the South Carolina Committee of SRC voted to urge its white members to accompany Negroes to the places of registration and to be ready to testify in case of discrimination.

(3) Editorial opinion on Negro voting. The trend of editorial opinion is so favorable that it merits special mention. Even in Georgia, where the primary situation was unsettled because of the court case, the great majority of the newspapers have editorialized intelligently and constructively in favor of permitting Negroes to vote in the primaries.

(4) The Jacksonville Survey. You already know enough about this, I am sure. We feel that it has possibilities of setting a pattern for self-examination by Southern communities. Prominent citizens, white and colored, are serving on the various committees and are helping to collect information. There is every indication that they are going to make an honest effort to do something about the recommendations which will grow out of the survey.

(5) Inclusion of Negroes in planning for recreation projects. I am thinking especially of the recreation areas which are being developed in connection with water power and flood control projects. The federal government builds the dams and helps develop the parks, after which the parks will be turned over to the state park services. Take, for example, the Allatoona reservoir project near Cartersville, Georgia. The Army Engineers included a recreation area for Negroes in their plans. We were asked by a white lawyer in Cartersville to help coordinate the ideas of Negro citizens in this area concerning what they would like to have by way of a recreational area. Dr. Trigg devoted a good deal of time to this work, with excellent results. We find the Engineers, the federal wild life people, and the Georgia State Park people are all sold on the idea of a first class recreational development.

(6) Increasing use of Negro police. During the past twelve months, Tampa, Norfolk, and Asheville have put on Negro police and several cities have increased the number of Negro policemen. There are now at least thirty-one Southern cities using Negro police. In Atlanta, SRC and other organizations are working on the matter. We have supplied information on Negro police to many organizations here, including the Chamber of Commerce. If the Chamber of Commerce gets behind the idea, we will have Negro police in Atlanta in twelve months.

(7) Trend toward equalization of educational facilities and teacher's salaries. North Carolina has equalized the salaries of white and Negro teachers. This means that all teachers having a given grade of certificate and a given amount of experience receive the same scale of pay. Several local areas in other states have moved in this direction. A good many suits are pending throughout the South, and these will have the effect of accelerating the trend toward equalization. As for educational opportunities, there are many signs

that white people are becoming increasingly conscious of the Negro-white differences and are ready to move toward eliminating such differentials. In Atlanta, for example, there has been strong editorial support for a move to improve the Negro schools, and several groups of white people have held meetings or circulated petitions addressed to the city school board. Even Mississippi has recently completed a comprehensive official survey of higher education which contains some recommendations for the advancement of Negro education.

(8) University of North Carolina student opinion. I believe you know this story pretty well already. In brief, it is: (a) the Di senate, a student debating society which has existed for almost 150 years, debated the question, "Should Negroes be admitted to the University of North Carolina?", and voted affirmatively on it; (b) at a mock assembly held in the legislature a Carolina student raised the question of inviting Negro students to take part in future assemblies. Again the vote was favorable; (c) naturally, such a vote stirred up considerable antagonism in the state, but President Graham issued a statement defending the right of the students to express their opinion on any subject. If you have a copy of the current Monthly Summary of Race Relations, you will find a good write-up of this whole business.

Well, I suppose I had better stop here if this is going to get in the mail today. I hope this dope will be of some help to you.

Very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:jm
Enclosures

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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RECEIVED
MAR 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 16, 1946

Dear Guy,

Your very helpful letter arrived today for which please accept my thanks. I'll return the clippings soon as I can.

I may go to New York on business Wednesday and be there several days. If you think it would help any to pay a courtesy call on Jackson Davis of the General Education Board, I'll be glad to do so. I'll not call, however, unless you tell me to do so. If you say okay send me his address. I'll be at the Pennsylvania Hotel. If you write Davis simply tell him I may be in the city next week on business and if I am you suggested that I drop by and make his acquaintance.

Best always!

Paul

P.S. I like my stationery very much.

March 18, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Hotel Pennsylvania
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

I think it would be a fine idea for you to get acquainted with Jackson Davis. I am dropping him a note today telling him that you expect to be in New York this week and that he might expect a call from you.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:jm

P.S. Dr. Davis' address is: General Education Board, 49 West 49th Street, New York 20.

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. $

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 25, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

CAN YOU ATTEND FLORIDA DIVISION MEETING FRIDAY APRIL TWENTY SIXTH?

Guy B. Johnson

March 25, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am to speak at one of the sectional meetings of the Virginia Council of Churches on April 25 at the invitation of Dr. Thomas C. Allen. I hope to see you at that time if it is convenient. I am notifying Mr. P. B. Young, Sr. of this engagement. A day before or after the 25th will be just as convenient for me.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

March 26, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

In a few days you will receive the special March issue of Vance's study of the South. This is just a note to tell you that I did not send a tentative draft of the preface we planned because our printing schedule was so far behind I couldn't afford to hold it up any longer.

I should have written you earlier about this, but the March issue has kept me running back and forth so much that I couldn't make it.

I hope you will like the publication. We believe it is going to do a lot of good for SRC.

I hope to see you here again very soon. Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(24)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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GUY JOHNSON=

TU ATLANTA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ATLA=

REGRET IMPOSSIBLE MAKE FLORIDA ENGAGEMENT HAD SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE JACKSON DAVIS YESTERDAY. WRITING YOU=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 8, 1946.

Mr. Ray Warwick
Director of Public Relations
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ray:

Thank you for your letter of March 26. Meanwhile I have received a copy of our special March issue and I want to congratulate you on an excellent piece of work. Vance's article itself is splendid and the format you gave it is colorful and graphic and likely to appeal to the casual reader who otherwise might not dig in and go through the treatise. Lets keep up the good work and the SRC cannot but go still further ahead.

Please send me 10 of Vance's articles.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

April 11, 1946

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. P. B. Young and would be happy to have your confirmation of April 26 as the date when we could meet with Mr. Young. It is possible that I could meet both of you in Norfolk on the morning of the 25th if that would be agreeable to you and Mr. Young. My schedule is flexible except for the meeting at Richmond on the evening of April 25.

Looking forward with pleasure to seeing you, I remain,

Yours very cordially,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:m
cc: Mr. Young
Enclosure

April 12, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of April 8. I am sorry that the Florida meeting had to be set for a time when you would not be able to attend. April 26 seemed to be the best time for Mr. Ray unless the meeting were to be delayed for several more weeks, and this did not seem wise.

I am glad you had a good conference with Jackson Davis. He is a fine person and a staunch supporter of our work. On the matter of the meeting of Council Fellows, Dr. Alexander has asked us to submit the plan to him and has said that he is reasonably sure of being able to get funds for the project. I assume that this means he would get the money from the Rosenwald Fund. I will prepare a memorandum on this right away and will find out from Dr. Alexander whether he thinks we should approach the Rosenwald Fund or the General Education Board.

The Southern Sociological Society meets in Atlanta on May 17-18. If we have the meeting of Fellows in connection with the SSS meeting, it would have to be on Thursday, May 16. I am a little doubtful about the wisdom of having it at this time. Relatively few of our Fellows would ordinarily be attending the meeting of the SSS, and I am inclined to think we would get a better attendance if we would have a Fellow meeting on a Friday or a Saturday. Since more than half of the Fellows are in educational work, it will probably be a good idea to hold off the meeting until the school commencements are out of the way. This would mean that the earliest suitable dates would be the second or third weekends in June. How does your schedule look for those dates?

The next meeting of the Executive Committee comes on May 22.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

P. S. (over)

P. S. I will get out a letter to the Fellows today asking them to indicate their preference for various possible dates. If the majority of them prefer May 16 in connection with the SSS meeting, could you be here? If they prefer May 24 or 25, could you stay over that long after the Executive Committee meeting? Do you have any trips to Louisiana in May or June? We ought to have a state meeting there to set up a division of SRC, and I think it would be fine if you could be there.

G.B.J.

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 8, 1946.

RECEIVED
APR 10 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I am sorry I had to wire you from New York my regrets in being unable to make the date of the Tampa meeting. As I thought I told you when last in Atlanta, Easter week each year is always out for me as I must attend an educational convention the first part of the week and the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council of Catholic Men, of which I am vice-president, the Friday, Saturday and Sunday following Easter. Otherwise I would have bent every effort in order to be with you at the time. Please explain this to those responsible for my invitation.

While in New York I had a very pleasant conference with Jackson Davis. We found that we had many things in common. He was very interested to learn of the recent development of the SRC including our last Executive Board Meeting. He seemed satisfied at our progress and apparently liked the idea of our holding an Institute for our fellows to discover what leadership we have among them. I am planning to see Davis again in New York May 16 and will gladly see if he can be instrumental in getting us some funds to hold this Institute if such is the proper procedure. Perhaps you could meet me there for the conference or, if that is impossible, you might ask V. Dabney to attend the meeting. I suggest Dabney because he and Davis are close personal friends. Even if Dabney can't make the trip I feel sure he would write a letter in our behalf. Why not write me soon on this or phone me?

What about a date for the Institute? Dr. Odum suggested that it be held either before or after the Southern Sociological Convention. What are those dates? We need plenty of time to work the meeting up properly.

Charles Smith has just received another promotion, this time very important in prestige and salary, so I think we might as well forget about him for the SRC staff. Any other prospect?

What is the date of our next Executive Board Meeting?

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams,

June 19, 1946

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I left the book review to be written and mailed to you, and trust that it reached you in spite of the railway strike which was on at that time.

I trust that all goes well, and that we may have a visit from you in the not too distant future.

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

June 19, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your good letter which arrived Monday. I am happy to say that Edward is recovering remarkably well from his accident. His lips and gums have healed beautifully and there will scarcely be a scar. He can probably begin to get his new teeth fixed up within the next two or three weeks.

I hope you received the copy of the Jacksonville Survey. Mr. Young wanted six of the copies, so I think he is probably spreading it around among some people in Norfolk. The Columbia, Tennessee, report which came out in the May issue of New South, seems to be getting favorable attention. We sent it to most of the newspapers in Tennessee and to other large papers throughout the country. The Associated Press here made a special write-up which was released for Monday, June 17. We are already getting clippings of news stories and editorial comments. If you can use any of the Columbia reports, we will be glad to send as many as you want.

I am glad that Virginius Dabney is going to Jacksonville in July. We shall certainly help to put him in touch with everything he needs for writing the story of the Jacksonville Survey. I am writing Dabney and Mrs. Havens today.

The General Education Board has informed us that they have granted up to $1500 to SRC to cover the expenses of a Conference of Fellows. Your talk with Jackson Davis certainly paid off! Since most of the Fellows have their summer plans laid out now, it seems best to have the Conference sometime in the fall. I am polling them on the question of having a two-day conference immediately following the SRC annual meeting of November 15 and I believe the majority of them will think well of this idea, since it will enable them to attend the annual meeting at no expense.

I am glad you are having a vacation. Put everything else out of your mind and enjoy it to the fullest. With very best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 12, 1946.

Rec'd 6-17-46

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

It was good to speak with you over long distance recently but I was distressed to learn of the terrible accident which happened to your boy. I certainly hope and pray that he comes through in fine shape. Meanwhile please let me emphasize my hope that you will take it easy at work and do everything at home to relieve his pain and your wife's anxiety. There will be plenty of time later for work.

I spoke with Virginius Dabney yesterday and he mentioned that he had received an invitation to speak in Jacksonville on July 19 and would be willing to look into the situation there at that time with the prospect of writing the article we would like to have him do. I would suggest therefore that you write Dabney in the near future and make whatever arrangements necessary in Jacksonville so that he could meet the proper people. I hope Mrs. Havens could arrange to meet him there.

Until I write you otherwise please address and communicate with me care of Lewisetta, Virginia where I am taking my family for a little vacation.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

P.S. I believe the publisher in Florida would be willing to stand aside in favor of Dabney. P.

August 16, 1946
(Dictated August 14, 1946)

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I have certainly neglected our good President lately. Of course, we have been running on a very busy schedule - all of us. I spent several days at the Fisk Institute about the middle of July; then came back to Georgia to vote; then attended the meeting of the Mississippi Executive Committee. After that I went to Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, for several days to help the Methodist women who were assembled there. After a short time in the office I left for another long trip to New York and Chicago. Tomorrow I hope to get away on a vacation of about two weeks. There seems to be no stopping place, so I shall just drop everything where it is and take my departure.

I was terribly sorry to miss you when you called up last night. We were having a committee meeting down in Bishop Moore's conference room and I just didn't hear the telephone in my office. My wife gave me your message about your trip to New Orleans and I got off a night letter to President Dent at Dillard University.

Of course, we are all very downhearted over the political developments here in Georgia and the waves of race violence that seem to be sweeping over the country. We made a statement about the lynchings in Walton County and offered a reward of $500.00, which we later raised to $1,000.00. I am not sure where the money will come from, but I hope it will have to be paid and I believe we can dig it up somewhere. We also challenged Mr. Talmadge's statement that no lynchings took place in Georgia during his three terms as Governor. Maybe you saw our news story in the Richmond papers. I am enclosing a clipping of a more detailed story which appeared this week in the Atlanta Journal.

The replies to our letter concerning the August 28th meeting of the Executive Committee indicate that we cannot expect a quorum, so that meeting will not be held. The replies do no look too good for either a meeting on September 4th or September 11th, so we are inclined to put it off still longer if that is all right

with you. How would September 18th fit in with your schedule? I think that we should decide as soon as possible so that the announcements could go out as far ahead of time as possible.

I wish there were time to write at some length today, but I am trying my best to clear off as much as I can before going on my vacation. We are going to Chapel Hill first for a few days and after that we shall probably be in the mountains for awhile.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MJ

Encl.

P. S. How about sending us a check for your 1946 dues? We want our President to be a member in good standing, you know!

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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Paul Williams

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

Louisville

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 8, 1947

Dear Guy,

Thanks for your several letters received during my vacation.

I agree that the meeting of SRC Fellows should be scheduled in conjunction with our fall meeting. I am glad that Jackson Davis came through for us.

Please let me know if there will be a meeting of the Executive Board in August and the date. I will make every effort to attend although August is a tough month for me with engagements already scheduled in Boston and Louisville.

Any progress on the Jacksonville article and V. Dabney? Dabney tried to get in touch with me while I was on vacation. I came home Saturday and had to leave hurriedly for ~~Louisville~~ Nashville.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

I have an appointment with Mark Ethridge this afternoon and will endeavor to elicit his support for the SRC. Please send him a copy of the Jacksonville survey; also your excellent account of the Columbia episode. Please send me an extra copy of the survey and 6 copies of the Columbia case as reported in the New South.

Several people have written or phoned me about a case of apparent injustice concerning a Negro in Newburn, N.C. One of these was Bishop Waters of Raleigh. Do you think it would be possible for us to send some member of our staff, preferably Mrs. Havens or Dr. Mitchell to make an impartial ~~survey~~ investigation? The case is being appealed to a higher court. I can get you data on the case and give you the names of persons familiar with the facts.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

I am spending Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at Fisk University's Race Relations Institute at the invitation of Dr. Charles Johnson. I knew you would want me to accept. I am giving one formal address and taking part in two panels.

I may phone you this week in connection with several items in this letter.

I overlooked sending an expense account for our last quarterly meeting. Please and Miss Clay to accept my apology for the delay.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul

P. S. I will return home next Saturday.

Expense account given EHC.

WA 7963

Charge to the account of ~~Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.~~ $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 14, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

PLEASE ADVISE ME REGARDING NEW ORLEANS CONFERENCE.

H. L. Trigg

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc. 63 Auburn Ave. N. E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

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Telegram. September 18, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
St. Charles Hotel
New Orleans, Louisiana

Hope you can stop here on way home to discuss important matters.

Guy B. Johnson

September 19, 1946

AIR MAIL

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

It occurs to me that we must get the Committee on Resolutions and the Committee on Nominations appointed as soon as possible so that they will be ready to function at the annual meeting. In order to get something definite before you, we are suggesting the following personnel for these committees:

Committee on Resolutions

Marion A. Wright, Conway, South Carolina, Chairman
Gordon Hancock, Richmond, Virginia
A. W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana
Mrs. E. G. Mackay, Atlanta
Edgar Ray, Tampa, Florida
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Atlanta
Philip Shulhafer, Atlanta

Alternates: Rabbi Stanley Brav, Vicksburg, Mississippi; P. H. Eason, Jackson, Mississippi; Luther Jackson, Petersburg, Virginia.

Committee on Nominations

Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Virginia, Chairman
Edward A. McDowell, Louisville, Kentucky
L. D. Milton, Atlanta
G. D. Rogers, Tampa, Florida
Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas
J. Mansir Tydings, Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky
Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta

Alternates: Hodding Carter, Greenville, Mississippi; Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta; Richard P. Daniel, Jacksonville, Florida; John H. Wheeler, Durham, North Carolina; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta; Mrs. Eugene Spearman, Newberry, South Carolina.

Discussed this on phone with P.D.W. the day the world feel & but embarrassed to offer a friend & fellow - traveler just ... Suggest Dr. V.D. as chairman of Com. on Nom. Clement, Kentucky, Brav or someone else in place of Tydings. EBF

We'll put this home

If you think well of these suggestions and want to authorize us to go ahead and get out the letters, please wire us as soon as possible. If you want to discuss the appointments, please call me as soon as you can. I think that if it is at all possible, we should insert a printed announcement in the September New South so that all Council members will know the committee personnel.

I hope that the meeting at New Orleans was a success. I am very glad that you got Dr. Trigg to speak.

More later, but I think it is important to get this to you right away. All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Guy Johnson

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 17, 1946.

Mr. Ed. Ray, Managing Editor
Tampa Times
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Ray:

I was awfully sorry it was necessary for me to wire you yesterday declining your gracious invitation to have me speak in Jacksonville at the Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council on October 30. I tried to postpone an engagement I have in New York on October 30 and when I found it was impossible to do so it was necessary for me to wire you as I did. I doubly regret this for this is the second time I have had to turn you down. I certainly do not want you to think for a minute that I am not interested, nor grateful to you for your fine leadership in developing the Florida Chapter. Indeed, as I see it, development of state chapters of the SRC is a most essential part of the expanding program of the SRC. Please give me another chance and if humanly possible I will drop everything and come to Jacksonville for the next meeting. I hope I will see you at the annual meeting of the SRC and have the pleasure of making your acquaintance.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

Guy Johnson

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 17, 1946.

Mr. Ray Warwick
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Ray:

Please allow me to congratulate you for the September issue of New South. It is most attractive. If we continue to do this sort of thing I feel confident that from an educational standpoint at least, more and more of our responsible Southern people will be turning to the Southern Regional Council for information, inspiration and guidance. More power to you!

How is your novel coming along? Hope you make a million dollars, at which time of course you will make a very substantial donation to the work of the SRC.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

Guy B. Johnson

file - Paul

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 17, 1946.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I enjoyed your note of October 10 enclosing the interesting reports from Mr. Harry Wright. They are very interesting.

I expect to be in Atlanta over the coming week end and I hope we can have a little visit together. It strikes me that we should make capital of the excellent work that is being done by the SRC under your splendid direction. I am going to recommend to Guy Johnson that at our annual meeting, not only should our agenda include a full report of the activities, but that we should have at least two brief reports from the field agents, one of them a Negro and one a white man. What do you think?

In clearing up some of my correspondence I found some confidential material sent me under the date of May 27. Since you request it I am returning it for your files where it properly belongs.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht
encs:

Paul Williams

New Orleans

October 25, 1946

COPY

Dear Paul:

I am very sorry that I am so late in answering your letter of October 17, but I have darted back and forth to Birmingham at such a rate that all my work is much behind time.

Lionel Baxter is the program director of Station WAPI. He is also currently president of the Catholic Men's Luncheon Club in Birmingham.

I am very sorry that I have neglected to obtain the information about the Doctor in Birmingham, but I am writing now to Sister Johanna and I will forward the information to you quite shortly.

Father Andrew Smith is on retreat but he will probably be in Mobile before I leave for the New York meeting. Father Cusick and I plan to reach New York the evening of November 2.

With all good wishes, I am

As ever,

October 31, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I thank you for your telegram and also your letter of October 28.

Dr. Johnson and I have read and discussed the points raised in your letter and I am sure we are in thorough agreement with you on all points.

I am submitting herewith a statement of some fundamental issues which need to be considered by the Council at its meeting, not only for the guidance of the staff here in Atlanta but also for the clarification of these issues in the thinking of the membership. They should at least know that they are not in agreement on some vital policies and procedures.

1. Method of Approach. There are two major approaches to the problems involved in human relations, especially in the South. One group would bring pressure from the outside by influencing Federal legislation, by legal action, by political action, and by efforts to influence public opinion within the South against evil men and deeds. The second major approach is through various types of pressure from within, principally by utilizing men and movements of strength and courage within the States and communities of the Southern Region. The emphasis would be placed largely on encouraging and directing local initiative in the study, planning and solution of local and regional problems. The Continuing Committee of white and Negro members which met in Atlanta on August 4, 1948, passed a resolution to the effect that "such a Council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life, and especially with a similar National group when established."

The major question in the minds of the membership seems to be whether or not we shall use inside pressure or outside pressure or both, and in what ratio. This is easily understandable, because of the persistence of traditional methods in the solution of the Negro problem coming down from the techniques and procedures of the previous interracial committees.

If we go into the field of influencing Federal legislation, or even State legislation, it will mean a change in our charter. We are likely to be called on in the near future to take a stand on an anti-lynch bill, on a revived version of FEPC, on Federal aid to education, and on other measures which will, in all probability, come up before the next session of Congress.

In the field of legal action the NAACP is already doing a fine piece of work. The question is, Should we cooperate with the NAACP, which we have done up to the present, or go into the field of court action ourselves?

The extent to which we can participate in political action within the region is also a question.

This whole issue brings up the question of the extent to which we would duplicate the methods and procedures of other organizations, or evolve, devise, and adopt those methods and procedures which may prove most effective within the region itself.

We must decide whether or not we can use the procedures and techniques of inside pressure at the same time that we use those that are predominantly the tools of outside groups. The Jacksonville Survey experience is the best example of what may be possible by working with the strong personalities and strong organizations within a community on a plan of community development.

2. Publicity. A second question is, How much and what kind of publicity shall we get? Shall we attempt to influence public opinion in the community against evil men and evil deeds by the same methods of vilification which are characteristic of the current attacks on certain Southern personalities in the press?

3. A third is, How much of the spectacular can we adopt? There seems to be a very general desire that the Council do something that attracts attention. This would mean adopting the present generally used technique of name-calling and adopting fantastic attitudes toward people and movements, or devise other means of becoming spectacular.

4. A fourth question which arises is, How much, if any, direct action the central office staff should take in a local situation, and how much should be left to local leaders themselves? Frequently, we are called on to direct or participate in the solution of local problems and situations.

Right at this point, the question of disagreement seems to be on the question of what constitutes "action" for the Southern Regional Council. There are many who expect us to duplicate the efforts of other organizations. There seem to be very few who have yet understood the approach to the problem of human relations from the positive constructive point of view.

The above statement seems to me to involve the principal issues on which there needs be some clarification.

Any program which the Council is to put over effectively will need more finances and more staff. It is not possible to stay in Atlanta and direct a program which will be effective with all of the people of the region.

My own remarks at the annual meeting will be designed to articulate with those to be made by Dr. Johnson. He is to give a brief statement on the history of the organization and what has been done from its establishment to the present. I am to follow with a statement of future action of the Council.

I am listing the topics around which my own discussion will take place:

No. 1 - The overall picture of progress in the South.

No. 2 - Emphasis upon the regional concept approach and development.

No. 3 - The future work of the Council will grow out of the evolving pattern of progress of the South. It will concentrate its effort upon the problems involved in human relations growing out of the current movement to industrialize the region, and to mechanize agriculture. It will give special attention to the problems of migration, to urban centers within and without the region, and the prevention of maladjustments which are inevitable in this movement unless careful planning and subsequent intelligent action are permitted to forestall the chaos and confusion which are incidental to such vast movements as we are entering.

No. 4 - The regional, state, and local pattern of action to solve the problems involved in education, law enforcement, the use of the ballot, attaining equal facilities under the law and civil rights.

This is a rather brief statement but it may enable you to see the line which I have planned to follow. The statement will emphasize action on a region-wide scale and the utilization of all existing agencies and individuals who plan and carry out a program of consistent and desirable growth for all the people in the South.

I believe it is your idea that we have a national advisory committee. Dr. Johnson feels that this should receive full consideration at our meeting.

I have written Mr. Favrot, suggesting that Dr. Vincent O'Connell be invited to the meeting at Baton Rouge on November 5. He writes me that he is issuing the invitation. I have also received a very nice letter from Father O'Connell.

This letter is largely suggestive. If there are any points which you feel should be cleared up, please do not hesitate to write me at once.

It seems to me that the Southern Regional Council, on the foundation which has been built for the past three years, is now ready to go into action, provided that sufficient finance and staff are secured. I am sure that an effective job can be done under your leadership. I have enjoyed this year on the staff of the Council, and particularly the work with Dr. Johnson, whom I have known and respected for many years. I feel that we are now ready to drive forward.

The lack of understanding on the part of some persons connected with the Council is easily understandable, because of the tendency to think in terms of former conditions and action or in terms of what other organizations are doing at present. It seems to me that we can evolve a program and procedures which will be most effective within the region itself.

All of us look forward with pleasure to seeing you on the 11th. I feel that we can work out something very worthwhile at that time.

With every good wish and highest personal regards, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director

HLT:rr

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 23, 1946.

Dr. Harold Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue N. E. Room 432
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I wired you today that it was necessary for us to delay the conference for you, Dr. Johnson and myself until the morning before our annual meeting. My train was late arriving in Richmond and there were two or three things of an emergency nature that kept me busy until about 2:00 o'clock. I then tried to contact Dr. Johnson in Washington and although the operator checked with me several times I was unable to get a connection with him. I cancelled my call because I presumed that it was necessary for us to meet in Richmond Wednesday or it would be better to postpone our get-together until the time suggested above. I would suggest that you meet with Dr. Johnson soon after he returns to Atlanta and give him a review of our ~~correspondence~~ conference in Atlanta. Please emphasize how important I think it is for us to have a strong series of statements from you, Dr. Johnson and myself at the annual meeting. We will have to take care of some of the details by correspondence and put on the finishing touches when we get together for our proposed meeting.

The more I think of it the more I am convinced that it is imperative for the future of the SRC that we present a solid and courageous stand at our annual meeting. With this in mind I wish you would write me as soon as possible presenting in full our ideas on strengthening our policy. Please organize your material as if you were president of our organization. Knowing what you have learned since coming with us, in preparing your viewpoint please bear in mind the ideas that you and Guy will present so that we will not duplicate one another.

I hope you will be able to invite Dr. Vincent O'Connell to the Baton Rouge meeting November 5. I am writing him that he may hear from you and meanwhile to keep this date open. Father O'Connell is Chairman of the Catholic Committee of the South and inasmuch as he resides in New Orleans we should have him active in the work of the SRC. I know that the Human Welfare crowd have made a strong bid for his services, but I have asked him to hold off and to join forces with us. I would also suggest that you invite Dr. Lynn Smith of LSU to the meeting. As I emphasized, any program in Louisiana must make a strong bid for support from New Orleans and I doubt that anyone has stronger contact with the people who are likely to count, as much as Father O'Connell. There are other obvious reasons why we want him as I mentioned

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#2 - Dr. Harold Trigg - October 23, 1946.

to you in Atlanta. You will like Father O'Connell, he is young, competent and courageous and expresses himself well on his feet. Please let me hear from you soon.

It was a delight seeing you and I hope one of these days I can look forward to the pleasure of a leisurely visit with you.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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October 31, 1946.

22

3320 Gloucester Rd

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I tried to reach you in Washington during the Trustees meeting to suggest that perhaps you might find it possible to stop off in Richmond on your return and I was going to ask Dr. Trigg to come up for a conference for the three of us. However, I was unable to get in touch with you and I did not want you to change your plans for your return trip and delay yourself an additional day.

After talking with you and Dr. Trigg it seems that our annual meeting assumes additional importance which may shape the future course of the SRC. For this reason it appears imperative that the three of us should present pretty air-tight cases at our annual meeting. Dr. Trigg will explain some of my ideas along these lines and I would appreciate hearing from both of you in advance of our meeting as to---1. the things you will include in your report----2. the things the two of you would include in my report if either of you were president, having in mind the background of the SRC, our future needs and the present trends in the South. I am making every effort to arrive Monday morning before our meeting but I would suggest that the three of us get together in my room at the Ansley Hotel. Until we are quite sure of our reports, as I see it, it seems important that I make a rather full report: (or an expanded statement) to the board of directors meeting and a brief statement at the general meeting. Dr. Trigg knows some of my ideas along these lines and will discuss them with you. Before we meet in Atlanta however, I wish that both you and Dr. Trigg would write me at length and at least give me a synopsis of your reports.

I believe that we agreed that the following should be added to our list of SRC fellows:

Mr. Lionel Baxter, Program Director, Station WAPI, Birmingham, Ala.
Mr. Leo Zuber, National Housing Administration, Atlanta, Ga.
Miss Martha Coleman, Richmond Professional Institute, Richmond, Va.

I would appreciate it also if you would include Mr. Dale Francis who is executive director of the Catholic Laymen's Association for the diocese of Raleigh, North Carolina. His address is Nazareth, North Carolina, Mr. Francis, who formally was city editor of a daily paper in Dayton, Ohio, is an exceptionally intelligent and energetic young man in his middle twenties and very liberal in his viewpoints. I would recommend that plenty of time be given to the Institute of the fellows, directly following our annual meeting, so that it will be practical and inspiring and ample time will be allowed for discussions from the fellows themselves.

All the above are white.

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#2 - Mr. Guy B. Johnson - October 31, 1946.

While I was in Atlanta I saw an excellent short put out by RKO in its series "This is America". It was about the TVA. It was grand, not only from a point of appreciation of the TVA itself, but it was also beautifully written with overtones concerning the South itself. I think it would prove an admirable companion film for the English picture you spoke of.

I had lunch the other day with Virginius Dabney and he gave me a good tip on a future prospect for funds for the SRC. I will write you on this at an early date.

I was able to get a little extra pepper and I am sending you and your wife a small container of it.

Beginning Monday November 4 I will be in New York at the Shelton Hotel in case you desire to reach me but will be home again Saturday and Sunday.

Please accept my thanks to you and your gracious wife for your hospitality during my stay in Atlanta.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., 63 AUBURN AVE., ATLANTA, GA.

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NIGHT LETTER

NOVEMBER 5, 1946

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
CARE SHELTON HOTEL
NEW YORK CITY

HOPE YOU RECEIVED TRIGG'S LETTER BEFORE LEAVING RICHMOND. MY REPORT WILL COVER 1946 ACTIVITIES, WITH BRIEF EVALUATION OF FIRST THREE YEARS OF SRC. TRIGG WILL DISCUSS FUTURE PROGRAM AND POLICY. SUGGEST YOU COMMENT ON OVERALL STRATEGY AND NEED FOR MORE FINANCIAL SUPPORT. WE WILL ALL HAVE TO BE BRIEF, SO SUGGEST TEN-MINUTE TALKS BOTH TO BOARD AND MEMBERS. ABOVE ALL, LET'S NOT APPEAR TO BE ON DEFENSIVE. I EXPECT TO BE IN OFFICE EVERY AFTERNOON IF YOU NEED TO CALL ME.

GUY B. JOHNSON

November 7, 1946

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter, which arrived several days ago. I sent you a wire to the Shelton Hotel in New York. Hope it was helpful. I was in too much of a jam to write a long letter, so I just condensed my thoughts into a telegram.

I think the most important things are (1) to be brief, so that there will be the maximum amount of time left for discussion by the members and (2) do not give the appearance of being on the defensive. Since the Board meeting on the afternoon preceding the annual meeting usually has plenty to keep it busy, I believe it is wise to be brief there as well as at the meeting the next day.

The attendance at the Fellows Conference is going to be so heavy that the total expense will push our $1500 grant pretty closely. For this reason, we have felt it best not to invite the additional nominees, with the exception of Mr. Zuber who lives in Atlanta.

I do hope you can arrive next Monday so that we can have time to get together on last-minute arrangements.

Looking forward to seeing you soon and with all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

November 21, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Enclosed is check covering your expense account for the annual meeting, board of directors, and Conference of Fellows.

Since the meetings last week, we have had several people tell us that they thought the annual meeting was certainly a good meeting. From many sources we have received comments that the Fellows Conference was most inspirational and helpful. Several letters have come to Dr. Johnson from the Fellows stating how much they enjoyed the conference, and expressing the hope that it would be repeated next year.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Inez B. Tillison

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 3, 1946.

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Guy:

Do you have any connections at Chapel Hill whereby I could obtain two tickets to the Sugar Bowl game this year. If so I would be most grateful to you for using your good offices. Meanwhile let me know what the prospects are. I could write Bill Carmichael if you suggest but I'd rather not be under obligation to him.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

GBJ. added note to letter to P.D.W. of 12/6 saying he will try to get tickets through J.A. Warren, Treasurer of U. of N.C.

December 6, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Your letter of November 25 arrived just as I was about to leave for a little Thanksgiving trip to Florida. I took the family and we did some fishing on the St. Johns River near Jacksonville, as well as visiting with our friends, Dick Daniel and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Havens.

Thanks a lot for sending me a copy of Dabney's editorial. I have written him a note of appreciation. It was very thoughtful of him to say so many good things about me and I only wish that I really deserve them.

As for the Executive Committee, our by-laws simply give the Board the power to create the committee and the number of the persons on the committee is limited to seven, plus the officers of the Council. There is no legislation defining terms of Executive Committee members or providing for their being dropped from the committee. I think you have raised a good point but before anything could be done about it we would have to have action by the Board to provide for regular terms or for annual elections of Executive Committee members. I suggest that we discuss this whole matter at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Yes, I agree that if Dr. Charles S. Johnson is willing to continue as Chairman of the Executive Committee, we should by all means keep him on it.

I think your suggestion about the Finance Committee is very good. A committee composed of Dr. Alexander, as Chairman, Dr. Clement, Dr. Newbold, Virginius Dabney, and John H. Wheeler would make a splendid group. Will you notify them of their appointment, or do you want us to do it from our office in your name? I understand that Dr. Alexander is to be in Atlanta two weeks from now but I doubt if that would be a good time to try to get the committee together. I will go over with him our financial problems and urge him to call a meeting of the committee at Raleigh or Durham early in January.

Check covering your expense account is enclosed. It is certainly a legitimate Council expense. Of course, if the American Missionary Association has made any gesture toward taking care of your expenses it would be O.K. to let them pay you and reimburse SRC.

We continue to hear good comments about the successful SRC meeting and about the splendid way in which you presided.

With all good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

(DEPARTMENT OF LAY ORGANIZATIONS, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

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PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

RECEIVED
NOV 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

Nov. 25, 1946

RECEIVED
NOV 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

Dear Guy,

Should we consider a reorganization or a renaming of our Executive Committee? Who has the power of naming. We will have to keep the ex officio members of course but can't we get some new blood for some of the other members? For one thing I should like to have you go on the Executive Committee when you have to return to Chapel Hill? How can this be done legally? Couldn't we appoint someone in the Atlanta area pro tem with the understanding he would resign when you must return to U. of N. C.? Please consult Mr. Hoas and write me your recommendations.

Will Alexander and Dr. Clement and I had dinner during the Amer. Miss. Assoc. Meeting

(over)

in N.Y. last week. Dr. Clement gave Dr. Will a glowing picture of the S R C annual meeting. Dr. Will said he was willing to serve as Chairman of the Finance Committee and call a meeting and go to work in earnest in order to get some new sources of funds. Lets put V. Flaherty and D. Clement on this committee too. Couldn't you and I serve ex officio and perhaps one or two from Raleigh (Dr. Newbold) and Durham (the young Negro V-P of the Bank owned by Spaulding). This arrangement might be healthy in that a majority would be in the Raleigh-Richmond area and very little travel would be necessary for meetings. Write me your opinions on this. I believe this set-up offers some advantages over the committee we discussed over the 'phone.

According to Dr. Will, Dr. Chas Johnson wants to continue his activity with S R C and we should hold him as Chairman of the Executive Committee. You agree, don't you.

I'm enclosing my expenses for the trip to N.Y. Was the Amer. Miss. to take care of this or the S.R.C.? I'm sure you will know. Wish I could afford to absorb this personally.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

December 13, 1946

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

This is just a note to tell you that my friend, Mr. J. A. Warren at Chapel Hill, writes me that he has put in your application for ~~a~~ tickets to the Sugar Bowl game. However, he says that only 3,500 tickets were allowed the University and that there are more than 5,000 names ahead of yours. The chances don't look very good but, after all, a miracle might happen!

Very best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

P.S. a book for you here from A. M. Assa. Shall we send it to you?

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

Please airmail copy your talk as ~~delivered~~ delivered to opening membership meeting. Must have for December issue which will carry full report on meeting. Thanks and regards.

Ray Warwick
XX

Paul Williams

The Kentucky

A DINKLER HOTEL

WALNUT STREET AT FIFTH

LOUISVILLE 2, ... KENTUCKY

J. E. RUSHIN
MANAGER

OTHER DINKLER HOTELS

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THE SAVANNAH	SAVANNAH, GA.
THE O. HENRY	GREENSBORO, N. C.
THE JEFFERSON DAVIS	MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Richmond, Va.
Jan. 4, 1947

Dear George,

The attached letter is fine but it does contain some inaccuracies. V. Dabney, not I, is the chairman of the sub-committee which consists of the following:

V. Dabney, Chairman
J. Hancock
H. Trigg
W. Brown
P. B. Young
J. B. Johnson
P. Williams

H. Odum consultant

Probably no one will raise the point but I am listing the above for your information.

Please ask Mr. Haas if it is okay, legally, to proceed with the invitations, if a majority of our Ex. (ones)

Note attached memo of Dec 24 - MGK.

Committee gives its approval.

Yesterday I purchased a gift for our mutual friend in Mississippi. Should I send it there or to N.Y. What is his N.Y. address?

Leaving tomorrow for Wash. Will be at 2400 Hotel until Wed. noon. Wire or phone me if I should contact Bethesda prospect. Please give particulars including name, address, amount to ask for etc. But there is no hurry on this as I will be returning to Wash. later.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely,
Paul

Paul Williams brings up a matter that needs some action.
Long ago, the Ex Comm was given (by the Board? or by the membership?) power to act, on matter of a national advisory committee. Well and good. The Ex Comm named a subcommittee, consisting of P Williams, V. Dabney, Gordon Hancock, Harold Trigg, and Wilson Brown, to choose names, to be suitably recommended for inclusion on the list of to-be-members.

Correction. I don't think the Ex. Comm. named the subcommittee, but more probably asked PW to select such a comm. He selected the above, plus Dr. Howard W. Odum, who ~~xx~~ was requested to serve as an advisor to the sub?committee, and did so serve.

Now, PW wants the Ex Comm to give the subcomm. authority to request the consent of those selected by the subcommittee (consent, that is, to serve as members of the National Advisory Comm).

That will have to be done by letter to the members of the ex comm.

PW prefers this to waiting for meeting of ex comm.

Recall that a long list of persons being considered was read at the 1947 membership meeting.

Will you draft a letter for the members of the Ex Comm, asking their delegation to the subcommittee of the requested authority. Such letter should have provision for readily ret rnable reply. Replies to com to you, you to notify PW when authori y is in hand. He and the sub comm will then go ahead and ask the advisory people to serve. (Though this office will probably get the job of typing, for PW's sig, the letters to be so sent to Adv. Comm vielleicht members.)

GSM Dec. 24, '47

If any doubts re this procedure, consult Haas

January 17, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Mentzer Bush & Co.
2210 South Park Way
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note from Pittsburgh. I hope that you will soon have a reply from Charles S. Johnson concerning the special meeting of the Executive Committee. I think it is rather urgent, and the sooner we can have the meeting the better. You may have to keep after Charles Johnson because he is so very, very busy.

Mrs. Tilly had a good conference with Dr. Alexander when she was in Washington earlier this week. She says that there is no doubt about the Rosenwald appropriation coming through eventually, but that Dr. Alexander wants to see our official machinery set in motion for selecting a new director. We have received the first half of our General Education Board grant for 1947, but this will not last long and within a month we shall again be very much in need of funds.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Hotel Fort Pitt

PITTSBURGH

Jan. 15, 1947

Dear Guy,

I have written Dr. Charles Johnson about the necessity of calling a meeting of our executive committee, giving him the dates acceptable to me. As soon as I hear from him I'll write you immediately so you can send out a notice.

Just spoke with my wife over long distance who informed me that I have received several S.R.C. letters and that she is forwarding them to me.

I hope all is well with you.

Sincerely,

Paul

P.S.
My next address is
Montzer Bush & Co.,
2210 South Park Way,
Chicago, Ill.

C

O

P

Y

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

February 1, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
President, Southern Regional Council
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You will recall that at the meeting of the Executive Committee on November 12, 1946, I announced to the Committee that I had decided to return to the University of North Carolina. I stated that the decision had been reached only a few days previously and that the details had not been worked out, but that I could say that I would not leave the Council earlier than March 1 and that I hoped to arrange a later date with the University. The Executive Committee voted to accept this as information which would be passed on to the Board and to the annual meeting, and to recommend my re-election as Executive Director with the understanding that my formal resignation would be received when my plans were definite.

Some time ago the University of North Carolina consented to my request that my return be postponed to September 1 — a happy circumstance for me, since I could not get possession of my house at Chapel Hill before that time. Since my plans are definite now, I wish to submit my formal resignation as Executive Director of the Council, effective as of August 31, 1947. I had hoped to lay this before a special meeting of the Executive Committee, but since it appears that the Committee will not meet until the next regular date, February 26, I am writing you now and am sending copies of this letter to members of the Committee.

The decision to leave the Council has been a very tough one, indeed. It is not because I do not believe in the Council but because I believe in it so very much. I feel that the formatory stage is completed, that someone else can carry on more effectively from here on, and that I can make a greater contribution in the long run by returning to the field of teaching and research. Later I shall try to express more adequately my appreciation of the privilege of working with the Council. In the meantime I shall carry on to the best of my ability until the day I leave.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Copy to Dr. Charles S. Johnson and
All members of Executive Committee

March 31, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your two notes which arrived early last week. Since the majority of the members of the executive committee have returned their ballots, I think it is just as well to skip the others. They may send them in later, but it does not matter anyway. I have turned the ballots over to Mrs. Tillison for the files, and have instructed her that they constitute legal authority for changing the signature at the bank from mine to Dr. Mitchell's.

We have had so many things to do since you were here that I had just about forgotten to write the memorandum to the Board of Directors announcing the appointment of Dr. Mitchell. We drafted a letter and signed your name by proxy. I hope you approved of the way it was written!

I am sorry that the outlook for additional money from the General Education Board does not seem to be very good right now. However, we must not give up hope. It may be that they will be willing to put up one or two small grants which will help us out. I believe they would look favorably on a renewal of the grant for the Conference of Fellows.

I am seeing Dr. Odum this coming weekend at Chapel Hill and I am going on from there to Washington, where I shall attend trustee meetings at Howard University on April 7 and 8. If you plan to be in Washington at that time, I hope that you will let me know, so that we can get together for a talk. I can be reached through the President's office at Howard University.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

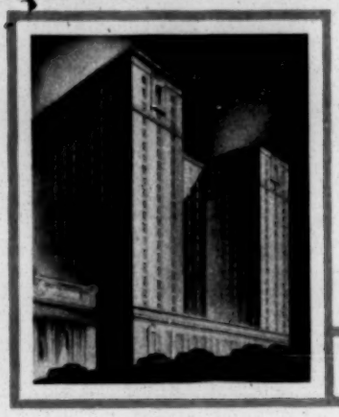
Guy B. Johnson

GBJ:ms

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 6-6000

MARTIN SWEENY, *President*

GEORGE H. HOWARD, *Manager*



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RECEIVED
MAR 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

March 23, 1947

Dear Guy,

Please keep the enclosed filed in our Atlanta office. Monsignor McNamara makes a personal reference to you which you will want to see.

Hope something comes from my visit with Jackson Davis, although he didn't seem too enthusiastic about our prospects for getting more money. I have written Dr. Odum asking that he write Davis supporting our request for additional funds.

Sorry we did not a chance for more of a chat while I was in Atlanta last.

Best always.

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

P.S. Will be in Richmond most of the coming week.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1947
Southern

March 23, 1947

Dear Guy,

As I told you when I was in Atlanta I have a number of expense items which I feel I must submit. I hesitated to do so when we were operating without funds. I wish it were possible for me to donate these expenditures.

If you send me the names and addresses of the executive committee I will remind them to sign the slips and return them for our records. We have received seven replies so far. I am sending you these.

I believe we agreed that a statement should go to the Board of Directors on Dr. Mitchell's appointment as your successor. This can go as a Memographed message over my typewritten signature or, if you prefer, you can sign the message and say you are informing the Board at my advice.

(over)

Glad to know that things look good for your return to Chapel Hill this summer. Please be sure of your contract before you sever relations with S.R.C. Your services have been too valuable and loyal for you to suffer any financial loss. Inasmuch as severance pay has been set up for you I think you should consider your own welfare. For this reason I hope you will make no final decision on your separation until I can have a talk with you at the May meeting of the Executive Committee. If anything brings you to Richmond or Washington in the meanwhile, let me hear from you.

Best always!

Sincerely yours.

Paul D. Williams

April 9, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I thought I would give you some little report on how things look here at the beginning.

I have made a few minor rearrangements about the staff. One of the girls who had been working mostly on membership is receiving the dignity of being called Membership Secretary and I intend to increase her pay a bit when the title becomes formal. In this new position she can, herself, manage a campaign to double our membership again this year.

I have made arrangements such as will enable us to reduce staff by one person in three or four months' time.

We have explored rather at length two excellent candidates for the job as Secretary-Treasurer - one in Washington and one in Rome, Georgia. The Washington girl turned us down and the Rome girl is to make up her mind tonight whether she wants it or not. She seems to me to fit into it perfectly, but her personal circumstances in Rome, where she owns a house, make it doubtful for her. Meanwhile, we are planning to take advantage of the arrangements you made about easing the appointing procedure for a Secretary-Treasurer and intend to designate Mrs. Warwick, who has been keeping the books, as Acting Secretary-Treasurer, effective the day after Mrs. Tillison's resignation, which is on the fifteenth. Mrs. Warwick will, therefore, be able to sign checks and we will add a dollar or two to her per diem for each day that she does double duty as bookkeeper and Secretary-Treasurer.

At Dr. Alexander's suggestion, I undertook to finance up to a maximum of $1200.00 a meeting which Mrs. Tilly is planning in Atlanta on May 8 and 9. This will draw together leading church women of both races from all over the South to discuss civil liberties, employment problems, and so on. I think it is, in part, a builder of supporting public opinion for whatever will be coming out later on from the President's Committee on Civil Rights. It will really be a fairly small meeting but we had to provide from somewhere the travel expenses of some of the women. I am in hopes that we can so work things out as to have the meeting become ultimately of financial benefit to the Council, through the efforts that some of the women can make in their own church bodies.

In talking with the others here on the staff, I have modified the idea about State reports and switched it around to a series of reports, each trying to measure achievement as among the several Southern States in a specific field of betterment, such as democratic rights, housing, care of the feebleminded, progress in voluntary association, farm ownership, and so on. This would not throw nearly such a peak-load on our staff and I think would really be much more effective in reaching the public's eyes and ears than the earlier plan of swatting people with everything at once, once a year. At the moment it looks as though we could, with our present staff, grind out two or three such reports, printing them as quarterlies in our regular series. Then, with those in hand, I should think we could go to people with money and ask for more money to do the same thing in another dozen fields of activity.

In order to comply with the wishes of the last Board meeting, we are shaping things so that the first such report would be on the ballot. This is all experimental and I don't know how far we will get with it. We badly lack people and travel money to do that job rightly.

Nothing has moved on the police matter. I don't think we can do anything until we can get money for a person specifically for that.

So far as we can hear, we continue to be a harmonious little outfit.

We all appreciate what your active work as President of the Council means to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

April 11, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am wondering how your supply of SRC stationery is holding up. It looks now as though we may be re-ordering before long and if you will let us know how much you would like to have with your name on it, we will be glad to include this with our order.

As the fifteenth draws nearer, I find myself keenly aware of the many pleasant associations I have had here in the Council's work and know that I shall miss all of you very much. As I said in my letter of resignation to you, the experiences have been most helpful and interesting, and I shall not be likely ever to forget them. I hope I shall have an opportunity to see you and all the others at least at the annual meeting next fall.

Sincerely yours,

Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

IBT:r

→ K. File my letter
to Paul Wms re
this

RK

Westwood Gets Justice

RICHMOND'S Board of Aldermen is entitled to public thanks for its willingness to reverse the position it formerly took with respect to Westwood. These open-minded men have adopted the fair and proper course in allowing the Westwood taxpayers to have water and sewerage facilities.

MAYOR EDWARDS lost no time in instructing the City Directors of Public Utilities and Public Works to proceed with the installations immediately. The sooner the job is completed, the better. Not only are the 65 families of Westwood being put to great inconvenience, but they are subject to the constant hazard of an epidemic, and so is the city as a whole—as long as this settlement lacks elementary sanitary arrangements.

Many persons deserve credit for the result which has been achieved. Men and women who normally take little part in public affairs were aroused by this Westwood controversy, and they made their feelings felt in high quarters. It was clear that here was no ordinary controversy, but one which appealed to the city's sense of fair play.

While the figure of $500 has been mentioned as an average cost to Westwood householders for making connections with city pipe lines and installing interior fixtures, much depends on what fixtures a given family wants to put in. Certain basic requirements can be met for considerably less than $500. At all events, there is reason to believe that the citizens of Westwood are grateful to Council and to their friends throughout Richmond for making these facilities available to them, and that they will take advantage of the opportunity granted them.

And may the installation of these facilities serve finally to terminate this unfortunate controversy which has been distracting this community for some two years!

Dispatch Apr. 30.

Williams, Paul D.

May 1, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is another account of recent events.

Dr. Alexander spent two or three days in Atlanta lately and we talked further about money. He has seen some people already and has plans for talks with others who can help. We, of course, do not know what will be the result of Mr. Jackson Davis' death, but continue hopeful that the General Education Board will make an appropriation for the Council. Mrs. Tilly's meeting on May 8 and 9 will draw together women from many church agencies and from some other groups as well. A special meeting of heads of the various agencies represented will be held during the Conference at which time several of us will try to get across to the women officials the importance of getting the Southern Regional Council into the budgets of their agencies.

We are still running a thousand or two dollars ahead of our budget for the first six months of the year. That is to say, we will be in the red unless we get additional funds before June 30.

Dr. Trigg has made a field trip into North Carolina to view the work done there in getting vocational schools started for Negro veterans. He was quite encouraged by what he found and thinks that after one more extended visit, which this time will be through Virginia, he will be in position to pick up the story rather quickly from the other states. I can see looming up a pamphlet which will compare the achievements of the various Southern states in this field. It could be a particularly valuable pamphlet.

One or two of us attended recent meetings of our affiliates in Georgia, and in South Carolina. The Georgia Inter-racial Committee met in Macon. At

The attendance was good and the Committee added to its own membership considerably. A particularly fine talk was made by Mr. Harry Strozier of Macon on the White Primary issue in Georgia. The Georgia Committee undertook at that time to print Mr. Strozier's address. The South Carolina meeting was quite successful. Attendance was good and it was evident that the members of the South Carolina Division quite appreciated their stronger link with the Southern Regional Council. Some forty five new members of the South Carolina Division, and therefore of the Council, were added at the time of the meeting.

We are not getting started as quickly as I had hoped on real research for the pamphlet on Negro Voting which the Board wished to have done during this year. Just yesterday, I engaged for one month a young woman student from Antioch College who has the fingers and eyes to use in putting together what we already have in the files, but it will take a good deal of conferring and some travel to produce a worthwhile pamphlet. Here again we think of trying to measure in the pamphlet democratic participation as among the several Southern states and as against some nationwide standard. We have worked out cooperation with the study underway at the University of Alabama which should give us a good deal of information with minimum trouble and cost to ourselves.

Dr. Johnson is going to Columbia, Tennessee for three addresses in the near future. He has been invited there by responsible citizens who wish to organize an interracial committee in Columbia. This is a very hopeful and gratifying result of Dr. Johnson's efforts in connection with the trouble at Columbia.

I have engaged a new secretary-treasurer who will begin her work on June 1. Her name is Mrs. Agnes McCoy. She is the daughter of a Methodist minister, and was born at Macon, Georgia, close to fifty years ago. When a mature person, she attended Agnes Scott College from which she graduated in 1936 with a Phi Beta Kappa key and other high honors. She worked for five years as assistant supervisor of WPA Workers Education Program in the Southeast. This put her in touch with a number of personality problems among her subordinates and she solved them to everyone's satisfaction. Incidentally, she had a hand in organizing Negro classes as well as white ones. From the WPA she moved over to the Bureau of Labor Statistics at its Atlanta Regional office. She has been there four years now. Her work has required her to travel in most of the states of the Southeast, interviewing employers, business persons, and trade union officials. She has been a representative of the BLS and has been expected to solve such minor beruffleme nts as would naturally come up in the reporting of statistics. She has done this travel to the cordial approval of her superiors in the BLS. I understand that they have given her for the last two years an efficiency rating of excellent - one of only four such ratings given in a comparatively large office. Mrs. McCoy is known to many of the progressive people around Atlanta and is greatly liked and respected by them all. She takes some salary reduction in coming with us, but the ability to be at home with her son who has returned from the army is compensation to her. It was convenient to have the arrangement which you had made for the special sub-committee to approve this selection, I have,

of course, explained to Mrs. McCoy that the appointment is subject to review and renewal or not by the Board at its annual meeting. I have every reason to believe, however, that she will be quite satisfactory.

We have had acceptances from Monseignor McNamara and from Dr. Charles Johnson for the Executive Committee meeting on May 28. We hope we shall have you here at that time.

Miss Price, as Membership Secretary, calculates that we are getting about 100 new members a month, plus renewals.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

May 15, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I think the story of Westwood ought to be printed in the New South. It was a neat victory.

My best guess as to the way to get it written up would be to ask Tom Allen to do it. I would take your guess as to the best person, of course. If you think Allen should do it and would do it, would you please be good enough to ask him to? If you think somebody else ought to do it, would you ask the somebody else, please?

Whatever is written need not be long. I should think the story could be got into three double-spaced typewritten pages. It would just be a sort of note on Westwood. What would most interest the readers of New South would be the contriving that went into getting lawful and decent action out of the City Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

May 29, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3820 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The matter on vocational education was this:

The Veterans Administration is committed to provide tuition not to exceed $500.00 per annum per student and subsistence pay for students being veterans of World War II, if enrolled in training institutions approved by the States.

This is wide open for students below college level. The hitch is, there aren't any schools for them. Experience shows that nearly any town can open a trade school with at least a few courses and just about float it with the money from VA.

See what a magnificent chance that is in Southern States, rapidly picking up industries, in the very years when they are cutting loose through mechanization a million or two untrained farm hands!

Each Southern State needs eight or ten regionally spaced vocational schools of secondary level for white students and three, four or five such schools for Negro students. Once started for veterans, most of these schools will live forever.

I found, and Trigg has found, that a competent person having knowledge both of Federal machinery and State educational systems and personnel, can do enough informing and smoothing to alter local and State plans and get more schools and better schools quicker - particularly is this true about getting Negro vocational schools.

I think Mr. McCuistion understands this and is interested.

Now that Trigg is going, the Council will have no one whom it can put on this job. The job will take eight of nine thousand a year to do.

I am satisfied that money spent on that job will apply to Negro vocational education in the South many hundreds of thousands of dollars that otherwise would not be applied or would be applied years from now instead of soon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

May 29, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

This is a reminder that it is up to you to name a special committee to assist you in selecting candidates for the position of Associate Director.

I assume you will notify directly the persons whom you place on that committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

June 12, '47

Dear Paul,

In looking at the minutes of the May 28 meeting I notice the suggestion that we invite Mr. Creavy of Richmond to join the Council. Can you supply us with ful name and address?

We've sent out the letter on Trigg's resignation, with the additions you suggested.

We await your corrections in the letter about recruitment by Board Members.

What shall I do about the Monseigneur's proposed letter to heads of religious bodies?

We are carrying reference to your State Department visit in the July New South.

Sad item: Ray Warwick is resigning, to take a job he has long coveted with the CIO Organizing Committee. Effective June 23rd, but he has the June issue of New South ready, and will finish July before he leaves. August is a Quarterly, nearly ready. So we have time to turn around. Please help us find a good man.

What do you wish done further about the list of persons possible for membership in the Advisory Committee?.

Sorry to disturb vacation with all these!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA - NEW YORK

June 6, 1947

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear George,

Please pardon the pencil. I have some time while I'm waiting for the sleeper for Richmond so I'll take up some of the points contained in your recent letters.

I think it important to include Dr. Trigg's letter of resignation and my reply in your letter to the Board of Directors. Dr. Trigg's letter is so thoughtful, straight-forward, and cordial that his attitude should be known by our Board.

I want to make several changes in the suggested letter to the Board of Directors for more members. I'll send a new draft as soon as possible.

I will write the persons to serve as the special committee to recommend a successor

UNDER SAME MANAGEMENT: HOTELS STATLER — BOSTON, BUFFALO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, ST. LOUIS, WASHINGTON; — HOTEL WILLIAM PENN, PITTSBURGH

(over)

to Dr. Trigg. Judy must

I'm enclosing the program of the meeting on American Foreign Policy which I attended here and in Washington. It was a highly important and interesting meeting and I'll tell you about it sometime. In view of the important people who attended this meeting perhaps you may want to carry a brief notice that SRC was represented in our next issue of New South.

I'll write you again on my return to Richmond. Beginning next Wednesday I'm taking a vacation with my family at our summer cottage on the Potomac River. Please write me: Pocopeake Cottage, Lewisetta, Va.

An expense sheet is enclosed itemizing my expenses to the Atlanta and State Department Meetings.

Please let me thank you for your gracious hospitality recently when I was your house guest. Remember me to your folks.

All good wishes, Sincerely yours

and

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Please return pdw

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PL 41147

April 14, 1947

My dear Mr. Williams:

A meeting of representatives of national organizations and other interested groups from various parts of the country for an exchange of views on American foreign policy with officers of the Department of State will be held at Washington, June 4 to June 6.

The first day of the meeting (June 4) will deal with the political foundations of peace (see program attached). On the second day the economic and cultural foundations of peace will be considered. On the third day persons attending the conference will have the alternative of informal interviews with officers of the Department in Washington or a conference at the headquarters office of the United States Delegation to the United Nations in New York and attendance at the United Nations headquarters at Lake Success.

If you, or your designated representative, desire to be present at this meeting, will you please return the attached form by May 15. Because of limited facilities, reservations can be accepted only from the first 250 persons replying.

Sincerely yours,

Francis H. Russell

Francis H. Russell
Director
Office of Public Affairs

Enclosures:

1. Tentative program
2. Duplicate registration forms

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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QA91 YA061

Y.LA49 NL PD=RICHMOND VIR 12

DR HAROLD TRIGG=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=ATLA=

HAVE BEEN ASKED AS PRESIDENT OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO TESTIFY BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE WASHINGTON DC JUNE 20 ON CONTINUANCE OF FEPC STOP HAVE ACCEPTED ASSIGNMENT WOULD WELCOME ANY SUGGESTIONS YOU MAY SEND ME CARE POCOPEAKE COTTAGE LEWISETTA VIRGINIA=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

File

20 FEPC..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

June 13, 1947

Dear Paul:

I have just received your telegram saying that you have consented to testify before a Senate Committee on the continuance of FEPC.

You probably have a lot of printed matter on FEPC, but I am enclosing a couple of things that might be of some help. One is an official publication entitled "FEPC: How It Operates," the other a newspaper ad published in the Little Rock papers in February 1946. Please return these to SRC when you are through with them.

My own opinion as to the practicalities involved in federal fair employment legislation is as follows: I believe that a general bill which attempts to cover both public and private employment would not have the chance of the proverbial snowball in Hell of being enforced in the South. I think that federal legislation should begin with an effort to enforce fair employment practices in government services and government contracts. This might be supplemented by a committee which would be empowered to make reviews and recommendations concerning private employment. I think that considerable time and experience will be required before a general federal law could do more than create a mass of hypocrisy and subterfuge.

I take it that you are going to preface your remarks by the sort of statement which I used at the beginning of my testimony before the Committee on Civil Rights. If SRC does not get its tax-exempt status definitely established as a non-political agency, it is going to be in a bad way financially before long!.....All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Lewisetta, Virginia

Guy B. Johnson

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
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QA92 YA062

Y.LA53 NL PD=RICHMOND VIR 12

DR GUY B JOHNSON=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=ATLA=

HAVE BEEN ASKED AS PRESIDENT OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO TESTIFY BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE WASHINGTON DC JUNE 20 ON CONTINUANCE OF FEPC STOP HAVE ACCEPTED ASSIGNMENT WOULD WELCOME ANY SUGGESTIONS YOU MAY SEND ME CARE POCOPEAKE COTTAGE LEWISETTA VIRGINIA=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

.20 FEPC..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

June 17, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Pocopeake Cottage
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Your telegram was received on my return to the city.

I have very few suggestions to make about Fair Employment Practices legislation. I do believe, however, that many persons who object to the general principle are willing for such an act to pass, provided that it is confined to employment under federal funds or in private employment in which federal funds are used. This would mean that employment in distinctly federal agencies or in manufacturing or building under federal contract would be given to persons without regard to race, creed or color.

Incidentally, Mr. Haas is here at our meeting of State Directors today. I showed him your telegram. He has just filed application for tax exemption status for the Southern Regional Council and feels that your appearance as President of the Council might have adverse effect on our application. I understand, however, that your appearance as an individual would have nothing to do with the matter.

I am passing this judgment on to you for whatever use you may make of it.

The controversy over Fair Employment legislation seems to be based on the extent to which it will affect private employers. I personally believe that all jobs from tax funds should be included in such an act.

With kindest good wishes from all of us, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Council
June 19, '47

Dear Paul,

We had quite a good meeting of the State people. One, two, or three from each State except Oklahoma. We used our own offices the first day, and went over to Atlanta University the second day.

First morning went to good discussion of kinds of State organization First afternoon I thought largely lost, from rambling discussion about the need(?) for strong stands on "ultimate objectives". But I am told that such a discussion is inevitable in each such gathering, and certainly it dis clear the air for getting down to to business the second day. We got over the posint about veterans education. The two North Carolina men helped a lot, and the Legion guy, and so did Harry Wright, whom I had brought down for the occasion. Guy explained the police possibilities, well, and they saw more to do there.

Two leading Negro business men invited us, at the meeting, to send someone to their forthcoming National conventions, to explain the chance on schools for veterans. So Trigg is going to the National Assn. of Negro Insurance Executives in Detroit next week, and also to the National Negro Business League in Tampa the week after that, and has time promised him on each program. That will get us known by a group who must in the future help us much more.

South Carolina's Board of Directors meets today, in Columbia, and Trigg and Guy and Mrs. Havens are there.

I had a note from Dr. Will, saying he was still working on money. He said he hoped you and I and he could be together sometime soon. When, if at all, could you arrange that? My guess is that the best plan would be for you to drive down, and for me to come up on the Seaboard to Raleigh, and take the bus direct to his farm, and we could meet there. I believe he'll be there much of the summer.

Our A.P. story on lynchigand lynching convictions was very well used indeed. AP called "smash play". Most big Southern papers carried it, and many more Northern ones. That was Sunday, June 7.

Best,

George

June 26, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Pocapeake Cottage
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I have just read the account of your appearance at the FEPC hearing as reported by the Journal and Guide - it is good! I am glad you took such a courageous stand.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

June 30, '47

Dear Paul, Williams

I'm back from a northerly trip. I stopped in to thanks two branches of the Methodists for their thousand a year apiece, and saw the Phelps-Stokes people (who said they would continue to help), and generally got us a little better known. I did not go to GEB, supposing that your plans would put you (and Trigg and Hancock?) there soon, and I had perhaps best not complicate what you ~~intend~~ intend.

We are going to have a stringent period about Aug. 15 - September 30. None of the heavy savings in payroll incident to Guy's leaving and Trigg's leaving and Slade's probable departure will have been reached then; they will lighten things the last quarter, but carrying them makes things tough this present one. So if you have some magic that will turn up a sum, the time of need is going to be that particular period.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

(DEPARTMENT OF LAY ORGANIZATIONS, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

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PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

Lewisetta, Va.
June 30, 1947

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1947
Southern Regional Council

Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

Dear George,

Please forgive me for my apparent neglect. My vacation has been frequently interrupted with many guests dropping by and several hurried business trips with the result that I have had a grand time but almost no leisure. I plan to return to Richmond the week-end after July 4th and can get to some of our unfinished business soon thereafter.

I can, however, make one favorable report. When I was in Washington June 20th I went to work on the matter of getting SRC tax exempt. I spoke with Turner Smith

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Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

who referred me to John Mitchell of the Dept. of Justice. Mitchell was out of the city so at Turner's further advice I saw Howard Campbell, also of the Dept. of Justice. Campbell made several telephone calls and made an engagement the following day with S. Z. Montgomery, Chief of Section, Income Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. I went over the fine brief, which yrs, Mr Haas and Guy had prepared and answered some of Montgomery's questions. Then I had the document notorized and filed it

Producer of THE CATHOLIC HOUR (NBC Network) and THE HOUR OF FAITH (Blue Network)

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Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

with Montgomery. He seemed very confident that we would receive a favorable ruling which, he estimated, should be made in about 40 days from the date I saw him (June 21).

Please pass this information on to Mr. Haas and Jay.

Will write you again soon.

Please pardon pencil.

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

P.S. Will write you about a meeting with Dr. Weill

P.

July 8, '47

Dear Paul,

I have a letter from Dr. Alexander today, saying that he plans to spend this coming week-end in Washington, and will be able to talk with me, and he rather hopes with you, on Monday, July 14, in Washington. I had been writing back and forth with him about how to raise money, and I think he wants to swap and confirm ideas, and plan action.

I will definately be there. Could you? If you can, it would be good to let me know here, before 4AM Friday July 11 that you will be in Washington the 14th. If you need to let me know later, I would get a message, wire or whatnot at the Cosmos Club, 1520 H. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. on Monday.

I send copies of this to Lewisetta and to Gloucester Road. Nice to live in Richmond on a street that hints of Tidewater and a cottage.

Sincerely,

G. S M.

Wilson

July 21

Dear Paul,

Here's the Police MS. Three copies. Please sign the two on bond paper, and mail them on to WWA. The third is for you. That GSJ signature is genuine, obtained by mail over the week-end.

I couldn'T reach Winston-Salem during business hours, so didn'T see Gordon Gray. I've written him to ask for an interview, saying I wanted to try to raise money in the South for a project to improve police administration. Don't know what I'll hear from him.

I talked yesterday with Phil Hamer. He gets $400 now, with raises coming on with a possible partnership arrangement. He isn't too happy, though that's confidential. But feels he may be committed to staying longer. Likes the idea of our job. Pleased a bit because he could take New South and make it in microcosm what he wanted his own magazine to be. Will consider for a week or ten days and let me know. I'd say it's fifty-fifty whether we get him or not. I offered 6000.

Keep Charles Smith available, if you can.

Very many thanks for coming up. The little talk did a lot of good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

HOTEL WILLIAM PENN

PITTSBURGH

Statler Operated

Richmond, Va.
Aug. 10, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1947

Dear George,

Please hold September 23 and 24 open on your calendar. As I told you, it is very likely that Monsignor Ligutti will invite you to participate in a panel discussion in Charlotte N.C. on Rural Life and Southern Problems. This will be part of the program of the Catholic Committee of the South Annual Convention. Arthur Raper has agreed to be on the program and other of your friends will be present.

An expense account of mine is enclosed.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,
Paul

P.S. Will be in Richmond until next Monday.

STAY Hotels STATLER in BOSTON BUFFALO CLEVELAND DETROIT ST. LOUIS WASHINGTON
NEW YORK Hotel Pennsylvania

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EMILY H. CLAY
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 8, 1947.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 4 and several other previous communications.

I am sorry Phil Hammer decided against coming with us. He would have been an attractive choice and would have helped the SRC very much. As you advise, I will communicate with Charles Smith but I have my doubts as to whether we can get him. I believe he makes about $6500 a year and has a home in Arlington County, however, I'll try and let you know the outcome.

I'm glad you have picked up Harold Fleming as a part time employee to help lighten your burden until we can make a permanent selection.

I hope you were successful in your jaunt to Winston Salem.

I will be glad to learn more about the scheme you were cooking to attract the attention of medical people to emphasize medical aspects of the sex crime wave.

I received word from Mrs. McKoy and from Mr. Haas informing me that our application for tax exemption has been favorably acted upon by the Treasury Department. If space permits please carry a notice of this in the next issue of New South or if you prefer write a memo to our Board of Directors. When I was in New York recently I made an attempt to see both Mr. Calkins and Mr. McCuistion of GEB but both were away on vacation. I doubt that we will be able to see them until September or later. I also talked with the Director of Public Relations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Mr. Edward J. Heffron. Mr. Clinchy is in Europe. Mr. Heffron assured me that there was almost no hope for the NCCJ giving us any grant but it might be possible for them to help us with a small contribution for a specific job that might tie in with some program we might devise which would have for its purpose, better understanding between Christians and Jews.

With every good wish, I remain

Cordially yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

August 13, 1947.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

Charles Smith cannot see his way clear to come with us at this time. We cannot afford a salary that would entice him and there are other reasons involved which I'll outline when I see you.

I asked Bill Davlin to suggest someone for the job. Bill and I are old friends. He and Hammer tried to turn over the Southern Magazine Pace. Davlin, in a letter written yesterday, writes as follows:

> "I am sorry that Phil turned down the S.R.C. job but I rather doubted that he would take it on. I have already, I believe, given you the name of Osborn Zuber, 1107 South 11th Street, Birmingham, Alabama, formerly associate editor of Richmond Times Despatch, the Birmingham Age Herald, Ex-Nieman Fellow, etc. I do not believe I gave you the name of Calvin Kytle, 2340 North Side Drive, Atlanta, Georgia (better have the address checked in the Atlanta Phone book where it is listed as David C. Kytle). He worked for us during our exploratory period on the magazine, edited a very fine army paper in the Pacific during the war and is a journalism graduate from Emory University. He is a very militant progressive and lives and breathes the sort of things the S.R.C. does."

I'll ask V. Dabney about Zuber when he returns from his vacation Monday. Meanwhile, please investigate Kytle if you don't already know him.

I am leaving Monday night for Chicago. Can I do anything through Embree to help our cause? Would either Dr. Will or Dr. Charles Johnson be in Chicago at this time? Wire or phone me if necessary. In Chicago, I can be reached through our office there: Mentzer, Bush & Company, 2210 South Parkway. Can be reached there until Friday afternoon, August 22.

Please tell me the date for our September meeting in Atlanta. I can't make it either the week of September 1 or 22nd, but the weeks of September 8 and 15th are okay. The week of September 8 suits me slightly better.

Best always,

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul D. Williams.

August 14, '47

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your letters, and Mrs. McKoy's thanks for the picture.

The August New South will carry a simple line that Contributions to the SRC are tax-exempt. I have to-day prepared a letter for Mrs. McKoy to send out to Board members, telling them in some detail about the new letter, and hoping that they can make use of our having it, in raising more money.

My Winston-Salem trip I doubt will be resultful. I had a longish talk with Gordon Grey. He's a good guy, straight, and careful. He obviously had no intention of giving himself, and didn't wish to be used in levering money from others, but asked me to send him a copy of the police project (which he read with great care) and said he would reflect as to whether he could find ways in which to further the project. Perhapsthat is some gain. I-ve written him, of course. He did tell me two or three people to see, none of whom were available, but I will do some more cultivating next time I can be in Winston-Salem. I have written Dr. Will, saying that I saw no early funds out of Winston-Salem, and suggesting that he try forthwith to find money for the police thing.

Thanks for trying with the NCCJ. They have an Atlanta office, which I intend to work on, some.

You at one time thought General Mills might help. Could you schedule them for early inquiry?

I've heard nothing further from you about the letter to Board members, asking their efforts in getting other members. Do you still hope to revise it? It awaits you wishes.

On the medical thing, I have promises of an early conference

with some of the Doctors at Emory. I learn that the last Congress made a modest appropriation to the Public Health Service for work that is pretty close to what I am after; scholarships for doctors to take psychiatric work, travelling rural mental-health clinics, assisted research in Universities, etc. That gives a further opening. They Suydenham Hospital, in New York, is doing a cooperative job with sociologists and doctors at Columbia University, on the mental case-load in nearby Harlem. That may give alead. It will all have to be gone into most cautiously, and in such a way as to reach the correct leadership.

Our feeble-mindedness pamphlet is is nearly-finished draft. I want to get it checked with the local authorities in Georgia and in North Carolina, before we put it out.

Luther Jackson is making headway with thesuffrage pamphlet.

Little progress on the housing one.

I decided not to kill the September New South, but to make it a regular issue ($90.00) instead of the scheduled Quarterly, which would have run into the hundreds.

We will barely meet our payroll August 15. August 31 will be paid out of the expected Rosenwald check for September 1. We owe perhaps $1700 to the printer, but otherwise have no debts of consequence.

Kendall Weisiger gave us a hundred dollars from his new Ashby Jones Memorial Fund. That helps, and it will help also in our list of contributors.

I propose to approach the Southern Presbyterians actively, early in September, and I want to try the Baptists, too.

Mrs. Havens has planned a trip to Tennessee, in the hope of getting a Tennessee Division going. Mrs Tilly will go soon to Alabama, to see what can be done to revive and strengthen the State Committee there. She will also touch up Mississippi, and will explore the situation in Louisiana. We have had some new activity there in Shreveport.

Sincerely,

G. S.

August 5, 1947

the Code and/or correspohding provisions of prior revenue acts. Gifts of property to you are deductible in computing net gifts for gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided in section 1004(a)(2)(B) and 1004(b)(2) and (3) of the Code and/ or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts."

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President
Southern Regional Council
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

We are very happy to inform you that our application for tax exemption has been favorably acted upon by the Treasury Department, and we are in receipt of notice from them to that effect. The following excerpts from this notice are of especial interest:

"Contributions made to you are deductible by the donors in arriving at their taxable net income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 23(o) and (q) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended, and correnponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

"Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers, to or for your use are deductible in arriving at the value of the net estate of a decedent for estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by section 812(d) and 861(a)(3) of the Code and/or correspohding provisions of prior revenue acts. Gifts of property to you are deductible in computing net gifts for gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided in section 1004(a)(2)(B) and 1004(b)(2) and (3) of the Code and/ or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts."

Mr. Leonard Haas has also been informed of the action of the Treasury Department.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 12, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy,

Thank you for your letter of July 31, 1947.

Enclosed is a glossy print of myself as requested.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

1 Encl.

July 31, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President
Southern Regional Council
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

The attached letter, enclosed for your information, is self-explanatory. Dr. Mitchell has provided a glossy print of himself and has asked that I request one likewise of you. Do you have such an one, and if so, may we have it from you at your earliest convenience ? Please return the letter if you will with the print.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AMCK/HS

Paul Williams

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

Richmond, Va.
Aug. 17, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear George,

Thanks for your two letters of August 14.

Thanks for reminding me of the letter I was to write to our Board members. I am enclosing a draft I worked out this week. Please edit the letter according to your good judgment. If you care to add a line to the letter about ~~our~~ our success in getting the tax-exemption, it is okay with me. Hope you like the letter.

Hope to write you tomorrow before I leave for Chicago.

Please tell me the date for our September meeting so I can make plans. If possible give me some idea of our agenda. I suppose most of our attention will be concerned with plans for our Annual Meeting.

I asked Drs. Chas. Johnson, Clement

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

Hancock and Mr. P. B. Young to serve with me on the committee to choose Trigg's successor. All of them haven't accepted as yet. When does Dr. Charles leave for Europe? Will we take action on Trigg's successor ~~this~~ at our Sept. meeting.

Please send Mr. E. W. Palmer, Pres. Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tenn. an assortment of our best and most recent pamphlets and copies of New South. Say you are sending them at my suggestion. I have already written Palmer about the SRC and will see him soon.

Best.

Sincerely,
Paul

September 2, 1947.

Mr. Walter C. Johnson, Secretary,
Southern Newspaper Publishers Association,
P. O. Box 1569,
Chattanooga, 1, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much indeed for your prompt reply to my inquiry.

I am familiar to some extent with Hunt Clement's career on the Chattanooga Times. I have had correspondence with him, although I have never had the pleasure of meeting him. My impressions are all extremely favorable, and I am much interested to know that he is the "C.H." mentioned in the recent Bulletin. I hope very much that he is sufficiently attracted by the vacancy on the Southern Regional Council staff to look into the matter further. I believe he would make us a very good man.

With renewed thanks for your helpful assistance, I am

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

Paul Williams

September 3, '47

Dear Paul,

Alex Miller, of the Anti-Defamation League here in Atlanta, and Mrs. Tilly have thought up an idea that has many useful possibilities. They think of calling a meeting which would represent active people in each of the Church denominations in the South (convened as a body). The topic would be how to get into the stream of literature and material reaching their Church people items on what to do about problems of racial and religious intolerance. Whom to reach when trouble brews, how to order pamphlets that will be helpful in this or that, how to get posters, places where speakers could be asked for, etc.

It's as yet vague, but will shape up.

Problem: how can we find in the South the proper Catholic woman? (It is to be, by the way, a women's movement).

Could you suggest one or two women of your group in the South who would understand what it's all about, and would be in a position to relate the movement, if agreed upon, as well as might be possible to official Catholic circles?

Sincerely,

GS&

September 8, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am enclosing a letter from Mr. J. M. Tydings which came to you here and which I am sure you will want to answer.

For your information concerning the enclosed invitation to membership, -- it was erroneously reported at the last meeting of the Executive Committee that the supply of these invitations was exhausted but we subsequently discovered a large number of them. It was thought best to go on using them not only because of the high cost of print and the amount of money which the supply represented, but due to the fact that the Annual Meeting was not too far away and that any changes of officers voted at that time might again render the invitations obsolete.

With all good wishes and looking forward to seeing you at the Executive Committee on September 17, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McCoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AMEE

Williams

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

Richmond, Va.
Sept. 14, 1947

Dear George,

Good to talk with you today. Will stop off for breakfast with you Wednesday. Thanks for this.

See enclosures regarding Hunt Clement. Dabney put me on his trail. I had asked him and several others on our Board to be on the lookout for vacancies to fill Trigg's and Warwick's positions.

Frankly I was deeply impressed with Clement and feel he is just the sort of man we need for the Council. He is well educated, personable and has a direct manner of facing things. I told him we needed a man to contact the right people in the South

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
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2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

and win them to our cause. This, I held, was even more important than a well equipped newspaper man. This fit okay into Clement's frame of mind.

Please don't turn Clement down solely on account of our limited finances. If you like him as much as did we can find a way to pay his freight. We will never get the man we need, with experience, for less than $5500 or $6000, at today's market. Besides, we can't afford to face the annual meeting with nobody selected for two key vacancies in our set-up.

I'll talk more about this whole matter when I see you. Hope Clement can stay on until Wednesday.

Best

Sincerely, Paul

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

CHATTANOOGA 2, TENN.
312 Ochs Building
Phone 7-2839

DALLAS 2, TEXAS
723 Texas Bank Bldg.
Phone Central-8880

CHATTANOOGA 1, TENNESSEE
POST-OFFICE BOX 1569

Office of
WALTER C. JOHNSON,
Secretary-Manager

August 30, 1947

Mr. Virginius Dabney
The Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

The "C. H." mentioned in a recent bulletin is Hunt Clement, who was for a number of years an editorial writer on the Chattanooga Times. He entered the service about the time of the merger of the Chattanooga Times and the News-Free Press. He was discharged with the rank of Lieutenant-Commander. He is now with the United States News in Washington.

As the offices of the SNPA are on the same floor in the Times Building as were the editorial rooms of the Times prior to the merger, I naturally saw much of Clement. I was very favorably impressed with him. He is a man of pleasing personality and his habits are good. It is my understanding that he wrote most of the editorials in the Times that were generally credited to Julian LaRose Harris. You may recall that Harris was executive editor of the Times for a few years.

He is an alumnus of Emory University, Atlanta. He married during the time he was in the service or shortly thereafter. I believe his wife is a native of South Carolina. I have recently had some corresoondence with him about schools of journalism and if you read his letters you would be impressed with the fact that he is a clear thinker. I am also inclined to believe that he has considerable executive ability.

I am writing Clement telling him of your inquiry and suggesting that if he is interested in the position to get into communication with you. If he indicates an interest and you are impressed with him I am sure you will arrange for a personal interview either with you or Paul Williams.

Yours very truly,

Walter C. Johnson

Walter C. Johnson

WCJ:F

August 28, 1947.

Mr. Walter C. Johnson, Secretary,
Southern Newspaper Publishers Association,
P. O. Box 1569,
Chattanooga, 1, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I note the notice in your recent Bulletin about the 43-year-old editor who is available, and who should, you say, be mentioned as "C.H.".

I haven't any editorial vacancy for him here on the Times-Dispatch, but I know of a position with the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta which is open. I happen to be a director of the organization, and it is trying to get a good public relations man who would be able to interpret its activities to the people of the South and nation, and to direct its publications.

The Council, as you may know, was formerly headed by Howard Odum, and the president now is Paul Williams, a Richmond businessman. It tries to take a middle of the road position on the race problem, and to open up wider opportunities for the colored people of the South. Its emphasis is on the need for helping them, but it also tries to help all Southern people who are disadvantaged and underprivileged.

I wish to emphasize that it is a totally different kind of organization from the Southern Conference of Human Welfare and far more conservative. Its directors are leading white and colored citizens of the South. If "C.H." is at all interested in the position, Paul Williams will look into the matter further, and they can see whether anything is possible. The description you give of this man sounds very good.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

ADVERTISERS AND AGENCIES

Stanley Ehlinger Advertising Associates Announce Termination of Service

With the completion of its 25th year, Tulsa's oldest advertising agency, Stanley J. Ehlinger Advertising Associates, Inc., has terminated service. Organized in 1922, the agency has served many well known manufacturers in the Petroleum Industry with its first account still an active client, and the average age of all accounts served, well over 11 years. Other principal clients have been in the fields of railroads, banking and aviation with both schools of aviation and plane manufacturers as clients.

Continuing active in advertising, Stanley J. Ehlinger will announce his future plans from Los Angeles where he will be located.

HELP AVAILABLE

Walter C. Schumann
Secy-Mgr SNPA
Chattanooga
Tenn.

Editor Available

Does this background interest you? Age 43; health, excellent; before joining Navy, 16 years' experience after college for press associations and newspapers. Most recently as assistant executive editor and chief editorial writer; detailed information and references available to interested publisher with bona fide offer who will state requirements and salary.

The Secretary-Manager of SNPA is personally acquainted with this party and will be very glad to give any publisher interested further information about him. He is an A-1 man and is probably the sort of editor you have been seeking. Mention C. H. when writing the Headquarters Office.

HELP WANTED

Advertising Manager Wanted

Unusually good salary on smaller city daily in Northeast Texas. This might be excellent opportunity for second man on a staff who has little prospect of advancement. Mention BEE when writing SNPA Chattanooga Office.

EQUIPMENT WANTED

Stereotype Equipment Wanted

Newspaper press and full stereotype equipment—Duplex Tabular preferred, 16-page. Herald-News Publishing Co., Inc., H. S. Hilburn, President, Plainview, Texas.

Elrod Casting Machine Wanted

The Albany (Ga.) Herald is anxious to purchase an Elrod Casting Machine. Any member having such equipment for sale is requested to communicate with John A. Davis, manager, The Herald, Albany, Ga.

(Printed By Students of Southern School of Printing)

Members are requested to note this Bulletin is not to be construed as any recommendation from the S.N.P.A. as to their action, but is confidential and issued solely for their information.

October 3, '47

Dear Paul,

Many thanks for your letter of October 1, with its generous, and welcome, check. Here is the receipt for it, and also the expense check.

Fine that you are moving right ahead with the Advisory Committee. It can do us a lot of good. And it's also fine that Virginius will give time and effort to it.

New copy of annual meeting program, herewith.

Mrs. McKoy and I fell into conversation about the matter of an Executive Committee meeting on November 11, the day before the annual meeting. At the Ex. Comm meeting the other day it was agreed, without much discussion, that the "next one" could be merged with the Board meeting of Nov. 11. That now seems to us unwise. (1) The meeting the otherday had no quorum, and wished its decisions confirmed by a full meeting. (2) We shall be paying for the attendance of those who compose the Ex Comm, wherefore it would seem good to get their minds again on our problems. (3) The Ex. Comm. might have matters, such as selection of Asso. Dir., or money matters, which it would wish to discuss in the relatively greater familiarity of the smaller meeting, smaller that is that the Board Meeting. I have therefore taken responsibility for getting notices prepared calling a meeting of the Executive Committe for the later forenoon (10.30) of the 11th of Nov. If the Comm. has little to do, it can have a short meeting. But I think it will find an hour or so of discussion welcome. I have discussed this proposed meeting with Josephine Wilkins, who thinks it "well taken". If you think this unwise, say so - notices won't go out till Monday, anyway.

I am slow about the State Committee, but I want to convince Josephine that she should run the meeting, and that takes some organizing! Will send you names and addresses as soon as I can.

I could be in New York Oct. 15, 16, or 17, or Oct. 27 or 28. Or any two of those days. Take your pick, and I'll meet you there, or in Richmond or elsewhere on the way up. We should go.

Sincerely,

GSM

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 1, 1947.

RECEIVED OCT 3 1947 Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks so much for your letter of September 28. I am glad that you enjoyed the Charlotte meeting. Please forgive me for not congratulating you for your intelligent participation in the panel. Because of Monsignor Ligutti's unexpected absence I was somewhat fearful that the panel would fall flat and I think it might have, had it not been for you and Raper. The two of you pitched in beautifully and made it quite informal. Tomorrow I will write you on the folder "What Is The SRC". I have several suggestions that might be incorporated.

Monsignor McNamara gave me the directive you left with him for the setting up of the National Advisory Committee of the SRC. Relative to this I saw Virginius Dabney yesterday. He is writing the Committee asking them to attend an evening date sometime after October 15. I will keep you informed on the progress of this Committee which consists of Dabney as chairman, Guy Johnson, Odum, Trigg, Young, Hancock and myself.

I am writing Father Vincent O'Connell today about Alex Miller's idea. Please send me the names* of the Committee on States and I'll write a letter to each member.

Somehow I misplaced the outline of our program for our annual meeting. I presume you have several copies and wish you would send me one.

This is good stuff about the GI money for our pamphlets.

Are you planning to go to New York to call on GEB and others before our annual meeting? If possible I will meet you there if you think it will help the cause, however, the only two weeks in which I could meet you are the week of October 13 or preferably the week of October 27.

I plan to be in Richmond all this week.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

* and addresses.

October 7, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I got a letter yesterday from Fred McCuistion saying that he and Calkins planned to be in Atlanta sometime between November 1-7, and would I be available to confer with them then?

I wrote back that I would be here, and would be happy to see them any time in that period.

It seems to me that removes any urgency about going to New York.

As soon as they let me know when they will be here I will write you, and if it should be possible for you to come down that would be good.

Many thanks for all your work on the Advisory Committee. I have to be in Jackson, Mississippi the 21st so don't suppose I could get to Richmond for the 22nd.

Yes I will go up to Nashville for Dr. Johnson's installation.

Mr. McDowell's address is:

Dr. Edward A. McDowell
2825 Lexington Road
Louisville, Kentucky

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

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RECEIVED
OCT 7 1947
Southern Regional Council

October 5, 1947.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

On a separate sheet I am listing my suggestions on the leaflet on the Southern Regional Council. Please feel free to use your own good judgment on my suggestions and "take'em or leave'em" as you see fit.

Dabney's letter went to the committee on naming the National Advisory Committee. Besides those listed in my last letter the committee will include the name of Wilson Brown, a member of our board of directors, who is vice president of the State Planters Bank here in Richmond. The date is set for October 22. If business brings you anywhere nearby I want you to feel free to attend the meeting and give us your advice. The hour has not been set but it will probably begin with lunch and continue for a two and a half hour session. I told Dabney to indicate in his letter that the SRC would stand any expense involved because the meeting is important enough to justify this. The only expense will be the traveling of Odum, Trigg, Young and Guy Johnson, plus the luncheon.

The SRC should be represented at the installation of Dr. Johnson as President of Fisk . Do you plan to go? At present it looks very difficult for me to make the trip. If you or I cannot make it should we name someone else? Whom should it be, Mr. P. B. Young, Dr. Rufus Clement, Dr. Guy Johnson or Dr. Trigg, or maybe you have a better suggestion.

Thanks for getting this valuable information on Atwood from Trigg. I will write Tydings. Perhaps I should also drop a line to McDowell in Louisville. Will you give me his full name and address. Next week* I will be at the 2400 Hotel, Washington, D. C.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

*Beginning tomorrow

PDW:ht

(over)

P.S.

Your Oct 3 letter (special) has just come. Heartily agree we should hold ex. com. session. The hour is good — 10:30 a.m. Nov. 11. We should have been pretty tired out not to see that such a meeting was obviously necessary.

Something has come up to prevent my meeting you in N.Y. on Oct 27 or 28. Can make it Oct 29, 30 or 31; or Oct 15, 16 or 17 — but the dates late in the month are better for me. Please take your pick and let me know. We can meet in N.Y. at a place to be determined later. Thanks for my expense check.

P.

Note — You make the date with J. E. B. Try to see McQuestion (sp?) and Calkins at the same time.

Williams, Paul D.

October 13, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3520 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear [redacted]

I have today the enclosed letter from the State Department.

Would you find it convenient and possible to go? If so, as a matter of saving time, I suggest you write Mr. Russell directly and accept as a representative of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 17, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Pennsylvania Hotel
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

August 1, 1947 I wrote Mr. Henry Luce a two-page letter giving a compressed version of the police project. "We figure the whole cost at $37,300".

A little later Mr. Luce's assistant, Mr. Kip Finch, wrote me a note un-encouraging letter to the effect that the matter would be brought to Mr. Luce's attention and I would hear further as to whether they wished to know more about it.

I then wrote Mr. Finch and offered to go to New York and explain the whole project. After some delay he sent me a wire in early September saying, instead of coming to New York tell out Atlanta man, Bill Howland, about it. I gave Howland a copy of the full project proposal as enclosed herewith.

I have heard nothing more; neither has Bill Howland. If you will go, complete-project-proposal-in-hand, to Finch that will help. Possibly, he will arrange an opportunity for you to talk with Mr. Luce.

I enclose for your further use, if needed, our latest results on police in Southern cities. This is to show that we are into the business.

The South is in these months, on the turn to doing better in these police matters. If we can go into it vigorously now we will greatly strengthen and spread the movement.

I find I did not in my original letter to Luce suggest anything less than his full financing of the complete project. I do believe we can get some money from the Rockefeller Foundation, but the more from Luce the better.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encls

October 17, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams

Pennsylvania Hotel

New York, New York

Dear Paul:

I sent the original copy to Richmond but I forgot to put an airmail stamp on it. As percaution this is sent to you at New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

GSM:s

October 20, '49

Dear Paul,

To bring you up to date.

We came failry close to meeting the payroll for Oct. 15, though McKoy, Fleming and GSM are still unpaid. The only money we had was what we call "scrapings", from sales of literature, dues, etc. With a 250 (long expected) that came in from the Methodists I can pay off today the several people who leave us this day - Crowell the office-man; Mrs. Huff, assistant researchers and clerk; the bookkeeper; and Mrs. Havens; and a temporary clerck we have had bringing membership records up to date. What happens at the end of this month we don't know.

I am hoping that the Virginia letters will bring in several 250's. Please set me mind, and Byrd's, at rest by telling us you have got them mailed to their proper recipients.

Byrd and I saw a contractor named McGuire in Durham, through Wheeler's arrangements. He virtually promised us 250, which we hope for daily. We also did some phoning to a Duke-Biddle lady thereabouts, and I've written her since.

Yesterday, or day before yesterday, in Raleigh, the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation converted itself into the North Carolina Division of the SRC. So we now have Ky, N.C., S.C., Ala., Tenn., Miss., and Fla.

Byrd's in the mountains this week, but comes back on Monday.

Best,

NYTimes for Monday, Oct 17 had grand story (Popham) based on the long article in current New South. Mores and legislation.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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EMILY H. CLAY
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity [illegible]

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1947
Southern Regional Council

October 25, 1947.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I am a little tardy in answering your letters of October 13, 14 and 16. First let me tell you that we had a grand meeting of Committee for naming a National Advisory Committee. At the last minute Dr. Odum, because of the illness of his wife, could not attend but everybody else was present from noon until nearly four P. M. and the meeting was very fruitful. I am enclosing an exchange of letters with Dr. Odum.

Please note the enclosed memo from Mr. P. B. Young. We discussed this matter briefly at our meeting. Dr. Johnson was of the opinion that Mr. Taylor did not have sufficient stature to serve as associate director and thought that Dr. Odum would support this viewpoint. Mr. Young did not press his case and dropped the matter very pleasantly.

I have written the members of the committee on State Relationships. I agree with you that it is better to have the meeting and elect one of the group to report on your committee at our annual meeting.

I will be in New York at the Pennsylvania Hotel beginning Monday October 27 until Thursday October 30. I think I told you over the phone that I would go up to New York this past week but I made a mistake. I will communicate with Mr. Finch and see him and Mr. Henry Luce too, if possible, and outline our proposition. I hope my mission will prove productive. If you want to drop a note to Finch or wire him that I will communicate with him next week it will be well, otherwise I will take it that you think it better for me to drop by without any formality and lay the case before the gentlemen.

I have written Mr. Russell accepting his invitation. Since I will have to return to Richmond before the meeting in Washington, it will necessitate a special trip but I suppose it is important that we be represented.

* Dabney, Trigg, Johnson, Young
Wilson Brown, Hancock, Williams.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 13, 1947.

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of October 7. I am glad that McCuistion and Calkins will be in Atlanta between November 1-7 and you can confer with them at that time. This will make the trip to New York unnecessary. I have to be in Chicago the week of November 3 so I can't plan to be with you, but I am sure you can take care of everything alone.

I am glad you are going to Nashville for Dr. Johnson's installation. I wish I could make it but simply cannot.

We have hit a snag concerning the Advisory Committee. See Dr. Odum's letter which I am enclosing. Out of deference to Dr. Odum and what he has meant to the Council, I thought the only thing to do was to decide to run down to see him and discuss the whole matter. I will visit him this week and let you hear the outcome. I want Dr. Odum's blessing on the Advisory Committee very much. Please see enclosed letter from Mrs. Spearman who may write you.

Returning to Alex Miller and the proposed meeting of religious women of the different faiths, I have written to Father Vincent O'Connell about this. But just for my own information I wish you would clear me about Miller. I remember his name vaguely in connection with the conference on Religion and Labor held in Atlanta about a year ago. I talked with Dr. Will Alexander about this meeting and he was a little dubious about some of its leadership. He thought at that time that I should pass up an invitation to be present at the meeting. Of course Miller might be one of the "right guys", so please give me the "dope" on him. Who will sponsor the meeting of religious women and organize and control it? This seems to be all for the present.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

Still to answer Nov. 6.47 answered the rest

P. S. Please send me a copy of the Constitution and By Laws of the SRC.

PDW:ht

Please return enclosures. P.

November 4, '47

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your letters. Enclosures returned herewith.

We had the meeting of the Committee in Greenwood, S.C. Decided against easy arrangements for local groups to affiliate with SRC. Politically risky, and too cheap for the local groups to get our name, without the obligations of membership. Anyway the by-laws of the Council provide that groups similar in purpose wishing affiliation may apply to Board of Directors for it.

On the State Interracial Committees, we developed the fact that as far as money is concerned the only difference in what a person now a member of an affiliated State Committee pays his Committee and what he would pay us if his Committee became a Division is the one dollar subscription to New South. In Georgia, of 800 Committee members perhaps 500 now pay us that dollar anyway. In North Carolina, of 1000 Committee members, a couple of hundred now pay us that dollar. We can close the gap by some agreement with the Georgia Committee. That would make it possible for their members to take up Division status without new cost to themselves or to their newly-formed Division. In N.C., we would have a bigger gap, but Cy. Johnson wants to work out a plan for lump-sum subscription to New South for all his members. It may involve free mailing of it to them for some months. All in all, the committee clarified things. Cy Johnson will report for it.

Alabama formed a Division October 31. That's our fifth.

We are working on Tennessee and Louisiana.

Margaret Price is preparing the list for Bishop Waters.

We got fine play on the police issue of New South. AP release, many editorials, a radio broadcast. Businessis picking up!

We have funds to meet November 15 payroll. After that, only borrowing is in sight, unless Dr. Will finds us a couple of thousand.

Shall be interested to hear about Luce.

See you next week!

Williams, Paul D.

November 5, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to reply to that part of your letter to him in which you asked for a list of priests in the diocese of Bishop Waters for whom he took out memberships last year.

It has been a custom of the Council when memberships are taken out late in the year, to run such memberships through the following year. Upon inquiry, I learned that although memberships were taken out by Bishop Waters in August of 1946 for the attached list of priests, instructions were given by my predecessor that these memberships were to be carried through 1947. For this reason individuals on this list have not yet been billed for renewal.

Please advise whether you wish us to proceed immediately to bill the priests on this list for membership renewal, or whether you prefer in this instance to handle renewals through Bishop Waters.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosures 2

AM:ee

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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- When I was in Raleigh recently I asked Bishop Waters if he would be willing to continue memberships for the priests in his diocese. He indicated that he would but hoped that the individual priests, after a year of free membership, would take out one on their own. I think the best plan is to have someone look up the list of priests on the list sent in by Bishop Waters last year and then check those who have renewed their membership and those who have not. Send both lists of names to me and I in turn will write the Bishop and ask him to take out memberships for those who did not renew. I hope to have some more activity from the Bishops on memberships in the SRC, in the near future.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

P.S.
Please return correspondence enclosed. P.

Williams, Paul D.

November 7, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Alex Miller is in charge of the Southeastern office of the Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'ritt. He makes it a practice to belong to nothing except B'nai B'ritt. I have never heard of him as having any connection or inclination or association with anything other than the most straight forward American views. He and I and others attended the Conference on Religion and Labor in Atlanta a good many months ago. I have always thought the National Religion and Labor Foundation to be innocent though it certainly does not have wide support in the South.

I will write you further as to who will sponsor the Meeting of Religious Women and help them to organize. I'll get to talk further to Alex and Mrs. Tilly about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ge

P. S. I am enclosing copies of the Charter and By-Laws of the SRC.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

Williams, P.D.

(24)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shc and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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1947 NOV 13 PM 10 30

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DR GEORGE MITCHELL=

213 SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA:

=V DABNEY WANTS STORY ON SRC ANNUAL MEETING INCLUDING OFFICERS ELECTED SUGGEST ALSO SEND STORY TO P B YOUNG PLEASE SEND ME 25 NEWFOLDERS DESCRIBING SRC REGARDS=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

SRC 25 SRC.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 14, 1947.

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks very much for a very delightful dinner and a fine visit with you and Dr. Will before I had to take my train for Richmond.

I hope you were satisfied with the meeting. On the whole I think we made some important gains and we should capitalize at once while enthusiasm is high.

Frankly I have read over the remarks I made at the meeting which seemed to impress a number present, but I fail to see anything of importance in the talk I made--certainly nothing worthy of reprinting in its entirety. However, I ~~will~~ edit the remarks I made and send them on for whatever purpose they might ~~serve~~.

I wired you last night because Dabney said that he did not notice that anything came over the wires concerning our meeting and he wanted a report. I believe it would be well to send Mr. Young a separate report because he is very sensitive in thinking that he is neglected on these news matters. He mentioned this to me at least twice in conversation.

I hope you can get to Louisiana before Christmas, during the next month if possible, to start the machinery for setting up a state group there. I believe New Orleans would be the strategic place to begin operations since you know Mr. Stern, Dr. Dent, Father O'Connell and others. I believe Father O'Connell would be willing to submit a list of names of those who should form the nucleus for the Louisiana setup. If 15 or 20 persons could be selected it would be grand to have a meeting while you are in New Orleans and let you address them. Dr. Will mentioned that he would ask Mr. Stern to invite such a small group to his house to start the ball rolling. It would be fine indeed if Stern would accept the chairmanship of the Louisiana division because he has the confidence of all people that we want to enlist in our cause. If I can help at all by writing Father O'Connell please let me do so. It might save time if you would frame the sort of letter you want to send and send it on to me. After adding any thoughts I might have I will forward it to him.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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#2 - Mr. George S. Mitchell - November 14, 1947.

The enclosed news item was in one of the New York papers the day before I called on Finck. I think I opened the matter with Finck but I am not at all optimistic about our chances. I believe if you or I, or both of us, could get an appointment with Luce our chances would be enhanced greatly.

As I understand it, PM is making the Civil Rights report available at 3 or 4¢ a copy provided 100 copies are ordered. What do you think of purchasing 100 copies at the expense of the Council and send them to each member of our Board of Directors with our compliments. This will leave us a few extra copies to send to special friends. The cost will be negligible and the gesture will be appreciated I feel sure.

I could meet you in Philadelphia during the week of December 15 but that is practically the only time I could make it until after Christmas. Perhaps we could call on the several parties in Washington at the same time. I would advise that we make appointments in advance and not leave a matter of such importance to chance.

George Hunton, editor of the Interracial Review and a grand guy, wants to arrange for exchange courtesies with us on our publications. If you can take care of this it will be appreciated. His address is 20 Vesey Street, New York City, New York.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

Luce Undergoes Operation Here

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of Time, Life and Fortune, was operated on yesterday for a gall bladder ailment at Roosevelt Hospital. His condition was reported good.

His wife, Clare Boothe Luce, former Congresswoman from Connecticut, was reported to be at the hospital.

Yardmaster Electrocuted

Terrence McPartland, 45, of 26 Duryea Pl., Bronx, a yardmaster at the IRT yards, E. 179th St. and Third Ave., Bronx, was f

Williams, P. D.

November 19, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 14. We too greatly enjoyed, as always, having you with us for the annual and other meetings.

I am returning herewith the check of Mr. Robert O. Hickman for your signature and the letter of Father Thomas O'Keefe which you asked for. The memberships represented are most welcomed, as you know and doubly so at this time. I am also attaching our check for $104.01 to cover your expenses incurred in behalf of the Council.

Under separate cover we are sending you 100 sheets of SRC stationery with the Atlanta address which has been overprinted in small quantity for emergency use until we are able to add to it the name of an associate executive director. As soon as the identity of the associate director is established with certainty, additional letter heads carrying his name will be over-printed, and we shall at that time send the 500 for your own use carrying your home address as well as 500 envelopes similiarly imprinted.

With kindest good wishes and much personal appreciation of your fine contribution to the Council, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosures 3

AM:ee

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
B. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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Williams

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RECEIVED
NOV 17 1947
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

November 14, 1947.

Mrs. McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

It was a pleasure seeing you at our annual meeting. I hope you were satisfied with everything.

Please send Mr. Father O'Keefe's letter so I can thank him personally for the subscriptions he sent in. I believe there was a check for me to endorse so if you will send it on I will take care of this and send it back promptly.

Please send me 100 sheets of SRC stationery with the Atlanta address. When new stationery is printed bearing the new officers and executive staff, please see that I get a box of 500 sheets with my home address imprinted, similar to the stationery on which I am writing this letter. Also please include 500 envelopes with my home address.

I am enclosing a list of my expenses including several affairs previous to the expenses involved in my trip to the annual meeting in Atlanta.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht
enc:

Paul D Williams

Williams

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED IN 1928

For Justice, Amity, Understanding and Co-operation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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Chairman

Ellen O'Gorman Duffy
Director

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~~Mrs. L. W. Hughes~~
~~*President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Arlington, Tenn.*~~

Dollie Lowther
Education Director, LWJB, ACW of A, N. Y.

Mildred H. Mahoney
Chairman, Mass. FEPC Boston, Mass.

Irene Burns Miller
Executive Secretary, Seattle Civic Unity Committee

~~Henry Monsky~~
~~*President, B'nai B'rith, Omaha, Neb.*~~

Ira Mosher
Chairman, Exec. Com. NAM, Southbridge, Mass.

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VFW, Washington, D. C.

Helen Dwight Reid
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Mrs. Charles W. Sewell
Admin. Director, American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Ill.

Mark Starr
Education Director, ILGWU, N. Y.

Mrs. Joseph M. Welt
President, Nat. Council of Jewish Women, Detroit, Mich.

Paul D. Williams
President, Southern Regional Council Richmond, Va.

Matthew Woll
President, Labor League for Human Rights, A. F. of L.

Nov. 20, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

My dear Mr. Williams:

Enclosed are the minutes of the annual meeting of this Commission, the section of the NCCJ program manual relating to our work, and a Brotherhood Week folder.

The nominating committee nominated Colonel Oliver to succeed Gilbert Harrison on the Executive Committee. Will you kindly send me your vote on this nomination? We anticipate no meeting of the Executive Committee until after the first of the year.

With my warm regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ellen O'Gorman Duffy

Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy

ED:DP

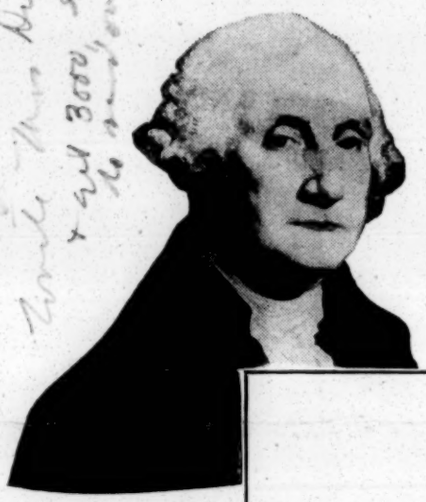
P.S. - If you wish to enclose a Brotherhood Week folder in some future mailing to your membership, Mr. Wagner or I will be glad to give you the number you wish.

National Co-Chairmen THOMAS E. BRANIFF - ARTHUR H. COMPTON - ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS - *President* EVERETT R. CLINCHY - *Treasurer* HERBERT J. OSBORNE

AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD WEEK

The Week of Washington's Birthday

February 22-29, 1948



Brotherhood— Pattern for Peace

"to bigotry—
no sanction"
George Washington

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1947

Dear Dr. Clinchy:

As never before the world needs brotherhood. The family of nations must practice brotherhood now if it is to have peace in the future. Pacts and treaties must be firmly grounded in the willingness of nations to grant to other nations every right and dignity they claim for themselves—which is the essence of brotherhood. The attainment of peace is thus an achievement of the human spirit.

Similarly, national unity and strength depend upon the willingness of men of all creeds, races, and national origins in America to respect one another's rights and to cooperate as citizens in all areas of common conviction, concern, and responsibility. Mutual understanding and impartial justice among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews are essential to the perpetuation of our nation's influence and well-being. Intolerance is a cancer in the body politic. We must maintain respect for the rights of every individual, inherent in his relation to God.

Convinced of these truths, I gladly accept the honorary chairmanship of national Brotherhood Week, February 22-29, 1948, and join the American Brotherhood of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in inviting our people to use this occasion to think deeply about these principles and to promote their application to all human relationships everywhere throughout the year. I commend the cooperation of all agencies of religion, education, and community life, and of all media of communication, in making brotherhood a living reality in every corner of our country.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

Dr. Everett R. Clinchy,
National Conference of
Christians and Jews,
381 Fourth Avenue,
New York 16, N. Y.

SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Brotherhood Through The World

Brotherhood Abroad

President Truman, in accepting the honorary chairmanship of Brotherhood Week, stresses, first, the necessity of the practice of brotherhood among nations if we are to have peace. As the preamble to UNESCO says, war begins in the minds of men. The President suggests that peace, too, depends upon a proper predisposition on the part of nations. Where the Psalmist bids us "seek peace, and pursue it," he suggests that peace is elusive and is not to be easily achieved by paper documents and charters but must be earnestly desired and persistently sought. Men and nations must so relate themselves to their neighbors that peace becomes possible.

Brotherhood At Home

President Truman then emphasizes the need of the application of brotherhood to all human relationships in our own land if we are to play a helpful part in securing peace for the world. Recently the President said that we must become more moral at home or lose the force of our moral appeal abroad. "Our case for democracy," he said, ". . . . should rest upon practical evidence that we have been able to put our own house in order."

All Men Are Brothers

Referring to the international bill of rights, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has lately said, "It is significant that not one of the drafting committee had an objection to the opening words of the bill which said 'All men are brothers.' But if all men are brothers, then together we must try to build a world in which all can live as brothers."

Learning Brotherhood

Brotherhood must be learned. Our world is not simple, but we can run it with brotherhood if we are willing to learn how. We must know the facts, establish the principles, develop the skill to apply them. Brotherhood is a social study. We must learn it together. Brotherhood Week is a project in mass education. Make every week Brotherhood Week!

The General Chairman

of Brotherhood Week, 1948, is the Hon. Robert P. Patterson. Judge Patterson served as Under-Secretary of War during the period of hostilities. He was appointed Secretary in 1945, serving until his resignation in 1947. In accepting the General Chairmanship, he said:

Hate vs. Brotherhood

"I saw the concentration camps at Buchenwald and Dachau a few days after the liberation. No one who saw those places and the helpless survivors of them will ever forget the experience. Buchenwald and Dachau could not be understood, except as they bore witness to the depths that men can sink to when they accept and put into practice a doctrine of hate against those who differ with them in opinion, religion, or race. The world will see more Buchenwalds, more Dachaus, if the time should come again when the rule of hate prevails over the spirit of brotherhood.

Brotherhood— A Guiding Rule

"We Americans are committed to the cause of world peace. Words will not win world peace. We will not reach it unless we have a strong, united nation here at home. And a strong united nation is an unattainable ideal unless we keep brotherhood as the guiding rule of our daily lives. Intolerance is bound to produce a divided people, a weak nation. We may be sure that we will never achieve a lasting peace on such terms.

The Vital Force For Peace

"The unity we had in the war years, when we saw the losses and sorrows of war being borne by Americans without distinction as to race or religion, when it was plain to all of us that our spiritual aims and purposes were far more powerful than our differences, is still available as the vital force for peace. The understanding and goodwill found in the bond of brotherhood will bring us to realize that unity. I know of nothing else that can."

How To Observe Brotherhood Week

Purpose

BROTHERHOOD WEEK is designed for observance by all organizations in every community, to be incorporated into their own programs according to their own customs. This reaches ready-made audiences in their natural gathering places.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK is a civic observance. The observance will be successful in proportion as it secures the collaboration of every group in the community.

No group can be expected to cooperate in a Brotherhood Week function in the planning of which it has had no share.

All meetings in which those of more than one faith participate should be held, not in an ecclesiastical building, but in a neutral gathering place, and the program should not call for any form of common worship.

Local Committees

A city BROTHERHOOD WEEK Committee should be organized like this:

(Where NCCJ is permanently organized, it should arrange the program.)

Co-Chairmen: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish laymen.

Executive Board: The chairmen of committees and others.

Committees:

1. Speakers' Committee to ask every organization to observe BROTHERHOOD WEEK at its regular meeting nearest Washington's birthday, and to furnish speakers where necessary.

2. Special committees for schools, colleges, churches, civic groups, radio, newspapers, motion pictures and advertising where considered helpful.

3. Publicity Committee.

4. "Brotherhood Dinner" or "Community Mass Meeting" Committee.

5. Finance Committee to secure contributions essential to maintenance of the year-round American Brotherhood work of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Program Suggestions

A trio of speakers, lay or clerical, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, dramatically presents the Brotherhood idea. Without compromise of religious conviction, its members can present their common ideals as American citizens and the bases on which they can work together to achieve them.

Opportunity may be sought for such trios to address PTA's, service clubs, schools, youth organizations, farm groups, women's and labor organizations, department stores, and industrial plants.

Pageants and plays may be used to dramatize the contributions of religious, racial, and nationality groups to American life.

Libraries may provide a display of posters, pamphlets, and books.

Musical organizations may sing or play musical compositions of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish origins.

Make full use of press, radio, moving picture, school and college assembly. Local editorials, cartoons, news commentaries, store advertising, factory bulletin boards are often available.

Available Aids

(To be obtained from the National Conference offices):

1. Scripts for use over local radio stations, public address systems, or at assemblies.

2. School programs; plays and pageants for all grade levels.

3. Publicity material; radio spot announcements, editorials, advertisements.

4. A report blank for local achievements.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OFFICES

ATLANTA 3
1220 First National Bank Bldg.
BALTIMORE 2
1322 O'Sullivan Bldg.
BEAUMONT
2501 Gladys Ave.
BIRMINGHAM 3
1110 First National Bank Bldg.
BOSTON 8
73 Tremont Street
BRONX 55
391 East 149th Street
BROOKLYN 2
72 Schermerhorn Street
BUFFALO
904 City Hall
CHARLOTTE 2
121 E. 3rd Street, Rm. 301
CHICAGO 1
203 North Wabash Ave.
CINCINNATI 2
313 Keith Bldg.
CLEVELAND 14
1023 Union Commerce Bldg.
DALLAS 1
1028 Liberty Bank Bldg.
DENVER 2
717 Colorado Bldg.
DES MOINES 9
310 Empire Bldg.
DETROIT 26
907 Washington Blvd. Bldg.
DULUTH
405 Bradley Bldg.
FORT WORTH 4
2615 Cockrell
GALVESTON
Y.M.C.A.
GRAND FORKS (N. D.)
25 North Fifth St.
HARRISBURG
404 Hall Bldg.
HARTFORD 3
1510 - 983 Main St.
HIBBING (Minn.)
2022 7th Ave. E.
HOUSTON 2
810 Scanlan Bldg.
JACKSONVILLE 2
123 West Beaver
KANSAS CITY 6
950 Dierks Bldg.
KNOXVILLE
P. O. Box 2241
LOS ANGELES 5
3757 Wilshire Blvd.
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Rm. 201, Realty Bldg.
MEMPHIS 3
418-19 Commerce Title Bldg.
MIAMI 37
2332 Biscayne Blvd.
MILWAUKEE 2
759 N. Milwaukee St.
MINNEAPOLIS 2
413 N. Y. Life Bldg.
NEW ORLEANS 12
513 Pan American Bldg.
NEWARK 2
790 Broad Street
OKLAHOMA CITY 2
310 Comm. Exch. Bldg.
OMAHA 2
606 Omaha Loan & Bldg. Assn. Bldg.
PHILADELPHIA 2
260 South 15th Street
PITTSBURGH 22
504 Granite Bldg.
PROVIDENCE 3
58 Weybosset Street
READING
333 N. 9th Street
RICHMOND 19
616 State Planters Bldg.
SAN ANTONIO 5
2118 W. Kings Highway
SAN FRANCISCO 3
Suite 815, Central Tower
SEATTLE 1
701 Seaboard Bldg.
SHREVEPORT 54
417 Medical Arts Bldg.
SOUTH BEND 9
803 Sherland Bldg.
ST. LOUIS 1
1615 Chemical Bldg.
ST. PAUL 1
700 N. Y. Bldg.
TULSA
8th Fl., Daniel Bldg.
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.
733 Southern Bldg.
WHITE PLAINS (N.Y.)
Rm. 11 — 11 Williams St.
WICHITA
309 Derby Bldg.
WICHITA FALLS (Tex.)
640 Nacol Bldg.
WILMINGTON 253
321 Springhill Ave., Hillcrest
YORK (Pa.)
668 W. King St.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK ORGANIZATION

HARRY S. TRUMAN *Honorary Chairman*

ROBERT P. PATTERSON *General Chairman*

COMMITTEE ON CHURCHES AND SYNAGOGUES: *Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, Rev. Allan P. Farrell, S. J.* AND *Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Co-chairmen*

COMMITTEE ON SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES: *George F. Zook, Chairman*

Vice-Chairmen: Charles S. Johnson, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt and Israel S. Chipkin

COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY GROUPS: *G. Howland Shaw, Chairman*

NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE: *John S. Knight, Chairman*

RADIO COMMITTEE: *Niles Trammell, Chairman*

MOTION PICTURE COMMITTEE: *Spyros Skouras, Chairman; David O. Selznick, Chairman of Production*

MAGAZINE COMMITTEE: *John Farrar, Chairman*

ADVERTISING COMMITTEE: *Lee H. Bristol, Chairman*

THEATRE COMMITTEE: *Brock Pemberton, Chairman*

AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD

National Conference of Christians and Jews

381 FOURTH AVENUE — NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Williams, Paul W.

November 26, 47

Dear Paul,

I discovered that the main man in the Negro Elks, Mr. J. Finley Wilson, was to be in Atlanta yesterday. He fell iff while here, but I saw him briefly last evening, at Mr. Benjamin Mays' home. I did not ask him for any set amount of money at that time, but introduced him to the Council's program, and said that you and I wanted to call on him in Washington in mid-December. Circumstances were not such as to let me make a specific appointment, but he said in the evnt of his absence (frequest, I gath red) that we might talk with his assistant "Judge Houston". Address for them is 1815 Vernon Street, N.W., Washington 13.

Mays gave him some pep talk, I am sure, but Morehouse College also wants help from him, I think.

I learn that a criterion of contribution or no contribution from the Elks would be the amount of publicity for the Elks that would result. We could do tolerably well on that.

I think we are safe in making an appointment some hours in advance, and going out to see Wilson or Mr. Houston (Not Charles Houston, I should think).

So, if you line up the VFW man, here is the chance at the Elks, and we already have the appointment for Dec. 17 with Clarence Pickett in Philadelphia.

Msgr. McNamara very kindly sent in his pledged 100.00. The first to come in!

I have deposited with the Campbell Foundation the application for ten thousand in two years, toward the police business. Dr. Will will press for more from the Rockefeller Foundation, directly. I am to send Dr. Will a slightly revised police project application.

I did not mean to be so galavie? in flipping at you the proposal Dr. Will made for a talk with V Dabney ab ut 500 from his friends. What do you think? Should I write VD? Is it a workable vein?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Williams, Paul D.

November 28, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I note my failure to return these items which you enclosed with your letter of October 13.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

encls

GSM:s

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

Dec. 10, 1947

Dear George,

Excuse pencil. I'm writing this in the Union Station here boarding a sleeper for Pittsburgh.

Will meet you in Philadelphia next Tuesday at 10 a.m. Suppose we meet at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel Lobby near registration desk. If you want to make it earlier it will be okay with me as I'll probably take the sleeper out of Richmond Monday night. Wire or phone me in Richmond by Sunday night. Otherwise I'll meet you according to the above schedule.

Dr. Atwood turned us down. I'll talk about next steps on this when I see you. (over)

I talked with Tydings and Atwood while in Louisville recently.

Had a very encouraging talk with Mark Ethridge. He wants to help us both personally and financially thru a contact he knows. Remind me to give you all details when I see you.

Hope the Louisiana set-up looks encouraging. Hope you saw Fr. V. O'Connell. Tell me details when we meet.

You make the dates in Washington for next Wednesday and I'll meet your schedule. I'll squeeze in an engagement with Colonel Oliver (V.F.W.) while we are in Wash. We can only lay the groundwork with Oliver on this first visit.

Mrs. McKay sent me the enclosed check for my signature.

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

but by a mishap I neglected to return it until now. Please explain and have her put the check thru at once.

Will save all other things until we meet in Phila.

Expect to get home sometime Friday night. Phone me if there is anything of importance.

Best.

Sincerely

Paul

Saturday
December 13, '47

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your station-letter.

I've written Clarence Pickett, confirming our date with him on Wednesday, December 17, at his office in Philadelphia, at 11 A.M. (might be 11.30, but we can be there at 11).

I expect to spend some of Tuesday in Richmond, and shall probably be on the same sleeper with you going Tuesday night to Philadelphia. I have to be here all day Monday, and Monday evening.

I am writing Finley Wilson, for a date on Thursday, December 18. I think we can just call when we find by phone that he or his assistant will be there.

Money comes in rather well on Mrs. McKoy's appeal to the membership. P. G. Young sent 25. A good many 10's.

Dr. Will was here a few days ago, and told me that in settling the Rosenwald Fund's affairs he had been able to lay aside 10,000 which can almost definately come to us, and that sum might grow to 25,000. That's great news, but I am keeping it very quiet until we have it, as I don't want those presently helping us to clear this year's deficit to feel relieved of an obligation that continues.

If we don't meet in Richmond on Tuesday I will see you at the offices of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia on Wednesday - Correction, as per your letter, will meet you in Ben. Franklin hotel lobby at 10 AM. Wednesday. NOTE. Your letter says Philadelphia Tuesday. The day is WEDNESDAY.

New Orleans prospects not too good, for reasons I will tell you of.

Best,
G.

Williams, Paul D.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
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1947 DEC 23 PM 3 36

Q.LE52 26 COLLECT=RICHMOND VIR 23 226P

DR GEORGE MITCHELL, CARE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL= ATLANTA

63 AUBURN ST NORTHEAST TU ATLA=

REGRET SICKNESS AT HOME MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO MEET DEAD LINE WILL SEND ARTICLE BEFORE JANUARY FIRST BEST I CAN DO MERRY CHRISTMAS=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

December 24, '47

Dear Dr. Will,

This one is about Packard.

He wired my office belatedly that I should call him on arrival in NY, for reference to whom I should see. Thus delayed, I had not tried to get Dr. Hancock up there. Called Packard, who inquired rather minutely as to my business - police - and finally told me to come over and see Mr. Dana Creel, of his office, at 2 P.M.

Creel turned out to be quite young, and sometime from Atlanta. Knew nothing of Council. Searching in his questions. Said early that if his group could be interested it would not be in any project. They give for the Family, and the Family gives on a citizenship basis. Therefore ordinarily for things within the immediate area of the Family; something Southern would be afield for them, and therefore unlikely. My rebuttals weren't very successful. However, I got the police idea across to Creel, and we reached an understanding that that would be what the Council would use additional funds for, were the funds in hand.

Packard came in for a handshake, sat a moment or two pleasantly, sent regards to you, and disappeared.

I am to supply Creel with additional information in the way of our recent financial statements, a balance sheet, lists of our larger individual contributors (he had pressed hard the point that the South had money and should be shelling out to us).

When we came to amounts he thought me bold indeed to ask for the difference between what I hope to get from the Campbell people (total of 10,000) and the 37,500 needed for the whole thing. Of course 27,500 would be spread over three years. Still, that was out of all question.

Creel was worried some lest he assist an enterprise whose worth was already being assessed by GEB; I said 1948 was our last year under their 50,000 committment, and that we had just been turned down, by letter from them, on a request of months ago for matching JRF's grant. I hope he rested on that. (I of course said we proposed to ask GEB for help again, as we approached expiry of their 50,000).

I will go ahead and apply to Packard for 8000 a year for each of 3 years (though it was indicated that any gift would be a one year thing) and send up the supporting information Creel wished.

Meanwhile, should it be proper for you to stimulate Packard's interest, that would be much appreciated. Advise me what to do.

Many thanks,

GSM

Williams, Paul D.

December 30, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3520 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

My father suggested the other day that a good man to be a member of the National Advisory Committee would be Alexander H. Sands, Jr., Director of the Duke Foundation, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

Sands has Southern connections and has recently risen to be Chairman either of the Executive Committee or of the Board of the Southern Educational Foundation (which, as you know, is the old Jeans Fund, plus the Peabody Fund and the Slater Fund). You could get advice from others about him.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MRS. M. E. TILLY, FIELD SECRETARY
MRS. HENRY HAVENS, FIELD SECRETARY

Thursday

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your letter of November 14. Yes, I thought the meeting quite good - more energy and more unity than before. Your talk was the highlight in everyone's mind. We look forward to the edited edition.

We did send V Dabney a special story on the meeting, getting it off the day after the meeting. Also to P. B Young, a special, which he has already run. And we sent a special to ANP in Chicago.

We just had hard luck on AP and UP. We called them before the meeting and asked them to send people out to cover. They didn't get anyone out, so at noon Fleming painstakingly 'phoned them each a story. Then again at the close of the meeting, new stories were 'phoned in giving review of the whole day. At AP Caldwell (the boss, and our friend of long standing) was out of town, a couple of others were ill or out, and though we originally talked, in 'phoning in, to an acquaintance, the rest of the story was taken down by someone we didn't know, and nothing was carried. Essentially the same story with UP. INS got it out. We had relied, advisedly, on AP to reach the Atlanta papers. As AP didn't show, we didn't get coverage, except a bit in the Atlanta Journal.

Here's a letter from Mynders, sent to my attention, which I have answered as per enclosed.

I talked a couple of days ago with Stubbs, ex of Emory, who is now Executive Secretary to the Campbell Fund in Atlanta. He said put in an application for 5000 for each of two years for help from then on the police project. They can only help in the Southeast, so we would have to use other money for the Southwest (possibly procurable in Houston). I felt cheerful about that prospect It would be only a good start toward raising enough for the police thing, but that much froma Southern Foundation would bring more money from others. Luckily Stubbs had worked some with Guy on the police training manual, and knew the whole story. We'll get in the application soon.

Have ordered the hundred copies from PM. I don't particularly like that to be the vehicle, but suppose it will do no harm.

I can be in the Washington, Philadelphia area from Tuesday, December 16 through the 19th or 20th. If you will save that week I will proceed

to make an appointment with Clarence Pickett.

***I have just called Clarence Pickett's office, and in his absence made an appointment (through his Secretary) for you and me to see him at 11 A.M. on Wednesday, December 17th, in Philadelphia.

Could you mak e an appointment with your friend in VFW? It would be best on the 16th, but could be the 18th or 19th or 20th.

Meanwhile we should plan on seeing the head man on the Negro Elks. I wrote his name down as Mr. J. Finley Wilson, of Washington., D.C. I'll talk to Clement for more information about him, and will be ready to write him for a date as soon as I learn which day you are committing us to be in Washington.

Am arranging about George Hunton, of Interracial Review, for exchange of publications. Thankyou.

I shall be in New Orleans briefly (some hours, or longer) on Saturday, December 6, as part of a trip to Prarie View College near Houston to talk to the Association of Negro Colleges and Secondary Schools. I'll write Fr. O'Connel ahead of time, and ask for opportunity to confer with him then. On his advice, I could return to N.O. the next week, or after Christmas. W ill send you in a day or so a draft letter for you to send Father O'Connell,

Best,

GSM

PAUL D. WILLIAMS

Born, Richmond, Virginia - August 1, 1905

Educated - Richmond Public and private schools; Benedictine Military Academy; Boxton University A.B. 1929.

Married - Catherine Louise (Miller) of Richmond 1935; two children, John Joseph 7 years, Mary Catherine 4 years.

Occupation - Vice President, Mentzer, Bush & Co., educational publishers, Home Office - Chicago, Illinois.

Activities - Member Board of Directors, Richmond Chapter, American Red Cross.

Member Commission on American Citizenship

Member Inter-American Seminar

Member Southern Policy Committee

Member Richmond Round Table, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Vice President, National Conference of Catholic Charities

Vice President, National Council of Catholic Men

Executive Board, Virginia Inter-Racial Commission

Member Board of Trustees, The National Catholic School of Social Service, Washington, D. C.

Co-Founder, Catholic Committee of the South; Executive Secretary 1939-1944

President, Southern Regional Council

Residence - 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond, Virginia

39. Williams, Paul D.

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DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Just checked there as an example of auburn action

January 3, 1948.

Send to [illegible]

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I enjoyed so much being with you in Philadelphia and Washington prior to the Christmas holidays. I hope there are going to be some definite developments as a result of our contacts. I will have to visit Washington several times during January and will be very glad to present personally to Colonel Oliver the brief he desired for a prospective contribution from the VFW. If you prefer, however, send the brief directly to him and I will follow it up with a visit. This latter arrangement might be a surer one in order to avoid a possible delay when I may have to be called to Chicago on business. You made a note of the deadline for putting the brief in Colonel Oliver's hands.

Please let me know what you decided to do about Dr. Davidson. Perhaps Spaulding is the best man you could possibly get to see Davidson but whatever you and Dr. Will decide is ok with me. Am I right in assuming that you are asking the Duke Foundation for $10,000 per year over a period of three years?

I am sorry Creel did not click so far as the Council is concerned, but we may have luck with this after all.

I have already talked with Virginius Dabney about touching the Stetinius Fund for the SRC. Dabney volunteered to arrange a luncheon in the near future and to be present when when Stetinius, Dabney and I get together. Stetinius comes to Richmond twice a month as a member of the Board of Visitors for the Federal Reserve Bank. Dabney also knows the Director of the Stetinius Fund. Will let you know developments.

Dabney and I will also see Mark Ethridge when he comes to Richmond the first week in February and try to get some money out of Segram's for us. Will keep you posted on all these matters. I expect to see Louis Reynolds in the near future myself. If I can help you by calling on the person in Bethesda and following up anything in Philadelphia or New York I will be glad to do so.

What did we decide to do about Rogers' in Florida?

As I recall you were to send me a letter which I in turn was to send Mr. Stearn in New Orleans.

#2 - Mr. George S. Mitchell - January 3, 1948.

I am deeply sorry that I have not been able to send you my speech made at the annual meeting but will do so just as soon as possible. We had sickness during Christmas and there was also visiting and some urgent business which occupied my time. My suggestion would be to run a quotation of my talk and have a footnote mentioning that the full copy will appear in your January issue of the New South.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

Williams, Paul D.

Charge to the account of CHARGE TO: SOUTHERN REGIONSL COUNCIL, ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, NE ATLANTA, GA.

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

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DAY LETTER

JANUARY 6, 1948

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
HOTEL TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AFTER PHONING YOU DISCOVERED ERROR LETTER TO STERN. CORRECTED COPY BLACK TYPESCRIPT AIR MAILED TODAY. DISPATCH CORRECTED COPY ONLY WITH EXHIBIT.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Williams, Paul D.

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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DR GEORGE MITCHELL,SOUTHERN REGINNAL COUNCIL=

215 W A ATLA=

MAILED YOU AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY TODAY TWO COPIES MY SPEECH PLEASE MAKE NECESSARY EDITORIAL REFINEMENTS. IF NECESSARY PHONE ME CARE 2400 HOTEL WASHINGTON DC=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

2400..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CHARGE TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, NE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Charge to the account of _____ $ Williams, P.D.

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DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

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JANUARY 22, 1948

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
HOTEL TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MRS. LUKE WILSON, BETHESDA, MARYLAND AND J. FINLEY WILSON,

ONE EIGHT ONE THREE VERNON STREET, NORTHWEST, DUPONT ONE ONE

SEVEN ONE.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

January 22, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Hotel Twenty-four Hundred
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for the review of Broadus's book. I will send it on to Broadus.

I was out of town yesterday and so was able only today to wire you the address for Finley Wilson, which was 1815 Vernon Street, NW, Washington, and for Mrs. Luke Wilson of Bethesda, Maryland. I hope they reached you in time.

Did the king-size envelope (carrying under two dollars' postage) containing the exhibit for Mr. Stern ever turn up at Hotel Twenty-four Hundred? If it did, I assume you remailed it to Stern in the stamped, king-size envelope contained within the original cover under which the package was mailed to you.

I have a letter this morning from Mr. Stubbs of the Campbell Foundation saying that decision on our request is postponed until April 15 and that they would welcome any additional information between now and then. That sounds a bit ominous, but I will still be hopeful.

I am batting around with an idea for a truck trailer, to tour the South, containing visual aid material on the background of the peoples of the South, in Africa, the British Isles and elsewhere. The trailer would merely carry materials, projector, films, etc., and exhibits would be set up in schools and church halls. It would cost twenty thousand dollars to do it for a year. It is an appealing approach to intercultural education, in a way that could be quite successful in the South.

Our Southwide Civil Rights Meeting in Atlanta will occur February 27. A thousand dollars is firmly promised from B'nai B'rith, and another thousand less firmly from the national CIO. We shall still need another thousand if the Council is to bring in, as I should like it to, a couple of people from each Southern state.

I have a young man engaged for six weeks to work up the meeting. The Methodist ladies and the Presbyterian ladies will be in Atlanta for meetings of their own at that time and we hope that other church groups will have representation. I propose shortly to write Father O'Connell and ask whether the Catholic Committee of the South would cooperate with the Council in sponsoring the meeting. Other groups which we will so invite will be the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Association of University Women, the Southern Regional Branches of the YMCA and the YWCA, the American Veterans Committee, the AFofL, the CIO, and the Georgia Workers Education Service. We have some promise from the Attorney-General, Mr. Tom Clark, to be the principal speaker. I expect about 250 persons, of both races. The meeting probably will be in the Glenn Memorial Methodist Church at Emory University or, failing that, in the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer on Peachtree Street. The twenty-seventh happens also to coincide with a student meeting which Atlanta University is arranging on civil rights, and we propose some interchange of speakers, but have not thought it wise to combine the two meetings.

I believe the date for the Executive Committee meeting is now formally set for February 25.

I have written for Harry Wright's address and shall send it to you. Sorry I forgot.

Mr. Trigg saw Mr. C. C. Spaulding of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company about Dr. Davison. Spaulding wrote Davison a good letter, copy of which has been sent you. I am advised that this is enough to do about Davison. I hope it is. Miss Duke's foundation (Independent Aid, Inc.) meets in New York February 5.

If you like that trailer idea, you might try it out on somebody who could be interested. I think it is the sort of thing that would exactly tickle somebody's taste. You can "see" it.

We are not embarrassed financially at the moment. We have paid off our bank loan, and the General Education Board sent us their covenanted three thousand dollars for the first half of this year. So we will probably limp through until the Rosenwald Fund's next quarterly check arrives April 1. I have made three modest salary increases, well deserved by our staff members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 20, 1948.

RECEIVED
JAN 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am enclosing a review of your brother's book which appeared in the Sunday Times Dispatch.

I am leaving for Washington in the morning and will be there several days at the 2400 Hotel. When you phoned me there recently my work so piled up that I could not call on the two prospective contributors. In the meanwhile, by a mishap, I misplaced their names and addresses. Would you please wire or write air mail special, the information I require for I think I will have time to see them this week.

I sent the letter to Mr. Stearn. I hope we will have good results. I liked the letter so well that I made no change. I saw V. Dabney briefly yesterday. He had just returned from Florida after two weeks there to try to recover from a sinus condition. We are planning to see Mark Ethridge for a good session when he comes for a lecture here February 2. Any suggestions you might have would be appreciated. I remember faintly a rather vague reference that Ethridge made when I talked with him in Louisville but it seemed very important afterwards. It was something like this: During the meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges, Ethridge, John Ivey and someone at Tulane, talked at some length about the need for a large regional organization in the South with purposes similar to ours which should do the job over the long pull which is necessary for the South. They saw no hope in any existing organization with large enough scope and balance, unless it might be the SRC.

You promised to send me Harry Wrights New York address. I have a little gift for him. Let me know how things turn out with the Duke Foundation or what the prospects seem to be. I expect to return home Friday night.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

February 4, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear ~~Mr. Williams~~ Paul:

Stubbs from the Campbell Foundation came over to talk about that. I judge that few members of his committee knew much about the Council. We supplied him with a list of the Board members and their occupations. He has since armed himself with a letter from Wilson Brown, which says that the Council is a good outfit. My hopes have risen again in that direction. They don't meet now until sometime in March.

Sorry about Finley Wilson. I think he is good for some help if you do get to see him.

Certainly would be worthwhile to continue to try to interest Mrs. Luke Wilson.

Having you for the Civil Rights Meeting is providential. Please by all means plan to stay over. We have been shy of a chairman for the meeting. We begin and end with general sessions, of which you should be the chairman. For the workshops you would have your choice of wandering in and out or of putting your energy into any one of the four. Perhaps the fourth on Equality of Opportunity is the place where your licks would count most. We will count on your being present for that day.

I enclose a letter we have sent to officers of the various Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees. Mrs. Tilly has invited directly a carefully chosen group of Protestant church leaders of both races. I wish we had the money definitely to bring people in from our State Divisions and Committees. We have several irons in the fire for money, but I cannot promise to pay expenses until the money is in hand. To my mind a good deal of the value of the meeting will turn on our being able to bring in our own people from all over the South.

I hope the copy of my letter to Father O'Connell reached you in time for his visit to Richmond.

Thank you for the interchange with Colonel Oliver, returned herewith. We stand ready to push that further in any way that may open.

Doris Duke's foundation committee meets in New York February 5. I feel hopeful on that.

I am at fault in not having written you about the poll of members of the Executive Committee on the matter of the National Advisory Committee. All members of the Executive Committee were heard from and all voted in favor of delegating authority to the subcommittee to invite to membership all the National Advisory Committee persons selected by the subcommittee.

Tom Clark finally turned us down. We have a firm commitment from Turner Smith to be present February 27. Luckman will be out of the country that day.

Mrs. Tilly will be present. We have tried for Charles Wilson, but could not get him.

Harry Wright's official married address is:

House 7, Apartment 2-S
Dunbar Apartments
2816 Eighth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosures:

Col.Oliver correspondence
Ltr to Division and
Interracial Com. officers, dtd 31 Jan

Williams, P. D.

February 6, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

We are delighted to know that you plan to be with us for the meeting of the Executive Committee on February 25. Reservations have been made for you at the Ansley Hotel beginning on the 25 and running for some days thereafter. This arrangement was made in the hope that you might be able to stay over for the Civil Rights meeting on the 27.

We are forwarding to you under separate cover, 500 envelopes imprinted with your name and address as you requested sometime ago. These were ordered as part of a supply which were contracted for, for the Council. An order for the letter heads is still being held, awaiting inclusion of the name of an associate director. A supply for you will be included whenever this order can be placed. Please let us know if you should need letterheads in the meantime.

With kindest good wishes and looking forward to seeing you, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Williams, P.D.

February 19, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We have made hotel reservations for you at the Piedmont Hotel for the nights of February 25, 26, and 27.

I am enclosing a copy of the program for the Conference as it now stands. You will see that we are asking you to preside and handle that part of the fourth session which includes a closing inspirational speech of some 15 minutes on what each Conferee should do when he returns home.

We are looking forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

39 - Williams, Paul D.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MRS. M. E. TILLY, FIELD SECRETARY
MRS. HENRY HAVENS, FIELD SECRETARY

March 2, 1948.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
432 Room, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Please let me congratulate you for your all around good job during our recent meeting on Civil Rights in Atlanta. I hope the comments have been good and that you feel pleased with results. There was a fine report in the New York Times of February 28--nearly a full column--but the reports I have seen in the southern papers were kind of sketchy and did not give a true picture of our meeting.

I have your letter of February 28 before me and the matter is somewhat confusing to me. I remember that we were to work through Mr. Packard in order to request funds from the Rockfellow family but I don't recall that I sent any letter over my signature. If you would like for me to do so I will be glad if you will send on such a letter for me to sign and forward on promptly. I wonder if the first word in the last sentence of your letter should be convenient. The meaning doesn't seem clear to me but it would make sense if the word were changed to probable or possible. Please enlighten me what to do and I will do it.

Answer in answer

I will write the members of the finance committee asking them to serve. I will also write Dr. Charles Johnson about Dr. Charles Lawrence. If you make a draft of the committee we should name on resulutions and send me the letters I will sign them and send them to the proper persons. I believe we decided on Dr. Forrester Washington and Mr. Marion Smith but as I recall there was one more to be named.

Do Steel so

I wish you would clear me as to the policy of the SRC now that the Civil Rights meeting in Atlanta is history. Have we endorsed the meeting as a Council or simply as members independently attending the meeting? The point is bound to be raised and I want to speak the right language.

Answer in answer

I am still somewhat disturbed because we cannot seem to get more than a bare quorum at our executive committee meetings. We must think of making some changes or our hands will be tied in the future. Lets discuss the matter when I see you next time.

Answer in answer

#2 - George S. Mitchell, March 2, 1948.

Dr. Will Alexander told me that he would write Mr. Pickett again and get the word to Dr. Davidson showing the need for the Duke Foundation to give money to both ourselves and to the committee for the South, and he would emphasize that both organizations were doing different and important jobs that need to be done. He would also emphasize that the Rosenwald Fund had given more to the SRC than to the COS and that if the Rosenwald people had to give to either one organization or the other, it would be our Council. I believe if this strong language were used it would help our cause very much. I wish the follow through would take place in the near future because I have a feeling that something might be done, if it is done at all, in the next several weeks, otherwise we will be put off for a whole year.

OK

I will keep close to Dabney about Stettinius and see him as soon as a luncheon can be arranged.

I told Mrs. Havens I would make the trip to Nashville for her attempt to set up a Tennessee Division of the SRC. If I am to make a favorable account for the Council I should bring out the following points in Nashville: 1. The changes that are taking place in the world, which effect changes in American life and life in the South. 2. The strategy and meaning of the SRC to inform people and create the right kind of climate. 3. Significant work done by other state divisions of the SRC. 4. The importance of the Tennessee division and several things which it could do to enhance the work of the SRC. When time permits I wish you would dictitate something by way of guidance to Fleming on the above points and let him work out something for me. Mrs. Havens wants the meeting in Nashville to take place between April 1 and 15 but I think it will take place between April 10 and 15.

Fleming

Please let me know whom you decide to work with you as consultants until we get you an assistant. If you want me to write each a note I shall be glad to do so but I wish you would enclose the letters properly addressed.

Let me hear from you when convenient. I hope you had a chance to have a little rest after the trememdous pressure of the past several weeks.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

Williams, Paul D.

March 8, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

In response to your letter of March 1, we are sending you under separate cover 100 sheets of Council stationery. I am sorry about the delay in printing your own letter heads , and I am at this point definitely at a loss to know whether I should continue to wait, or should go ahead with the rest of our order for letter heads, thus leaving no possibility for including later the name of an associate director should he be chosen.

Thank you for inclosing the statement of your expenses. Covering check is herewith attached.

The Civil Rights meeting was, we feel, quite good and most worth while. Press notices on the whole have been excellent. There was a good covering article in the New York Times of Saturday, February 28, and we received front page rating in the Chattanooga and Jacksonville Daily Times. In case you would not have one, I am attaching a copy of the workshop findings and action program which a number of people are writing in for.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

100 7" — 8

AM:s

Enclosures

3/8/48

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MRS. M. E. TILLY, FIELD SECRETARY
MRS. HENRY HAVENS, FIELD SECRETARY

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

Richmond, Va.
March 1, 1948

Dear Mrs. McKoy,

I hope you were satisfied with our meeting on Feb. 27.

Please send me about 100 sheets of this stationery. I have plenty of envelopes from the supply you sent me recently.

I am enclosing a statement of my expenses for my recent trip to Atlanta.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Paul D. Williams

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Williams, Paul

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MRS. M. E. TILLY, FIELD SECRETARY
MRS. HENRY HAVENS, FIELD SECRETARY

March 3, 1948.

RECEIVED
MAR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Reginal Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Hal:

Please let me express my personal appreciation for your competant and faithful work during our recent meeting in Atlanta.

I trust you got full reports of your meeting to Mr. P. B. Young and Mr. P. B. Wesley. Please send full accounts of the meeting also to the following: Rev. John LaFarge, Editor, America, Catholic Weekly, 70 E 95th St. New York, New York; Mr. George Hunton, Executive Director, The Interracial Review, 20 Vesey Street, New York, New York; Rev. George Higgins, NCWC, Social Action Department, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.; Mr. Frank Hall, Director, NCWC News Service, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N/ W., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Clarence Howard, Editor, St. Anthony's Messenger, Bay St. Louis, Miss.; Mr. Ed Skillin, Editor, The Commonweal, 386 4th Ave. New York, New York; Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Since the above except Mr. Young & Mr. Wesley are editors of Catholic periodicals you might, in a brief note, mention that I am a Catholic layman.

If you still have a supply of the mimeographed notes prepared for our meeting please send one to each of the above. If your supply is limited, at least send copies to Father LaFarge and George Hunton.

Please let me have several copies of my opening speech.* As soon as possible I will write out my concluding talk and send it on to you.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

* Never mind this since I have rec'd your letter.
P.

Williams, Paul D.

March 11, 1948

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

FROM: George S. Mitchell

I quote the following paragraph from a letter to me from Paul Williams, dated March 2:

> "I told Mrs. Havens I would make the trip to Nashville for her attempt to set up a Tennessee Division of the SRC. If I am to make a favorable account for the Council I should bring out the following points in Nashville: 1. The changes that are taking place in the world, which effect changes in American life and life in the South. 2. The strategy and meaning of the SRC to inform people and create the right kind of climate. 3. Significant work done by other state divisions of the SRC. 4. The importance of the Tennessee division and several things which it could do to enhance the work of the SRC. When time permits I wish you would dictate something by way of guidance to Fleming on the above points and let him work out something for me. Mrs. Havens wants the meeting in Nashville to take place between April 1 and 15 but I think it will take place between April 10 and 15."

I understand the meeting is now set for Nashville on April 7.

Would you get up the heads of a speech for Paul?

Williams, Paul D.

March 18, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is a letter about a useful conference on civil liberties in Washington on April 14.

Could you go and represent the Council? If so, would you be good enough to fill out and mail their post card. It is a long trip for me and I am engaged at other places just before and after that date.

* * * *

The two members of the Resolutions Committee that we agreed on were Forrester Washington and Marion Wright. The third was to be a Negro woman. I have not had an opportunity to consult Mrs. Tilly about that selection. As soon as I have, I will send you letters to sign asking these three persons to serve.

The February 27 meeting in Atlanta committed itself, but did not commit the various organizations which sponsored it. It was an expression of the views of a representative gathering of Southern persons, but not of the views of the body of representatives of Southern organizations.

Channing Tobias and Dr. Alexander have been corresponding back and forth about finding ways to get a thousand dollars to print "The Condition of Our Rights" and about getting help from Independent Aid and from the Rockefeller family fund. Mrs. Tilly has written Morris Ernst and asked for money for the pamphlet, and Tobias is to help on that. Ernst may try to get the money from Charles E. Wilson. Tobias is to write to Clarence Pickett. Tobias will also get in touch with Mr. Arthur W. Packard of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Here is a copy of my letter that went out yesterday to Mr. Packard.

I hear that Stettinius is in Africa--I believe you told me that.

Mr. Fleming sent you on Tuesday a draft for your Naskville talk.

In a few days, when I can make final suggestions to you, about the right people to serve as consultants, I will send you a draft of letters to them.

I promised to be in New York April 29 to take part in a panel discussion on housing for the National Board of the YWCA.

On April 25 I shall be talking to the Florida State Teachers' Association on civil rights and education, in Tampa.

All arrangements have been made with Miss Garrity for the talk in New Orleans on April 12.

I am to be at Berea April 3 and 4, and will meet with the Directors of the Kentucky Division of the Council on April 5. Mr. Tydings very kindly arranged that gathering to take advantage of the trip to Kentucky.

The Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church has listed our digest as available at ten cents a copy in their social action bulletin, which will go out to some 300,000 people. We hope, therefore, for many sales. We already are getting nice orders of twenty-five, one hundred and two hundred at a time for it. We are putting out another mimeographed edition of "The Condition of Our Rights" as a fill-in until we can get that printed.

The total cost of carrying out the Civil Rights Meeting was about $900.00 ~~$2,000~~, which the Anti-Defamation League has met, ~~on condition that~~ We gave five hundred dollars' worth of office time, but that was no more than a part of our regular job. We are trying to get as many follow-up discussion meetings on civil rights as we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Ltr to AWPackard, sgd GSMitchell, dtd 17Mar48
Ltr from Nat'l. Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties

CHARGE TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, NE, ATLANTA, Ga.

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

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TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MARCH 18, 1948

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
HOTEL NEW YORKER
EIGHTH AVENUE AND THIRTY-FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DIGEST COSTS US SEVEN CENTS ON ORDERS OF ONE THOUSAND. WE CAN SELL AT THAT PRICE. WILL BE VALUABLE CIRCULATION.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Airmail
Special Delivery

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1968
Southern Regional Council

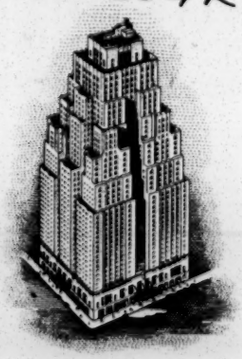
HOTEL NEW YORKER
THIRTY-FOURTH STREET AT EIGHTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

Mar. 17, 1968

Dear George,

A Catholic organization, The Catholic Daughters of America, which have national coverage — is eager to have 1500 of our resume of the Civil Rts. Report to distribute to their chapters. They want to know if we can make them a price — at discount — on so large an order. Any chance of making the order at 5¢ a copy? We don't want to lose money but it would look good in our annual report to give a large circulation on the Report resume.

Another thing, in the circular letter the Cath. Daughters will stress to their chapters that additional copies of the resume are available



(over)

the regular price,
at 10¢ per copy. Please wire me here at the New Yorker Hotel. Will be here until Friday 6 P.M.

Best always!

Sincerely,
Paul W.

P.S. Have written you another letter today.
P.

Williams, Paul D.

March 19, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

There is nothing to do about The Statesman. They make no effort to be honest, so I am not interested in correcting them.

We will await word from the CIO. That is a good letter you wrote them.

Pamphlets have gone forward to you.

The letters to prospective members of the National Advisory Committee should be signed by you. I enclose a draft.

Why not send each prospective member of the National Advisory Committee a copy of the Fleming pamphlet and also a November New South? Tell us how many you want and we will send them up. We could also send copies of these two pamphlets to Odum and to Dabney, as you may direct.

I greatly enjoyed the two editorials of Douglas Freeman's. Fleming has the Calkins article for consideration and will return it.

The March New South does carry an account of the Civil Rights Meeting. We have made clear the point you had in mind about the Meeting's not binding the Council.

Sincerely,

Enclosure: Draft of ltr to Nat'l. Adv.

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director

GSM:eb

DRAFT

TO PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dear Mr. _____:

I am writing to ask you to become a member of the National Advisory Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Council and its predecessor, the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have for thirty years worked in the South to muster against the problems of the South facts and responsible good will. It has served quietly and effectively in improving education, health, housing, justice and opportunity for all of the people of the South.

Although some recent signs may not point that way, the South grows as a part of the Nation. In the Nation's effort to deepen democracy, our Council has worked within the South to get the best of the South to act. The mounting unwillingness of the rest of the Nation, indeed of the rest of the world, to be patient longer with the discriminations customary in the South, makes the Council's problem a wider one than heretofore.

We are forming a National Advisory Committee to give expression to this concern.

We think the Committee should meet about once a year to review the work of the Council and suggest ways of meeting the Nation's goal of democracy in the South.

If you will be good enough to serve, we shall be most grateful. For your information, the others being so asked are listed on the attached sheet. The Council's program and its Directors and staff are described in the ~~two~~ enclosed leaflets.

Sincerely,

PDW

HOTEL NEW YORKER
THIRTY-FOURTH STREET AT EIGHTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

RECEIVED MAR 18 1948 Regional Coun

March 17, 1948

Dear George,

I hope the enclosed letter will prove productive. Will let you know developments if any. I expect to get something.

Talmadge's sheet treated you nastily. I'll be glad to write pointing out the errors if you say the word. But we wouldn't want that gang to like us, would we?

Please have Fleming send me 25 of our folders on the SRC (History, B of Directors etc.) and 10 each of Nov (1947) and Dec.-Jan. issues of The South.

Please prepare a letter of invitation which we should send to those whom we shall invite to serve on our National Advisory Committee. Dabney thinks I should sign the letter as president. Do you agree?

(over)

I'll pass a letter too and we'll blend the two. Please stress the importance of having such a Board with the world crisis and the necessity of the South showing sane leadership at this time.

Don't you think we should enclose the leaflet on the SRC? What else? Should it be the Nov. New South in which we have the Annual Reports?

Dabney said he would write to all of his friends on the panel of prospective Nat. Adv. Committee urging that they accept. Odum said he would do the same to those he knew.

Will you carry an account of the Civil Rights meeting in the next issue of "New South"? If you publish the findings of the workshops, do you think it would be wise to mention in a foot-note that the findings were the outcomes of the joint meeting and not necessarily binding on the SRC. Or should we skip it unless the points is raised. I'll be glad to abide by your judgment in this.

I mentioned my religious affiliation in my letter to Reed because Reed and the other three gentlemen are Catholics and the point may carry a little significance in view of the predominantly Protestant South.

Will return home for the week-end. I expect to see Chas. Lawrence while I'm here.

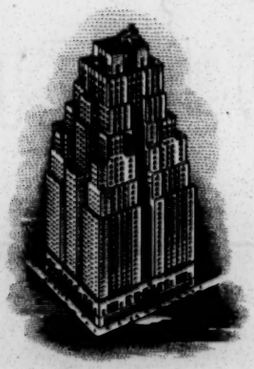
HOTEL NEW YORKER

THIRTY-FOURTH STREET AT EIGHTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

Please see enclosures. Freeman's last sentences sound like your wire to the Sou. Govs. You'll also like his other editorial Absurd But Ominous. Flemming may want to use a quote from Calkins in the New South. Please return the Calkins article. Keep the others.

Best always!

Sincerely,
Paul



THE HOTEL NEW YORKER OPERATES ALL RESTAURANTS AT LA GUARDIA AIRPORT

Dr. Geo. Mitchell

C
O
P
Y

March 16, 1948.

Mr. Harry Read
Administrative Assistant,
Congress on Industrial Organizations
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

It was grand seeing you in Richmond recently and it was a pleasure having you over home for a brief visit so you could meet my wife and children.

I am most grateful to you for your willingness to intercede with Mr. Phillip Murray and Mr. Dave McDonald of the CIO and Mr. Dixon of Johnson & Johnson in behalf of the Southern Regional Council. For your information I am enclosing several pamphlets which tell something about our work. I am also enclosing the account of our recent meeting on Civil Rights which appeared in the New York Times. Father LaFarge very generously referred in an editorial entitled "The Voice of the South", to our Civil Rights meeting in the current issue of America.

In a nutshell here is our problem. The Rosenwald Foundation has given us a large grant each year but the foundation goes out of existence next year. We are faced with the prospect of making up the difference through new forces or be forced to curtail our program, which in these crucial days would prove disasterous. If anything our budget should be increased to allow additional activities.

It may interest you to know that our able executive director Dr. George S. Mitchell, was formerly with the CIO in charge of PAC organizations in the South.

An examination of our board of directors shows the caliber of southern leadership intimately associated with the SRC. I have become convinced that the SRC represents one of the finest labatories for democracy in the South. The work of the Council through its by-racial staff in Atlanta is a daily demonstration that the right things can be donw now in the South. Witness too, that half of our board of directors, important committees, officers and paid staff is Negro. Though the South is predominantly protestant, and consequently so is our board of directors, I as a Catholic have the honor of being president of the Southern Regional Council. Our general counsel is

a Jew, our first vice president and the chairman of our executive committee are Negroes. I honestly believe that this sort of thing cannot be duplicated by any organization in the South and possibly not in the nation.

Whatever you can do to ease my financial problem will be greatly appreciated. If the gentlemen you speak with are agreeable I will be glad to meet with any or all to discuss in detail the work and strategy of the Southern Regional Council.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

William, Paul

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South

RECEIVED

March 27, 1948.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of March 18. I would be very glad to attend the Civil Liberties meeting in Washington but on that date Mrs. Havens has asked me to be in Nashville for the organization there. I am therefore returning the correspondence to you with the suggestion that you ask Guy Johnson or Harold Trigg to represent us since they are vice presidents and are located fairly close by. Or if you prefer you may let Mrs. Tilly represent the Council.

I saw Charles Lawrence in New York for a good visit on March 18. It appears that his wife is committed for two years in child psychiatry so Lawrence reluctantly declined our invitation. He could have otherwise come to us in September or November which would have been ideal. I will write the members of the special committee notifying them of this situation, explaining also that on the recommendation of the executive committee you will have a board of three consultants until we appoint an associate director. I have two or three suggestions that are worth exploring but I want to check them with several people before recommending their names.

Charles Johnson asked that he be relieved of serving on our financial committee because of pressing engagements but he did say that he would serve if I thought it necessary. Since we will have only one meeting of our financial committee before our next annual meeting I think I could persuade Dr. Johnson to serve on the committee if you deem it wise. To make it most convenient for him I would be willing to have the meeting in Nashville, perhaps some time in May. If you think we should not even ask him to serve under these favorable conditions what do you say about asking Dr. Clement or Dr. Trigg to serve. Tydings has accepted and so has Wheeler. I have not heard from Dr. Will but I presume he will be ok. Please tell me what you think and I will follow through.

I haven't heard from the Catholic Daughters confirming the order for our digest but it still looks hopeful. Please see enclosed correspondence and return after looking it over. I am also enclosing an exchange of letters with Charles Fahy. I hope the Rockefeller Brothers Fund comes through. It was a good letter you wrote Mr. Packard.

You have a very active schedule outlined in your letter and I will be glad when you have an associate to lighten the burden of your

speaking engagements.

It is amazing that you were able to put on the Civil Rights meeting at the extremely low cost outlined in your letter. I liked your letters on the follow-up. We had two meetings in Richmond put on by our Catholic group which emphasized the Civil Rights meeting and purchased 200 copies of our digest to serve as a study guide. I will list this when I fill in the requested information. I will also note the action of the Catholic Daughters if they take any. I shall also recommend that the Catholic Committee of the South at its annual meeting in Lexington, Kentudky present something on Civil Rights and purchase our digest for further study.

I am leaving town tomorrow on a trip to San Francisco where I have to attend an educational convention. Please write me care of the Fairmont Hotel where I will be until next Saturday. I will give you my further itinerary in my next letter.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht
encs:

P.S. Talked with Tom Allen yesterday. Will take care of fellows on my return from Calif.

P.

PS 2

Enclosing other correspondence for your personal. Please return.

P.

g Sum

March 31, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We have an able Fellow at Howard University, Miss Flemmie Kittrell. She is the Head of the Home Economics Department at Howard, and former Dean of Women at Hampton. I wrote and asked her to cover the civil rights meeting in Washington April 14. I hope she can do it.

That's very hard luck about Charles Lawrence. I wish we could have got him. Possibly it will still work around to that in some way.

If I were you, I would have the next meeting of the Finance Committee in Nashville and get Charles Johnson to sit with it as a member. Perhaps he would not wish to accept permanent membership, but would serve that time.

We have heard no more from the Catholic Daughters of America, but still hope their order will come through.

I have not yet picked the three advisers. I wish to talk to Clement first.

The Resolutions Committee could now be completed by adding the name of Mrs. William H. Borders. Her husband is probably the leading Negro minister in Atlanta--Baptist. She and Mrs. Tilly work very closely together.

I will send you letters asking these persons to serve.

I think Fahy's conversation with Byrnes inevitably will do good. Very glad indeed you arranged it.

I am enclosing the very interesting letters you sent.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures
GSM:eb

Williams P.D.

April 7, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The enclosed letter was opened here and held when I was away.

Pleasant trip to Berea and quite a useful meeting of the officers, Executive Board and Advisory Board of the Kentucky Division. Tydings has done a quiet but effective job in a few fields. The Division needs to take more people into its confidence on its work and achievements, however.

They played quite the leading part in denting the Segregation Law of 1904 about colleges. The dent permits governing boards of professional and medical institutions to take Negroes as students and, therefore, as internes.

Our quarterly check from the Rosenwald Fund has put us in money, but more than a third of it goes at once to repay our loan of $2,500.

Here is a copy of an interesting letter from Clarence Pickett to Tobias.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Ltr to PWWilliams
GSM:eb from Louisville Courier Journal;
cy ltr from Clarence Pickett to Dr. Channing H. Tobias, dtd 26Mar48.

Williams, Paul D.

April 21, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Here is part of the material you asked for for your Brooklyn speech. The other part is printed material and is being mailed to you today under separate cover.

I think I have included everything you asked for, with the exception of the article on the Citizens' Committee on Education in Florida. I am writing Mrs. Havens to see if she can send it to you, since she is the one who mentioned it.

The pamphlet, "The Condition of our Rights", has a section on lynching which you may find helpful to show decline. The March New South carries an article on southern press comments on the "Southern Revolt", which will bear on your subject. We are sending both these publications to you.

If I can help in any other way, let me know. It was good to see you in Nashville last week. By the way, the Nashville City Council, on the day of our meeting, voted to hire six Negro policemen! The Council has far-reaching effects, doesn't it!

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

1948
Mar. N.S.
Feb. 1947 "
Aug. 1946 "
Jef Survey, 21 mos after Civil Rts. Cmy
June 1947 N.S.

factual situation in South

Negro Police —

Jack Surrey — see "2 months after" —

ed. in Hfx. — (see his journal)

legislation —

~~statements~~, church / Sabin on race —

resolution, ~~students~~ as to

admission, ~~students~~ —

Civil Rts Conf —

Mark Ethridge Miss.

Hodding Carter — Miss.

any other ~~instructions~~

areas, she is not —

Send to Paul Wilkins

for speech in Brooklyn, N.Y.

CHURCH PRONOUNCEMENTS

Methodist

The Southeastern Juridiction Woman's Society of Christian Service has recommended a "Program of "Action" for 1948, which includes the following: (Annual meeting, March 4, 1948, Orlando, Fla.)

1. Support of the following legislation: (a) Anti-Lynching Bill; (b) Anti-poll tax Bill; (c) Federal Aid to Education; (d) Legislation providing for full employment, full pay, full security and prevention of inflation; (e) Federal Housing legislation containing fundamental provisions of the Taft-Wagner Housing Act; (f) Provision for adequate medical care for all people; (h) Social Security for agricultural and domestic workers.
2. Wider use of the ballot, education against the use of race as an issue in political campaigns, and protection of the civil rights of all groups and individuals in the community.
3. Specific and immediate steps in the direction of securing human rights, including the following: (1) acquaintance with the content and implications of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights; (2) support of progressive moves toward the achievement of Civil Rights for all people in the country, including the South; (3) support of Federal and state legislation to guarantee Civil Rights to all peoples; (4) work to implement the Supreme Court ruling relative to admission of all individuals, regardless of race or creed to educational institutions for graduate training in our schools, both church and state controlled. (The recommendations also commented upon "the impracticability of establishing regional schools, the exorbitant and unnecessary expense which would be incurred, the unchristian principle of discrimination which would be perpetuated. . . .")

Baptist

At the 1947 Southern Baptist Convention, the Convention's Committee on Race Relations recommended that the Convention approve a long-range program of education for the improvement of racial understanding and encourage Baptist agencies and institutions to promote such a program. The Committee's Report also stated: "We believe in the principle of democracy in government: in application it entails the recognition and defense of the natural and constitutional rights of all citizens irrespective of their origin or racial inheritance."

On March 21, 1948, Dr. Duke K. McCall, Executive Secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention, declared that Southern Baptists favor full constitutional rights for Negroes, including the right to vote and adequate wages in healthful working conditions. (Atlanta Constitution, March 22, 1948.)

At a recent meeting, the Texas Baptist Convention approved a resolution commending President Truman for his stand on civil rights. The resolution further stated: "The Texas Baptist Convention with its entire membership of 200,000 pledge themselves to determined and

deathless opposition to forces and influences which too long have blocked the channel of interracial good will and the path to national unity." (Norfolk Journal and Guide, April 17, 1948.)

Episcopal

In May 1947, the Episcopal Diocese of Georgia voted to seat Negro clergy and lay delegates with full rights at future diocesan conventions. In voting Negroes a voice in church affairs, the Diocese of Georgia became the next to last state group approving that amendment to the diocesan constitution. South Carolina remains the only state which has not taken similar action. (Brunswick (Ga.) News, May 8, 1948.)

Episcopal clergy and laymen attending the Twenty-First Synod in Atlanta last fall (October 1947) passed a resolution providing that all future synods be planned in such a manner that there would be no discrimination against Negro delegates. (Atlanta Constitution, October 16, 1947.)

Presbyterian

In May 1947 the permanent Committee on Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church of the United States call upon the Church's Eighty-Seventh General Assembly to take positive action on the civil rights of minority groups throughout the nation by: (1) condemning all organizations and individuals whose aim and purpose is to deny civil rights to any groups or individuals because of race, creed, class, or color; (2) direct the attention of the House Un-American Affairs Committee to "The Un-Americanism of organizations like the Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan - which are definitely akin to fascism..."; and (3) urge all people in local communities to "throw their influence and the influence of their local churches on the side of those forces that seek to uphold for all kinds and classes of Americans their civil and constitutional liberties." The report of the Committee was submitted by Dr. McDowell Richards of Decatur, Georgia. (Atlanta Constitution, June 1, 1947.)

Virginia Council of Churches

On February 23, 1948, the executive committee of the Virginia Council of Churches adopted a program of interracial cooperation which was to be offered as recommendations to local churches for study and action. Among the recommendations were: ~~(1)~~

"That qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed, or color.

"That the constitutional rights of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized and that Negroes along with other qualified citizens be empaneled for jury service.

"That Negro citizens be appointed to school boards and to boards of other political, public, civic or social service agencies on the same basis of merit as other citizens.

"~~Since~~ racial segregation in public carriers is a social and economic waste and is undemocratic in principle, and in view of the evidence that the traditional policy of separate but equal accommodations has proven a failure in fact, we recommend that racial segregation on common carriers and in public waiting rooms be immediately abolished.

"That qualified Negro physicians and their patients be admitted to hospital throughout the state and that existing hospital accommodations for white and colored people be improved.

"As Christians we recognize our failure to inculcate into our corporate life, as citizens and churchmen, the full implications of our Christian faith regarding brotherhood. . . . Specifically, we urge now the abolition of segregation in meetings where both races meet together for worship or conference." (Danville, Va., Register, Feb. 24, 1948.)

Catholic

At the 1947 annual meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South, Dr. Guy B. Johnson, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, received the Committee's annual award for progressive leadership in the South

In St. Louis, segregation in the parochial schools has been abolished.

EDUCATION

See Condition of Our Rights, pp. 25-30, for figures, Supreme Court decisions, and the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, and for regional plan.

Reactions

Alabama

When a Negro student applied for admission to Alabama Polytechnic Institute School of Architecture at Auburn, Alabama, a poll was taken of student opinion. The results showed that 58.9% were opposed to the admission of Negroes, 30.46% were in favor of admission, and 10.63% were neutral. However, the poll revealed that more than 60% of the graduate students questioned were in favor of admission.

Arkansas

The University of Arkansas has announced that qualified Negroes would be admitted to the law school of the university under a "special arrangement" providing for a separate classroom in the law school.

Delaware

The Board of Trustees of the University of Delaware voluntarily announced that properly qualified Negroes would be accepted without segregation in the graduate and professional schools when such facilities were not available at Delaware State Teachers College, a Negro institution.

Kentucky

A bill to be presented to the Kentucky Legislature will allow institutions of higher learning to accept students of both races. A bill making such a policy mandatory was passed by the House at the last session of the Legislature, but it was lost in the Senate.

Maryland

Maryland has admitted Negro students to her law school for several years.

Recently, students at St. John's College at Annapolis, Maryland, voted 162 to 33 in favor of admitting Negroes to the college.

Florida

Students at the University of Florida have protested the recent meeting of Southern governors and educators to discuss regional professional schools for Negroes. They charged that the "dissipation of funds through the establishment of parallel institutions will retard our educational growth."

Missouri

The admission of colored students to graduate study in the school of social work at Washington University, St. Louis, was announced by the University's Board of Trustees. The Board had previously approved the admission of Negroes to the University Medical School.

Oklahoma

Following the Supreme Court decision on the Fisher case and the subsequent application of six other Negroes for admission to the schools of engineering, business administration, biology, and education, a committee of deans of the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma A. and M College has recommended the admission of Negroes to the graduate and professional schools of the two institutions. The recommendation was made to the state regents for higher education, a group which had asked the deans to study the matter of providing equal educational opportunities for Negroes in the state of Oklahoma.

LYNCHING

See Condition of Our Rights, pp. 1-5

Lynching in 1947

The annual report of Tuskegee Institute listed 1 lynching and 6 "borderline" cases during 1947. The borderline cases were not included in the total number of 1947 lynchings because sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained.

The number of prevented lynchings in 1947 was 31, 27 of which were in Southern states. A total of 39 persons, 33 of whom were Negroes, were saved from lynching.

According to Race Relations, A Monthly Summary (Feb. 1948, p. 116), some observers have speculated that "the year's record of 31 prevented lynchings, and the growing trend in the South toward bringing lynchers and would-be-lynchers to trial, may discourage the traditional mob-type violence in favor of more efficient and less risky methods. The current increase in police violence, some feel, suggests itself as one form of this 'quiet murder which seems to be taking the place of lynching.' "

REACTIONS TO CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE

Press Comment

See March 1948 New South

Alabama Mayor's Comment

Mayor Homer D. Cobb of Phenex City, Alabama, said on April 14, 1948, that he was tired of hate campaigns and wanted to see the end of the white supremacy issue which he doubted has helped the South since 1865.

Cobb made the statement in a letter to Gessner T. McCorvey, Chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee. He asked Mc Corvey to quit prodding delegate candidates on whether they will walk out of the national convention if any of the civil rights program is adopted.

Bobb said that he believed in local self-government, states' rights, and Southern traditions. But he added that people must adapt themselves to changing conditions in a changing world where people "can't control the minds and destinies of the human race."

He advised delegates to accept the results of the Democratic convention, win or lose, as "good Democrats and sports." (UP release, April 14, 1948).

Richmond Meeting

In Richmond, Virginia, more than 200 persons representing Negro church, fraternal, civic and welfare organizations in 45 communities in Virginia met to discuss the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Their conference drafted and adopted a repolution condemning segregation as "utterly inconsistent with American ideals". In addition to calling for the abolition of all constitutional statutes and local ordinances requiring segregation and recommending that the proposals of the Civil Rights Committee be adopted, the conference stated that they opposed the idea and establishment of regional schools.

The group is attempting to gain support from political leaders in the state for legislative repeal of the existing laws prescribing segregation of the races on common carriers and in public assembly. The State Council of the CIO has endorsed this action and promised cooperation and support if and when a bill on this subject is introduced. Working independently, an interracial group in Richmond is circulating a petition among all voters asking the city's ten members of the Legislature to introduce and support such a bill in the 1948 session of the Legislature. (Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, Feb. 1948, p. 103.)

New Orleans Meeting

See next page.

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

In April of 1948 the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, through its Institute for Teachers on Race Relations, held a conference on civil rights. Four speakers covered various phases of the subject, with a question period at the end. The first speaker reviewed the Presiden't Report, referred to a mimeographed copy of the outline of the contents of the report, and reported on the positions taken by persons attending the Atlanta meeting on February 27. The second speaker presented a liberal business man's viewpoint on the need for extension of civil rights (lynching, poll tax, eventual abandonment of segregation, but opposing FEPC). The thirdd speaker presented a liberal law professor's viewpoint--much of legislation called for is not radical departure for the past but is an extension of trends. The fourth speaker discussed the role of the teacher in controversial issues, such as center around the civil rights program. The idea was expressed that teachers should have a positive, constructive, active role, rather than a passive, timid role, and yet should not be doctrinnaire. The program was set up at the request of the teachers themselves (public, parochial, and private). About 90-100 persons attended. The meeting was enthusiastic, according to reports. The question period at the end lasted long beyond the period of the session.

(Other meetings are being held over the South -local interracial groups, church groups, etc. The report on the New Orleans meeting is the fullest report to be received in the SRC office)

Williams, Paul D.

April 22, 1948

Dear Paul:

Here is the material for Louis Reynolds. It contains five items, as follows:

Letter for your signature
List of Board of Directors
Exhibit of SRC literature
"The Condition of Our Rights"
Virginia membership cards.

The only thing I have to have back is the Virginia membership cards. I do have to have them back.

We deeply appreciate your effort, and we hope you will succeed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

SPECIAL DELIVERY - SPECIAL HANDLING

Williams, Paul D.

April 22, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for kind words about New Orleans. I enjoyed the meetings very much indeed.

The check from Philip Randolph is gratifying. I have written him as enclosed.

I think that, circumstances being what they are, we had best not carry a note in New South.

I am glad you are further along with the Finance Committee.

I talked the other day again with Dr. Clement. We narrowed the list down to two. Best recommendations: Dean Nabrit at Atlanta University and Nelson Jackson, Southeastern representative of the National Urban League. We have yet to agree on a third.

I shall be in Richmond momentarily on April 28 and longer on May 1 or 2, and shall hope to catch you in the city.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated April 22

Enclosures: cy ltr to A. Philip Randolph, dtd 22Apr48, sgd GSMitchell
ltr to PDWilliams, sgd Ellis Arnall, dtd 5Apr48
ltr to Paul Williams, sgd Wilson M. Brown, dtd 20Mar48

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
APR 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

April 19, 1948.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

It was good seeing you in New Orleans. You did a grand job at the meeting and I know the group will remember your talk for a long time to come.

I stopped off in Nashville and addressed the organizational group there and I think we are on the way to establishing a state division in Tennessee. Alfred Mynders of Chattanooga was elected chairman of the state division. Mrs. Havens will give you a report of our meeting. I am sending you several enclosures. You will be interested in the exchange of letters with Philip Randolph. You may want to reprint Mr. Randolphs' letter in the next issue of New South if there are not any bad angles involved. I will rely on your good jusgment in this matter. Please note Mr. Randolph's comments written on the edge of the check. It will look good in our annual report to have a contribution from the Sleeping Car Porters. Please enroll Mr. Randolph as an associate member and let him receive our literature. If you want to drop him a personal note I know it will be appreciated.

While in Nashville I had a good talk with Dr. Johnson and he agreed to serve on the finance committee. We have yet to work out a date but I will inform you as soon as I know something in this regard.

Please tell Dr. Clement that my confidence in him is such that I will agree entirely to the three advisors he names. If you want me to write them a letter please send the letters on and I will sign them and place them in the mail.

I have sent the letters out to the resolutions committee.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

Williams, Paul D.

April 23, 1948

Mr. Louis Reynolds
Reynolds Metals Company
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

I talked with you the other day about the Southern Regional Council. It is an organization of Southern people, of both races, non-political and non-denominational, devoted to practicable steps in improvement of the basic economy of the region, and through that device, to improved understanding between the races.

We have active State Divisions of the Council in Kentucky, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida and Tennessee.

In addition, we work in formal affiliation with the State Interracial Committees in Texas, Georgia and North Carolina, and in a close relationship with the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches. Altogether the Council has some twenty-four hundred paid members living in the South, and a couple of hundred associate members who live outside the Council's territory. As a sample of the membership, I hand you herewith a run of the Virginia cards; other States would be much like Virginia in the composition of the membership.

The Council was founded as an effort by Southern leadership to find within the South solutions to the human problems of the region. In that spirit it has proceeded responsibly, without fanfare, and often effectively. In the last couple of years its main work has been in the fields of health, housing, agriculture, education, including vocational education, improved police administration, the method of the community self-survey, and the underpinning of basic civil rights by building a sympathetic public opinion. In the bound exhibit which accompanies this letter you will see literature and pamphlets put out by the Council buttressing the work of the various State and local committees.

We are in urgent need of funds both to continue this general work, and to carry through needed new activities. Here are a few of them:

If basic human and civil rights are to be respected in the South, a vast deal must be done in informing local communities of the rights and duties involved, and of detailed means of implementing them. This can best be done by arranging local discussion meetings. Needed: money to pay two good people to travel in the South and, through the Council's contacts, arrange such meetings.

A manual of newspaper usage on matters of race. Some papers treat news involving race with care, others without it. Headline writers are frequently the individuals who drop into a community some explosive spark. Editors have spoken to us of their willingness to get used by their papers a manual which would set out the rules on news and headlines on race matters. We think we could interest the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association in distributing the manual. We already are collecting clips which will illustrate the various points. Needed: money to pay a competent journalism person to do the writing, and money to print the manual.

More community self-surveys. The National Urban League does these for some big cities. The Council's Jacksonville, Florida, survey revealed a special technique for getting effective follow-up through careful selection of the local people who find the facts for the survey. They are then automatically influential in getting correction. We should like to do these in cooperation with local people in a good number of small Southern cities and towns. They find what is wrong in education, health, housing, police administration, and so on, and then unravel the corrections. Needed: money to pay an expert, who could multiply his services many times over by enlisting the coordinated aid of Departments of Social Science in the several State Universities.

Police training. Many Northern cities have gone into training of their police forces in the complexities of group and race relationships. Little or nothing has been done in the South, and a traditional pattern of careless violence still rules. The technique is known. Needed: money to pay two laymen for a year to travel to Southern towns and cities and courthouses, learning by interview the problems of the police and of the public. Thereafter, money to put through, by methods which may then appear feasible, a program of reform.

If you can help us on our general program, or specifically for any of these new jobs that may especially interest you, the Council would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams
President

Enclosures: List of SRC Board of Directors;
Exhibit of SRC literature;
"The Condition of Our Rights";
Virginia SRC membership cards.

Williams, Paul D.

May 12, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We never quite know what to do about things for you that come here. This was opened.

I should judge that you still have a chance there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Ltr to PWilliams from
Mark Etheridge, dtd 10May48

GSM:eb

Williams, Paul D.

May 17, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter.

We appreciate Judge McWilliams membership and shall hope for larger sums to come later from his Coast. He is being duly thanked from here.

I have written Marion Wright, as enclosed.

We renewed our loan from the bank here in Atlanta, but reduced it from $2,500 to $2,000. We are on the verge of brokeness, but I still hope that Dr. Will will find us some more Rosenwald money soon.

Our payroll is lighter now, as we were able to double two jobs into one and we have dropped one research worker, who nevertheless continues to work every day all day as a volunteer.

More news later.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures
: cy ltr to MAWRight,
sgd GSMitchell, dtd 17May48
Ltr from Judge Eobert McWilliams
to PWilliams, dtd 26Apr48
Ltr from FBWashington to PWilliams,
dtd 27Apr48
cys ltr from PWilliams to MAWright and FBWashington

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Mr Fleming

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MRS. M. E. TILLY, FIELD SECRETARY
MRS. HENRY HAVENS, FIELD SECRETARY

May 12, 1948.

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

This is but a brief note but a promise to write you again in the near future. Please see enclosures.

One of the enclosures is from the New York Herald Tribune concerning the 1947 Pulitzer prizes. You will be interested to note that Virginius Dabney apparently received his award for courageous work in the field of interracial cooperation. You may want to quote from the Tribune article in the next issue of the New South.

I was sorry to miss you recently when you visited Richmond but I was in Washington attending the National Conference on Family Life. I hope everything has been going along nicely for you. Let me hear from you when you have time.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht
encs:

Williams, Paul D.

June 11, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here are the police project and the list of Board members.

In Chicago the other day at the afternoon meeting marking the closing out of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the principal speaker was Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, who had come back from Geneva especially for the occasion. He gave a long and meaty paper, and concluded with two recommendations for improvement in matters affecting race in this country.

The first was that certain popular cliches derogatory to Negroes be scientifically explored and fully exposed as falsehoods. The other was in the field of police administration. He said that a European was unavoidably struck with the anachronism of survival into this time of the frontier habit of selecting an unpromising member of the white race in overalls (I believe Myrdal's actual word was "cracker"), giving him a tin badge, calling him a sheriff and arming him with the majesty of the law.

As a major measure in the improvement of methods of police administration, he urged the establishment of an institute for police training, perhaps attached to one or another of the universities in the South.

Mr. Myrdal's challenge is one which should be taken up. That will be a vastly expensive operation--reaching into millions. The money is not apt to be provided, and advantage is not apt to be widely taken of the training offered unless public opinion in the South is far better informed on the shortcomings and difficulties of police administration in Southern communities, at its present levels.

It is in just such opinion-building as this that the Council is most eager to engage. What is missing are the facts. Police administration is a mystery to those not inside it. The Council proposes to train a couple of laymen in the problems, difficulties and possibilities of police work in the South today. From what two competent persons can learn in a year's direct study can follow the educational material upon which a campaign for improvement can be based. The Council is in a uniquely favorable position to do that job.

Perhaps you would want to tell your friend in Kentucky something about this other idea. A hundred years ago, more or less, the Nation divided on an enlargement of human liberties, called for by the times. The North saw the argument in moral terms; the slave-holding South should reform. The South contrived replies--not answers. Voices spoke, but were not heard, saying that the liberty asked could be had for the price of purchase of the slaves and provision for them of opportunities for land ownership. As no one listened, we went on and fought and really left the problem unsolved.

Now here, a hundred years later, the age again calls for an enlargement of human liberties. Again, publicists outside the South argue the question in moral and legal terms. Again, the South thinks up replies. No one says that the legislation desired will cost money. We can lay the ground work for liberty by enlarged opportunities and services in the fields of health, housing, education, industrial employment and democritization of the surviving structure of plantation agriculture.

If the South, through responsible public figures, would undertake convincingly to administer expanded services in these fields, with scrupulous fairness as between the races, and would back that undertaking with a guarantee that henceforth obstacles would not be thrown in the path of Negro voting, then, the Council believes, the South and the rest of the Nation could agree on a program--stretching over the years, of course--which would in this way underpin with basic equalities the liberties that are called for.

It is one of the oddities of the times that this Nation has come to see within the last two years that liberties of this sort in Western Europe can only be sustained at the cost of expensive and earnest effort; here at home, where it is the same democratic institutions that need to be built, we are blind to the apparent and constructive measures which, it seems to us, must inescapably accompany and largely precede the gains demanded.

I appreciate your effort and I believe you are going to succeed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not signed

Enclosures: List of members of
SRC Board of Directors
Cy ltr to JBCampbell Foundation,
sgd GSMitchell , re police project

Williams, Paul D.

June 11, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I appreciated your letter of June 3 from Pittsburgh:

The money situation makes us dismal, somewhat, but we continue to get things done.

At the wind-up of the Rosenwald Fund, I gather, a pressing need for money with which to take advantage of a very useful opportunity in medical education stood in the way of any additional allocation to the Southern Regional Council. So we didn't get that.

Then, as you know, we got turned down by the Campbell Foundation and by the Luke Foundation, etc., etc. We have tided over this hard May and first part of June period by getting the General Education Board to send their last three thousand June 1 instead of July 1. Incidentally, I went to see the Treasurer of the GEB in New York a couple of weeks ago and learned some of the ropes for submitting late in August a renewed request for appropriation to us from GEB?

We have had mighty good luck with getting recent publications noticed in the press. The New York Times carried a story on the housing pamphlet May 17, and again in the June 6 (Sunday) edition it carried two stories, one on the medical care program under the Hill-Burton Act and one on the Jacksonville Survey. Both, as you understand, were reframed from the May issue of New South.

The Chattanooga Times wrote stories and the Atlanta Journal has carried all three of those just mentioned. Many other papers have used something about either the May issue or the housing pamphlet. So we feel we are in the groove in getting newspaper attention to our stuff.

I was pleased to have today from Mr. Ogilvie in North Carolina two fine editorials in the North Carolina Catholic, one on housing down South, and their issue of December 19, 1947, praising the SRC for its "real patriotism."

"The Condition of Our Rights" is out today. Copy herewith. The Phelps-Stokes Fund gave us five hundred toward it and Kendall Weisiger found one hundred, and we risked the other three hundred to meet a printer's bill of nine hundred for it. We hope to recoup more than the three hundred we have mentioned by sales of it at twenty cents apiece. I am afraid, though, that civil rights will go slowly during the campaign months.

Charles Smith is here today, talking about possible ways of cooperation with the Council in a venture he is considering, a sort of editorial research job about the South for Southern papers from Washington. He has grown greatly and is remarkable material.

There are many things I should like to talk over with you, particularly on ways of turning the civil rights controversy from recrimination to constructive action. I rather think Governor Broughton could make himself the South's leader for twenty years to come if he would stand up now and say the right things. A sincere voice from the South might even carry its owner to the Presidency in eight years' time.

Mrs. McKoy has, I hope, taken care of the expense account, which we cheerfully pay, for the best of help to us. And thank you very much for the twenty-five dollars.

I sat next to a very nice lady named Aldrich, but I did not know that her name was Mrs. Winthrop W. Aldrich. My guess from her name is that she could very well assist SRC herself. Surely that is the same family that runs the Chase Bank.

I do hope you have some luck with Louis Reynolds and Stettinius and Willkie.

We got in Luther Jackson's manuscript about Negro voting in the South and Fleming is working on it for us as the June issue of New South. It is good.

I am more and more impressed with the usefulness and quality of this organization and its friends. We must find some money with which to feed it.

Dr. Will will be glad to attend a meeting of the Finance Committee when you arrange it. He was here ten days or so ago for an afternoon.

We got Dabney's editorial on housing and greatly appreciated it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary

GSM:eb
Dictated June 10, 1948

P. S. Tickler: When you see Louis Reynolds, please try to retrieve the set of Virginia membership cards which we sent you for him in April.

GSM

Enclosure
: "Condition of Our Rights"

HOTEL WILLIAM PENN
PITTSBURGH
Statler Operated

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 3, 1948

Dear George,

So far I haven't heard from Mark Ethridge about seeing Willkie so I didn't communicate with members of the Finance Committee for a meeting in Nashville. If I hear from Ethridge and the prospect seems bright I'll do my best to run out to see Willkie.

When I return home this week-end I plan to call on Reynolds and see what's what.

Dobney says he will see Stettinius and arrange a conference as soon as possible. Will let you know outcome. Dobney had a nice editorial on the SRC Housing pamphlet. If you didn't see it I'll send a copy.

Sorry I have to submit an expense account. It's including only one way expenses for the Nashville meeting, but I had to delay my

STAY Hotels STATLER in BOSTON BUFFALO CLEVELAND DETROIT ST. LOUIS WASHINGTON
NEW YORK Hotel Pennsylvania

HOTEL WILLIAM PENN
PITTSBURGH
Statler Operated

return to Richmond to get in this trip and there were expenses. I am also chipping in a personal donation for $25. Wish I could absorb the whole thing.

A Mrs. Winthrop W. Aldrich, a Trustee, who is on the Board of Trustees of the Nat. Conference on Family Life says she sat next to you in N.Y. at a housing meeting and was impressed with your story about the SRC. Says she thinks Marshall Field would be interested.

Write when you get a chance.

Best always.

Sincerely,
Paul W.

P.S. Tell me about the Roosevelt finale.

P.

STAY Hotels STATLER in BOSTON BUFFALO CLEVELAND DETROIT ST. LOUIS WASHINGTON
NEW YORK Hotel Pennsylvania

Williams, Paul D.

June 17, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Herewith check covering travel voucher which you sent us recently. The donation of $25.00 is a very grand gift and much appreciated.

We are trying to set the date for the next meeting of the Executive Committee for Wednesday, September 15. If this is a good date for you, please hold it for us tentatively until it can be cleared with other members of the Committee. If it is not a good date, will you let us know, or suggest alternative dates which you would like better?

Attached are minutes for the last meeting which we regret not being able to send you earlier. Our small staff has been taxed to its utmost, especially with the Southwide meeting on Civil Rights and developments which have grown out of it.

With kindest personal regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKey
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

Williams, Paul D.

June 24, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Corapeake Cottage
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

That was a fine letter you wrote Mr. Willkie.

The Rosenwald Fund sent us our final check last week--$37,500.

On advice from the School of Business Administration at Emory, and from Leonard Haas, Mrs. McKoy and I propose to put $25,000 away in five Atlanta building and loan associations. Each would have a total investment from us of five thousand dollars, the entire sum, of course, covered by FDIC. They pay three per cent.

Ordinarily, we could withdraw the money at will, although there are restrictions which can be invoked, slowing down withdrawal to a sixty-day period. My own proposal would be that, every two months during 1949, we draw out five thousand dollars.

The $12,500 we will use in 1948 as far as it will go.

Broadly speaking, it comes down to this. The Rosenwald contribution is enough to meet our payroll. We have to scuffle for printing and travel and rent and postage.

I have two consents to serve on our Advisory Committee. Nelson Jackson, Southeastern representative of the National Urban League, working from an office here in Atlanta, is one. The other is Dean S. M. Nabrit, in charge of the Graduate School of Atlanta University. The third, whom I am after, is a teacher of civics at the large Negro high school in Atlanta, Mr. R. E. Cureton. I have not been able to catch him yet. When I have the three consents I shall write you and request that you ask each of them to serve. These are the three finally recommended by President Clement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell
June 18 and signed in his
absence

July 12, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I have been slack about keeping you informed.

I believe I did tell you that the Rosenwald Fund sent us late in June their final check, for $37,500, which is for the last half of 1948 and all of 1949. Mrs. McKoy and I separated out the 1949 $25,000 and stowed it away in lumps of five thousand each in five difference federal savings and loan associations in Atlanta. The funds are withdrawable only on account of the signatures of Mrs. McKoy and myself both, and each five thousand is separately covered by FDIC. It should draw three per cent. Our plan would be to pull it out in 1949 at the rate of five thousand each two months.

Meanwhile, with the $12,500 for the rest of 1948, we paid the printer and paid off the loan from the Citizens Trust Company in Atlanta (around two thousand), and thus squared ourselves with the world. What we have left is only enough to run us for July and August. We will have scrapings that probably will let us pay for most of September's operations, but I foresee having to run most of October, November and December in the red.

We have still further reduced payroll by using one of our research girls to manage membership records and files. Thus we are running with two fewer employees than four months ago.

I also combined June and July New South to save another $150.00.

Here are photostats of welcome publicity. We hope to get some more stories on the Negro voting pamphlet, copy herewith.

I have to talk to the American Country Life Association at Berea tomorrow and to the Fisk University Race Relations Institute on Wednesday.

I expect to go to Washington July 27 and for several days thereafter, partly to talk with Charles Smith. If you will let me know where you will be (Richmond or Lewisetta, or otherwise within reach), I shall try to get in a visit.

I sent Fleming to South Carolina last week to collect the story on the interesting revolt there within the Democratic Party. Quite an effort is being made to get the right of Negroes to vote--in some counties.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: photostats of New York Times publicity;
Condition of Our Rights
GSM:eb June-July '48 New South
Dictated but not signed

39 - Williams, Paul D.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED JUL 19 1948 Southern Regional Council

July 17, 1948.

RECEIVED JUL 19 1948 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Here's the latest about Fred Willkie. Let's hope for the best. I decided to write him again useing some of the thoughts you expressed to me in a recent letter. See enclosure.

I will be writing you again soon.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

P.S. Please send Mr. Willkie a folder marking copies of our most important SRC literature, saying you are sending material at my advice. Please return enclosures including my letter to Willkie. Hope you get to Work this week. Call me.

39 - Williams, Paul D.

July 27, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I have at last had word from Mr. R. E. Cureton that he will be willing to serve on the Advisory Committee which was determined upon at the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council.

You will recall that the Executive Committee placed upon you and Mr. Clement the selection of a committee of three persons. Subsequently I interviewed Mr. Clement and, after much consideration, he recommended the following three persons: Mr. R. E. Cureton, teacher of civics, Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta; Mr. Nelson C. Jackson, Southern Field Director, National Urban League, with an office at Atlanta. (Mr. Jackson travels widely over the South); and Mr. S. M. Nabrit, Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Biology, Atlanta University.

I have talked both with Mr. Jackson and Dean Nabrit. They will be glad to serve. Mr. Cureton is away at State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama, until August 7, but, in correspondence with me, has agreed to serve.

Nothing was said about a chairman of the Advisory Committee. My guess would be that it would be unnecessary to have a chairman.

In my correspondence or conversations with each of these persons, I undertook that the Council would compensate them for weekly meetings at a rate of ten dollars per person per meeting. This is understood, therefore, by each of them and is a deal which need not be reviewed in your letters to them inviting them to serve.

I have prepared and here enclose suggested drafts of letters from you to each of the new, will-be advisers. If they meet with your approval, they could be signed and sent out.

I will arrange a meeting of the advisers shortly after Mr. Cureton's return on August 7, and shall expect thereafter to meet with them each week for an hour or two.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Clement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures

GSM:eb

39 - Williams, Paul D

July 29, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I send you separately in a roll, for you to keep by you, a set of six photostats of recent news publicity.

We made no effort to have these inclusive, but tried merely to show that we got important coverage for most of our recent main efforts.

I am sending a similar set to P. B. Young, Harold Trigg, Carter Wesley, Mrs. Havens and Dr. Alexander, and two additional copies will circulate more slowly to the heads of Divisions and affiliated Committees. I shall send one also to Charles Johnson, but not for keeps (I have only ten sets).

We thought these would be useful in getting outside people to know just what the Council does.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

38 - Williams, Paul D.

August 3, 1948

Dear Paul:

I have been slow about getting these off to Willkie.

Here are all of your letters back.

Expense account check herewith.

What do you think of your sending your copies of the newspaper publicity to Willkie, for Willkie's return to you? That would put us in his mind still again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : Cy ltr to Fred Willkie,
sgd GSMitchell, dtd 3Aug48;
Check; correspondence forwarded this office by Paul Williams.

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

39 - Williams, Paul D.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 9, 1948.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Thank you for your several recent letters. I have sent the invitations to the members of the Advisory Committee. If they write to the office open the letters so you can have this information without delay. I agree with you that it seems unnecessary to have a chairman of the Advisory Committee.

The photostats look very attractive.

I was so sorry to learn of your father's setback. He has been such a grand and useful citizen and such an inspiration to me personally that I should hate to think of a world without Dr. Mitchell. If he rallys from his illness I hope you will express these sentiments to him and tell him that he goes down in my book as one of the half-dozen greatest gentlemen I have ever known.

I am writing the members of the finance committee setting September 15 for the meeting.

I was disappointed to learn from you about Willkie's letter. I had so hoped that he would do something in a substantial way.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

38 Williams, Paul D.

August 13, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

When we sent through you for Mr. Louis Reynolds the set of cards on Virginia membership, we put a notation in our tickler that would keep reminding me to get the cards back.

The tickler reached my desk June 10, July 10, and August 9. I am putting the notation back in the tickler for September 10. If you can with due courtesy retrieve the cards, our office force will be relieved of the tickler business.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:jdh

39- Williams, Paul D

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity in the South

August 27, 1998

Dear George,

Here's a bit of encouraging news. The blind chap (I forget his name) who handles the Stetterius Fund reported to V. Dabney that he was recommending at least a token contribution to the SRC for this year and a substantial amount next year. I'll keep after this until something definite is done.

I've heard from Tydings, Wheeler accepting the date for the meeting of our Finance Committee. Dr. Johnson accepted over the phone. But I haven't heard from Dr. Will. Please write him urging his attendance Sept. 15. We need him at our meeting

I had a leisurely visit with Bill Darlin last time I was in Washington. Bill gave me an angle which might be successful with Edgar Stearn of New Orleans. The plan would be to have one call on him personally and ask him to meet a certain amount in New Orleans through his friends. If the amount falls that Stearn

(over)

would probably make up the difference. Darlin used this method himself with success in getting a large sum in New Orleans to support his magazine which never went into publication. Darlin says Steam contributed handsomely to Sam Jones' effort to become Senator. Bill says that I could talk to Steam as one business man to another. Please turn the matter over in your mind and tell me frankly what you think. I am willing to go to New Orleans to see Mr. Steam either before or after our meeting Sept 15 if you think it is worth the expense. Time is running out on us and we certainly want to make a good showing, financially, at our annual meeting. If you don't want to make the decision yourself, perhaps we should discuss the possibility at our meeting Sept. 15 and if our meeting agrees I could go to New Orleans from Atlanta. This would be my last chance to get there before our annual meeting.

I'll be at Lewisetta, Va. until after Labor Day, then I go to Richmond.

Best always.

Sincerely,

Paul

39 - Williams, Paul D

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 12, 1948.

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I am planning to arrive on the Seaboard train, the Silver Comet I believe, which I usually take out of Richmond, arriving in Atlanta around 7:30 A.M. Wednesday. I will be at your disposal for the entire day and will leave the next morning for New Orleans to see Mr. Stern. I believe it would be best to get me a room at the Piedmont, Ansley or anywhere else so I can be in close conference with you and Dr. Will before I leave by plane the next morning for New Orleans. I will leave Richmond Tuesday night. Please wire me the hotel where I will stay and also the date for our annual meeting. V. Dabney wants to know the date so he can make his plans so as to attend.

With every good wish, I remain

Atlanta Hotel

Res. for Wed Night

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

P. S. I hope to have some definite information regarding the Stettinius Fund to report to our meeting.

PDW:ht

39-Williams, Paul D.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 21, 1948.

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I received copies of the letters you sent to the two Foundations in New York. As soon as you hear from the parties concerned let me know so I can make my plans.

I think we had a swell meeting in Atlanta. Thanks for the wonderful dinner and evening we had at your home.

I think our statement is forthright and should do a lot of good. I have several reflections to make concerning our annual meeting but will save them for another letter.

Hope you get a good reaction from Ralph McGill with reference to the Coco Cola people.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

39 - Williams, Paul D.

September 22, '48

Dear Paul,

Here's a heart-warming editorial from the New York Times. We know of twenty-odd leading Southern papers which carried good stories on the statement, and the Chattanooga and Birmingham papers printed it in full.

I have a letter today from the Carnegie people, making an appointment with Mr. Dollard for you and Charles Johnson for 3 PM September 30, at their offices, 522 Fifth Avenue. I am writing them today that you will be there. I wrote days ago to GEB, but haven't yet heard on my request for an AM appointment with them that same day - the 30th.

Dr. Will offered to go to see John Price Jones, on professional publicity, with me on Sep. 29th, and I have written for a date. So I'll be in NY the 30th, but still think it should be you and GBJ alone who go to see GEB and Carnegie. This good publicity should help us enormously.

Sincerely,

GSM

369-Williams, Paul D.

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA - NEW YORK

STATLER OPERATED

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Sept. 30, 1948

Dear Mrs. McCoy,

Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Johnson and I saw the people at G. E. B and Carnegie today. Hope we get some good results.

I'm enclosing an account of recent S.R.C. expenses incurred. I'm making a small personal contribution.

See you at our annual meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

P.S. Please write me care of my home address. Please check figures. I did them hurriedly. PDW

39-Williams, Paul D.

October 5, 1948

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I took a note that you wanted a copy of the New York Times story. Here it is. It is precious to our files, so please do forthwith send it back.

I had a nice time at the tea. Thank you for letting me go.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39 - Williams, Paul D

October 7, 1948

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

My notes say you were to go and see Rogers in Tempa when you make your New Orleans trip.

You were also kind enough to promise to go and see Monte Lemann.

I am to write to Lemann, copy to you, saying that you are being kind enough to fulfill on Lemann's willingness to have the matter reopened later on in this year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul.

October 11, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Mrs. Havens the other day made what is, I think, the fine suggestion that you put Alfred Mynders on the finance committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D.

October 12, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

In talking yesterday with the members of the Advisory Committee, we got around to the problems of building membership.

We can do more in reaching the Negro teachers'associations in the various states, and in reaching Negro ministers and lay people in the churches. Also, we can reach teachers in general through their summer institutes. We are laying plans for doing these three things.

Meanwhile, it so happens that the Virginia State Teachers Association (Negro) meets in Richmond at Virginia Union University October 28-29. Their executive secretary is Mr. J. Rupert Picott (pronounced "Pie-kott"), whose address is 201 East Clay Street.

I am sure it would be rewarding if you would, in the next few days, go and see Mr. Picott and get his consent and help toward some device of Council membership recruitment at the time of his meeting. If he would himself present us and cause our general pamphlet to be distributed, or membership cards, or if—less valiantly—he would open a booth for us, such things would be helpful.

On these matters of recruitment, I never like to spend $70 in travel on the off chance of collecting $10 in new memberships. Wherefore I rest on you the job of persuading Picott to do what he will. Maybe you could appear before his group. Maybe there is somebody else who ought to state our cause. We will send you any booklets or things that would help from here although, again, I don't want to dump up there $10 worth of pamphlets unless arrangements are pretty sure for making a profit on the deal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary

GSM:t
cc: Margaret Price

October 14, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

From the Russell Sage Foundation's book called American Foundations for Social Welfare, here are the entries on the Horowitz and Littauer Foundations:

"Horowitz--The Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, Inc. (1922); 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Louis Caplan, President; George R. Schmidt, Secretary.

"Purpose and Activities: Founded by Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz as a trust fund. During the twenty-two-year period, 1922-1944, grants have been made to educational and philanthropic activities of especial interest to the founders. These grants have included seven fields: technical education, general education, medicine and public health, relief, religion and tolerance, social welfare, and war agencies. Of the total distributed, 70 per cent was spent for technical education in building construction and engineering. In 1944 the Foundation was incorporated, at which time one of its primary purposes was stated to be the furtherance '...of tolerance among human beings, including promition of amity, cooperation, justice, and understanding among Protestants, Catholics, Jews and all other persons in the United States and elsewhere, to the end that relations among such groups may be improved and prejudices among them may be eliminated.' The trustees of the Foundation are presently engaged in a review of its past program and in a formulation of a new program to carry out the above stated purpose.

"Capital Assets: Not stated.

"Expenditures: Not stated."

"Littauer--Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, Inc. (1929); 235 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, New York; Harry Starr, President and Treasurer; Georges H. Brandt, Secretary.

"Purpose and Activities: Founded by Lucius N. Littauer to enlarge the realms of human knowledge, and to promote the general moral, mental, and

physical improvement of society so that the sum total of human welfare and wisdom may be increased and the cause of better understanding among all mankind promoted. The funds may be devoted to charitable, humanitarian, educational, communal, and other altruistic activities. Current interests include the fields of education, social welfare, international relations, race relations, and the social sciences.

"Capital Assets: Not stated.

"Expenditures: Not stated."

Do go and see them.

I do not know Mr. Harry Starr, nor either of the officers of the Horowitz Foundation.

Observe spelling of Edgar Stern.

The price of printing another thousand copies of the statement, with added newspaper comment and a cover showing graphically our newspaper coverage on the statement is $139. As we printed an extra thousand or 1,200 copies of the September New South which contains the statement, I propose to exhaust that New South print of the statement before pulling up $130 that we haven't got for a new printing. Perhaps you have some reason for not wishing to use the New South print, but on the chance that you do not, I am sending you up 50 September New Souths, plus 50 of the Fleming leaflets and a hundred envelopes. Fine idea.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

F.S.S.
10/14/48

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 12, 1948.

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Do you know anything about the Horowitz Foundation and the Littauer Foundation? Both were recommended to me by Frank Whalen, a good friend of mine with whom I had dinner after leaving you in New York. As I understand, both Foundations are Jewish and they might appreciate our plight inasmuch as Rosenwald has liquidated and left us in somewhat of a hole. It is possible that I could go to New York before our annual meeting and see the officials of these foundations if you think it wise. According to Whalen the Littauer Foundation has plenty of money. Mr. Harry Starr is director. Do you know anything about him?

If I go to New York it will be impossible for me to go to Florida to see Mr. Rogers but it is possible that I could take a plane to New Orleans to see Mr. Stearn just before our annual meeting. Will write Mr. Stearn for an appointment.

I think you told me you were planning to print our Statement by itself, that is, apart from the New South issue. If so I could use 50 copies of the Statement reprint.* I have an idea of using them to write to a number of Catholics Bishops seeking membership for priests in their dioceses and also to a number of laymen asking for contributions of $100.00 each. Please let me have the Statements as soon as possible so I can get busy on this at once. If you are not planning to print the Statement in the near future I could use mimeographed copies. In this case please be sure that the first page under the title reads: Statement of the Executive Council, etc. including the date - and on the last page list the names and positions of the executive committee.

Let me hear from you when you have the chance.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

* Please send 50 copies of the 8 page folder describing the S.R.C. and 100 envelopes carrying SRC address. P.

PDW:ht

P.S. Please see enclosures. Send Mr. Lehman our statement on C.R. also follow thru on Mr. Ballou. Please return enclosures. P.

October 15, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Tydings in Kentucky wrote on October 11:

"I have had two very satisfactory conferences with Mr. Barry Bingham which might be followed up at this time with a letter from you or Paul Williams."

I have written him that I am now asking you to write Barry Bingham.

Tydings also said that he had talked recently with Mr. William A. Stark, chairman of the Jacob Schmidtlapp Foundation in Cincinnati, and that Mr. Stark was much interested in the police project and wanted to know more about it. I have sent Tydings a scrappy stackful of information. The truth is, we have to think out again our police project. Maybe Tydings can put together enough to interest Stark.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D.

The Bellevue-Stratford

Philadelphia 2, Pa.

CABLE ADDRESS
"BELLSTRAT"

BENNETT E. TOUSLEY
VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER

Oct. 14, 1948

Dear George,

I spent two good hours yesterday with Charles Smith. He's a knockout and we certainly ought to have him on our staff as soon as possible. I told him to plan on attending our November meeting and he agreed. Please write him saying that we will pay his expenses.

Will return to Richmond Saturday.

Sincerely,

Paul

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

FOR A FRESH START — STOP AT A HOTEL

39 - Williams, Paul D -

October 14, 1948
Dict. October 13

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

If you do go to New Orleans, Monte Lemann's address is: Whitney Building, New Orleans 12. He is with the law firm of Monroe & Lemann.

We wrote him in January, 1948, and asked him to make a contribution to the Council. He sent us $25 February 11, and said he was giving $1,000 a year to Dillard and $250 a year to the Negro College Fund, and said:

> "...In view of the uncertainty of the times and of my own position, I hesitate to make any substantial increase in contributions for inter-racial purposes, especially in view of very heavy demands upon me in other connections. However, as a gesture of interest in the important work which you are doing, I enclose a check for $25.00 and later in the year, if you will write me, I may consider increasing this somewhat."

I won't write Lemann, because of the uncertainty as to whether you will reach New Orleans in the near future. If you go, Mr. Stern is a good friend of Mr. Lemann and would tell you how to get in touch with Mr. Lemann.

We will put Tydings down to lead the discussion on adoption of the budget for 1949. This occurs at 3:00 - 3:30 P.M. I am relying on you to write Tydings and ask him to take that job of so leading.

We will put Clement on the program. Good idea.

Here is a letter to Rogers. Do anything you want to it.

It would be quite nice if you turned up with funds that would relieve our deficit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

October 15, 1948

Mr. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

You came notably to the help of the Southern Regional Council last year. I am satisfied the Council's activity and usefulness have grown greatly, partly with the help of what you generously gave.

The Council's good judgment and courage have brought it to the place where it contributes in a very important way to the molding of the public mind of the South. The reception given all over the South—and indeed, all over the nation—to the recent statement on civil rights shows the broadened effectiveness of the Council's work.

It still needs money. It has run during 1948 on a budget of some $5,000 less than that for 1947. It needs to have the funds with which to fulfill the promise of its present influence. Do you think you could find $500 for it? That is a goodly sum, and I hesitate to ask you for it after your gift last year. Still, it is badly needed, and I believe you will be willing to make a gift to this statesmanlike cause.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:t

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
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RAY WARWICK
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 11, 1948.

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks for your recent letters. I hope our mission in New York will prove successful.

You made a big hit at the Catholic Interracial Forum. Please see enclosed letter from George Hunton.

I think it would be a nice gesture to put Dr. Clement on the program of our annual meeting for a word of welcome. It will only consume a minute and he is always most genial in such a capacity.

I think it best to list either Dr. Will or Tydings on the program for action on finances as I would like to be relieved of this, inasmuch as I have to preside and pick up loose points here and there. I think Dr. Will is more expert of the two but I feel that Tydings could do a good job if we want to use a new face. I will be glad to make a few introductory remarks on the matter of finances before I introduce Dr. Will or Tydings, according to your decision in this matter. Please tell me what you think.

I can't possibly get to Florida to see Mr. Rogers but I would be glad to write him a strong letter asking for a donation of $500.00. In this regard I wish you would frame such a letter as you think will appeal to Rogers. I will then make any changes I think necessary and write him a very personal letter.

My reason for passing up Rogers is that I have gotten leads on two organizations in New York, about which I will write you later. It is possible that I could get to New Orleans to see Mr. Stearn just before our annual meeting.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

P.S. I'll be at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel Wed. thru Fri of this week.
PDW

PDW:ht

October 15, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I was to write you about things about which to think over for your opening remarks.

Consider that we will be meeting just after the election. During the campaign--and indeed, for many months before the campaign became active--one of the major domestic issues was how far the nation should go in trying by law to improve human and civil rights in the southern states. Both major canditates were committed to going pretty far. The Progressive party was committed to even more. The Dixiecrats tried to organize resistance. The result was a vast deal of education to the nation and to the South about civil rights. Millions of people in the South who had given the matter little thought were told (whether convincingly or not is another matter) that improvement was demanded soon.

That sets the stage for an era of constructive effort. The hullabaloo will be quieter, but the duty to act is greater. The next year or two will be testing years for the South. As a region we can strengthen the forces of progress and bring nearer to realization that honorable democracy within our states which can help so greatly in solving our problems. The South must make a mighty effort. The Council will be active in that effort. The question is, how active? If we are strengthened in members and in money and in courage we can be quite important.

I think myself that we are on a rising tide. From where we are, we

can go far ahead. The main thing lacking is money. We must try ways to get the South to pay for the service and leadership the Council gives.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

October 19, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Mrs. McKoy sent out the notices for the meeting and the board meeting about the time you headed toward Philadelphia.

Memo on opening remarks sent up to you t'other day.

I don't see that your staying at Atlanta University would do particular good. I will be glad to request space over there for you if you wish, but I don't think it important at all.

I have not yet written to GEB and Carnegie. Tough letters, but I will try to get them off soon.

We wrote the southeastern and southwestern directors of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, sending copies of the statement. We are sending copies also to each national officer.

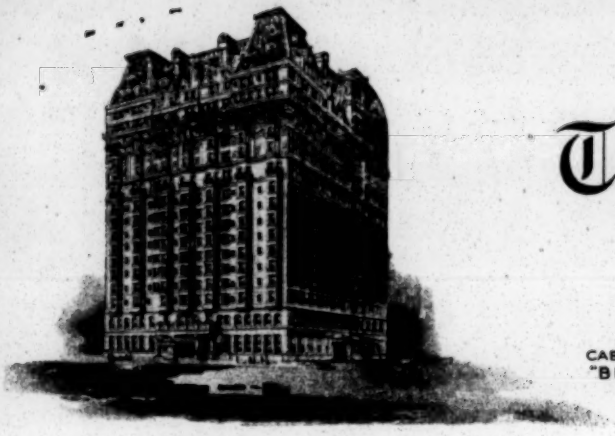
Your correspondence returned.

It helps us tremendously for you to dig up these contacts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosures



The Bellevue-Stratford

Philadelphia 2, Pa.

CABLE ADDRESS
"BELLSTRAT"

BENNETT E. TOUSLEY
VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER

Oct 16, 1948

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

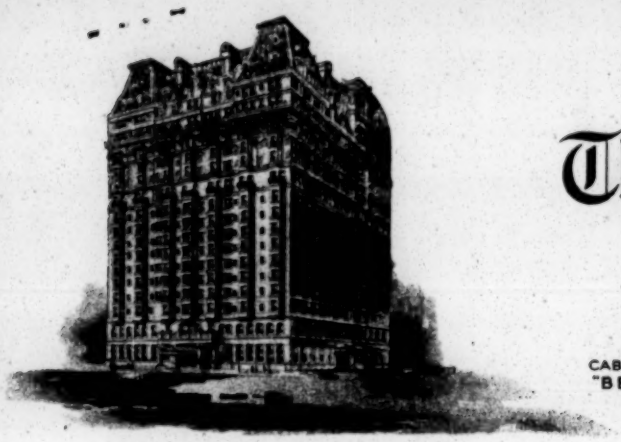
Dear George,

Please see enclosures and notes on them. Return letters after you read them.

Please make a note for us to get a gift from the Council for Margaret Price and present at the Annual Meeting. Perhaps each board member could give 50 cents.

Have notices gone out about our Annual Meeting?

Please send me a memo on the things you think I should emphasize in my remarks at the meeting. Please do this as soon as possible.



The Bellevue-Stratford

Philadelphia 2, Pa.

CABLE ADDRESS
"BELLSTRAT"

BENNETT E. TOUSLEY
VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER

I would be glad to stay at Atlanta University if this would serve any useful purpose. Tell me. I hope I can arrange to arrive a day in advance of our meeting.

Did letters go to J. E. B. and Carnegie?

Best always.

Sincerely
Paul

FOR A FRESH START — STOP AT A HOTEL

39 - Williams, Paul

October 25, 1948

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Pamphlet material sent you on Friday, the twenty-second, for distribution at the meeting of the Teachers Association at Virginia Union University was addressed to you at the Virginia Union University in care of Mr. Picott. The package was insured and request was made that it be held for your arrival.

Perhaps it would have been simpler to send it to you direct at your home address, but I hope this information will enable you to lay hands on it without difficulty.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

October 25, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

As the enclosed most welcome letter came addressed via the Council, it got opened here and laid on my desk, with the check for $50 and the list of the twenty-five priests.

I gave Mrs. McKey the check and the list of the twenty-five new members.

Now that I come to examine the letter more closely, I see that it was really meant for you and, as you obtained this boon from the Archbishop, it seems to me better for you to answer him. So I send it on posthaste to you.

We are deeply grateful both to you and Archbishop Lucey for this substantial and most encouraging support.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary

GSM:t
Enclosure

39 - Williams, Paul D.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 26, 1948.

RECEIVED
OCT 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thanks for your letter of October 25 and for sending on the pamphlet material. I presume it has arrived and will check on it tomorrow morning. I am addressing the convention tomorrow afternoon at 2:00 P. M. See enclosure and pass on to Dr. Mitchell.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

For Dr. Mitchell
PDW

39 - Williams, Paul D

SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

RICHMOND — OCTOBER 27 - 30, 1948

"Cooperative Planning for Better Living"

Convention Headquarters
BELGIAN BUILDING, Exhibit Area
All sessions unless otherwise indicated will be held at Virginia Union University

ACCOMMODATIONS

Rooms . . . . . $2.00 Per Person Per Night
Meals . . . . . Breakfast, $1.00 Per Person
Dinner, $1.50 Per Person

Registration Blanks will be available in designated locations. Teachers are asked to use these forms to indicate convention attendance.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 27

10:00 A.M.—Department of Elementary School Principals

Chairman: Mr. L. E. Sydnor
Speaker—Mr. Orville W. Wake, Director, Division of Elementary Education, State Department of Education, Richmond
Discussion Leader—Mr. P. J. Chesson

10:00 A.M.—Department of Secondary School Principals

Chairman: Mr. H. D. Carpenter, Jr.
Speaker—Mr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Supervisor of Secondary Education, State Department of Education, Richmond
Discussion Leader

10:00 A.M.—Department of Supervisors

Chairman: Mr. S. C. Abrams
Speaker—
Discussion Leader—Mr. H. M. Bass

10:00 A.M.—Department of Visiting Teachers

Chairman: Mrs. Lillian C. Williams
Speaker—
Discussion Leader

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 27

2:00 P.M.—Joint Meeting: Elementary School Principals, Secondary School Principals, Supervisors and Visiting Teachers

Chairman: Dr. Charles W. Florence
Speaker—Mr. G. Tyler Miller, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond
Discussion Leader—Dr. J. H. Johnston

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 27

7:00 P.M.—Business

Department of Elementary School Principals
Department of Secondary School Principals
Department of Supervisors
Department of Visiting Teachers

9:00 P.M.—Convention Committees

Resolution Committee
Committee on Ballots
Constitution Committee
Time and Place Committee
Committee on Planning the 1949 Convention

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 28

8:00 A.M.—Executive Committee, Breakfast

10:00 A.M.—First General Session Belgian Building, Auditorium

Chairman: Mr. H. Arnold Taylor
Invocation
Pledge of Allegiance
Music
Speakers—Dr. Stephen J. Wright, Dean of Faculty, Hampton Institute, Hampton
The Honorable Horace H. Edwards. Former Chairman Central Committee, State Democratic Organization; Former Mayor, City of Richmond; Candidate for Governor of Virginia
Recess
Business

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 28

1:30 P.M.—Work Conferences on Current Problems

The Teacher and Intercultural Education
Chairman: Mr. W. A. Brown
Speaker—Mr. Edgar T. Thornton, Dean, Virginia Seminary and College, Lynchburg
Discussion Leader—Mrs. Alma B. Layton

What Should Be The Position of the Educator on Present-Day Political. Economic and Social Issues
Chairman, Dr. L. P. Jackson
Speaker — Mr. Nelson H. Jackson, Director, Southern Division, National Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.
Discussion Leader—Mr. W. H. Smith

Natural Resources and the Schools
Chairman: Dr. A. G. Richardson
Speaker—Mr. Harry B. Williams, Institute For Research In Social Sciences, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Discussion Leader—Dr. Percy Baker

Establishing Democracy In The Schools Through Student Groups
Chairman: Miss Lillian Weaver
Speaker—Mr. G. James Gilliam, Field Secretary, Negro Organization Society, Richmond
Discussion Leader—Mrs. B. A. Harrington

3:30 P.M.—Second General Session, Business Belgian Building, Auditorium

Chairman: Mr. H. Arnold Taylor

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 28

6:00 P.M.—Virginia Society For Research, Dinner

Chairman: Dr. Lyman B. Brooks
Speakers—Mr. J. Rupert Picott and the Chairman

Life Members Division, Dinner

Chairman: Dr. L. F. Palmer
Speaker—Mr. Wm. M. Cooper

8:00 P.M.—Third General Session, Armstrong High School, Auditorium, Leigh and Prentiss Sts.

Chairman: Mr. H. Arnold Taylor
Invocation
Music
Speakers—The Honorable Oliver W. Hill, Member, City Council, Richmond
Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, President, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.
OPEN HOUSE—New Home, 316 East Clay Street (Corner Fourth and Clay Streets)

FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 29

9:00 A.M.—Fourth General Session Belgian Building, Auditorium

Chairman: Mr. H. Arnold Taylor
Invocation
Music
Speakers—Dr. Clinton E. Knox, Chief, Northern and Western European Branch, Division of Research for Europe, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.
The Honorable John S. Battle, Member of Senate, Virginia General Assembly; Candidate for Governor of Virginia

10:30 A.M.—Department of Art

Chairman: Miss Amaza L. Meredith
Speaker—Mr. Louis Mumford, Amenia, N. Y. Author, Lecturer
Discussion Leader—Miss Mary F. Godfrey

10:30 A.M.—Virginia Conference of Science and Mathematics Teachers

Chairman: Mr. J. H. Johnson
Speaker—Dr. Limas D. Wall, Director, Department of Science, Virginia Union University, Richmond
Discussion Leader—Mr. Christopher J. Foster

10:30 A.M.—Division of Rural Teachers

Chairman: Mr. D. C. Rawley
Speaker—Dr. Charles O. Fitzwater, Assistant Director of Rural Service, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.
Discussion Leader—Mrs. Margaret O. Haley

10:30 A.M.—Division of High School Teachers

Chairman: Mr. Clifford B. Howlette
Speaker—Mr. Wm. H. Robinson, Director, Division of Education, Hampton Institute, Hampton
Discussion Leader—Mr. General Johnson

10:30 A.M.—Division of Local Association Officers

Chairman: Mrs. Charlotte D. Williams
Speaker—Miss Katherine Hoyle, Director of Field Service, Virginia Education Association, Richmond
Discussion Leader—Mr. H. S. Hicks

10:30 A.M.—Library Division

Chairman: Mrs. Mamie W. Campbell
SYMPOSIUM—*Teacher-Librarian Cooperation*
Discussants—Mrs. Emma Wingo
Miss Fannie Hurtt

10:30 A.M.—Division of Adult Education

Chairman: Mr. John H. Byrd, Jr.
Speaker—Miss Ella Griffin, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.
Discussion Leaders—Mr. Wm. M. Cooper
Dr. Albert T. Harris

10:30 A.M.—Department of Speech and Languages

Chairman: Mr. B. F. Dabney
Symposium

10:30 A.M.—Department of Writing

Chairman. Mr. J. L. Nixon
Speaker—Mr. W. C. Locker, Founder, Locker Writing System; and Director of Writing, Richmond Public Schools
Discussion Leaders—Mrs. T. A. Randolph
Mrs. Louise P. Stith

10:30 A.M.—Department of Audio-Visual Aids

Chairman, Mr. Samuel A. Madden
Speaker—Dr. Stephen M. Corey, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Discussion Leader—Mr. Wesley T. Carter

10:30 A.M.—Future Teachers of America

Chairman: Mrs. Naomi Harrison
Speakers—Mr. J. F. Potts, President, Avery Institute, Charleston, S. C.; and President, Palmetto State Teachers Association of South Carolina
Discussion Leader—

10:30 A.M.—Department of Music

Chairman: Mr. John J. Ballou
Speaker—Dr. Lester S. Bucher, Supervisor of Music Education, State Department of Education, Richmond
Discussion: Mrs. Aldena W. Davis

10:30 A.M.—School Secretaries Section

Chairman: Mrs. Annie B. Jackson
Speaker—Mrs. Mary T. Wiggins, Former Instructor of Secretarial Studies, Hampton Institute, Hampton; now Secretary. VTA Headquarters Office, Richmond
Discussion Leader—Miss Opra Alexander

10:30 A.M.—Department of Home Economics

Chairman: Mrs. Grace Harris, District Supervisor, Home Economics, State Department of Education, Richmond
Speaker—Dr. Flemmie V. Kittrell, Director, Division of Home Economics, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
Discussion Leader—Mrs. Mary B. Banks

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 29

1:30 P.M.—Department of Parent-Teacher Ass'ns

Chairman: Mrs. Severina M. Burrell
Speaker—Mrs. Ada M. Jarigan, Chairman, Program Committee, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, Raleigh, N. C.
Discussion Leader—Mrs. Alma B. Layton

1:30 P.M.—Division of Civil Rights

Chairman: Mr. W. Lester Banks
Speaker—Mr. Henry Lee Moon, Director of Public Relations, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York, N. Y.
Discussion Leader—Mr. James P. Spencer

1:30 P.M.—Department of Guidance

Chairman: Mrs. Henrietta Segar
Symposium—*Guidance and Cooperative Planning for Better Living*
Discussants—Dr. Elwood B. Boone, Professor, Virginia State College, Petersburg
Mrs. K. G. Henderson, Maggie L. Walker High School, Richmond
Dr. John F. Showalter, Director of Instruction, Richmond Public Schools
Mr. Lucien D. Adams, Coordinator, Guidance and Consultation Services, State Department of Education, Richmond

1:30 P.M.—Virginia Conference of Science and Mathematics Teachers

Chairman: Mr. J. H. Johnson
Business

39-Williams, Paul

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

1898 - OUR FIFTIETH YEAR - 1948

RECEIVED NOV 1 1948 Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED NOV 1 1948 Southern Regional Council

Oct 31, 1948

Dear George,

Here's the background on the Archbishops Lucey memberships. I am sending similar letters to the list of Southern Bishops on the enclosed list. Please send them the pamphlets indicated.

I wrote Rogers. See other enclosures. Send McDonough the N.Y. Times editorial as I didn't have another copy. Note that I promised him Fleming would send all special news releases. Please return enclosures.

The Seaboard R.R. has a reservation for me at the Ansley beginning Tues. Nov. 9. Tell Mrs. McCoy she can use her reservation for me to use for someone else.

Dabney says he can't attend annual meeting as he has a minor operation at the time on his nose. He's very cordial to us.

What is the agenda for the preliminary meeting Board of Directors. We ought, if possible, to get the (over)

Board approve our Statement on C. Rights and, if you agree, approve a new approach to Southern Problems based on your sub-regional plan. You and Chas. Smith could present the plan. I could elaborate on it in my ~~at~~ annual report. Tell me what you think.

Best always.

Sincerely
Paul

P.S. I'm planning to arrive Tues, a day ahead of our meeting, to go over any loose ends with you.

P.

P.S. 2. My talk to Va. Teachers seems to have brought results. Will bring along membership blanks to Atlanta. Very significant.

P.

P.S. 3 Wrote Mrs. Mason. See letter

P.

39-Williams, Paul D.

November 2, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Many thinks for your letter of October 31.

We are sending out the pamphlets to the southern bishops whom you listed for us.

I have sent McDonough the New York Times editorial and Fleming is notified to stay in touch with McDonough with news releases. Hope you can see McDonough.

Have notified Mrs. McKoy to use your reservation for someone else.

Sorry not to have Dabney.

Agenda for the two Board meetings and the Executive Committee meeting being drawn up now. I hope we can hold the Executive Committee meeting and Board meeting on November 10 to the briefest of businesses, and bring up the sub-regional plan and other lengthier matters at the post-membership Board meeting on the 11th. But you should by all means mention it lengthily in your annual report.

Look forward to having you here Tuesday.

Thank you for seeing the teachers. We sent a girl out to the meeting of the Georgia Jeanes teachers the other day here in Atlanta and she sold $16 worth of pamphlets.

Hope Mrs. Mason will come.

In the correspondence with Archbishop Lucey, I note in your letter of October 12 to him that you promise that if he will send the names and addresses of the persons in his diocese for whom he would like to take out memberships, we will write each a note mentioning the fact. Mrs. McKoy is writing each of the listed bishops a special letter. We have kept the list here. If you prefer to write them, in addition, I will send the list to you, but shall not burden you with it unless you say so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D.

November 2, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

A few days ago we sent down to Dr. Gray, as chairman of the nominating committee, a list of people suitable to be considered by the nominating committee in making its recommendations to the membership as to new members of the Board. Here is the list:

Mr. Mark Ethridge, Editor, Courier-Journal & Times, Louisville, Ky.
Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Corp. Executive, Charlottesville, Va.
Mr. H. W. Palmer, Pres. Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee
Dr. Arthur Raper, Dept. of Ag. Economist, Box 72, Rt. 2, Vienna, Va.
Judge J. Waties Waring, 61 Meeting St., Charleston, S. C.
Mr. Jonathan Daniels, Editor, Raleigh News & Observer, Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Pres. Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.
President Clyde Milner, Guilford College, Guilford, N. C.

Mr. Richardson is here in Atlanta. I saw him this morning, and he consents. I have written Jonathan Daniels and asked him to come on. I have written friends in Charleston and asked them to explore Judge Waring.

I will, similarly, try to get word to and from President Milner at Guilford College. Could you or Virginius take on Stettinius? At this late time, I have little hope of lining up two or three of the probably-will-be Board members so as to have them present at the Board meeting November 11. Stettinius I don't suppose we could hope to get here for them. But it

would be pleasant to know, on the 10th, whether he is favorable inclined. My guess is, however, that negotiating with him will take weeks and not days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 7, 1948.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Roome 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

This is just a brief note since I will see you Tuesday. Mrs. Mason has accepted our invitation. Enclosed are letters for you to read. I wish you would ask Fleming to develop three or four juicy paragraphs concerning the sub-regional plan which I can weave into my talk. I will get in touch with you on my arrival.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

P. S. I will talk with Dabney tomorrow about Stettinius. I am writing Colonel Palmer and Dr. Raper since I know them well.

PDW:ht

November 7, 1948.

Mr. Barry Bingham, Publisher,
Louisville Times
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Bingham:

Mr. Tydings, director of our Kentucky Division says he has had several interesting visits with you recently concerning current activities of the Southern Regional Council.

Because of your conversations with Mr. Tydings it is unnecessary for me to relate to you the significance of the SRC. You know how it came into existence, its leadership, its strategic importance in the South today. We have the program and the approach. Our Regional staff in Atlanta is of the highest caliber. We are buttressed by state divisions like your own effective division in Kentucky.

What we need now are sufficient funds to carry on our work. The Rosenwald Fund has liquidated and we received our largest contribution from this fund. Our big job, as I see it, is to obtain a respectable portion of our future finances from southern organizations and southern individuals. In this spirit may I ask you to confer again with Mr. Tydings and see if you personally, or with the help of several of your friends in Louisville, could contribute to our work. The amount of the contribution I leave for you and Mr. Tydings to decide.

I am a businessman like yourself. I am amazed at the superlative work our Council is performing on a ridiculously small budget. We can do more effective work if responsive persons such as you rally to our support.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

November 7, 1948.

Mr. M. Tydings, Director,
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

My dear Tydings:

I have been pressed for time lately and could not get a letter off to Mr. Bingham until now. Perhaps it is not yet too late for you to see him before your departure to Atlanta.

I did not suggest an amount but if Mr. Bingham asks you it would be fine if he gave $1000.00. You will know if this amount if too large or too small and I'll rely on your good judgment.

I asked George to put you on the program to lead discussion on our finances at our annual meeting. Please pardon me for failing to notify you sooner. If I could have breakfast with you Wednesday morning or sit by you at lunch time I could present in about ten minutes, a plan of procedure we might try this year. I will be at the Hotel Ansley beginning Tuesday morning. Briefly the procedure concerns the holding of a number of meetings in key southern cities and inviting representatives people to attend and pledge amounts to the SRC. This of course will mean organization and hard work by local committees but many of feel it will prove productive. At least we ought to try it if no one comes up with a better plan. I am enclosing the letter I wrote Mr. Bingham.

I can assure you it will be a pleasure to see you in Atlanta this week.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

909 Maypole Avenue,
Norfolk 2, Virginia
November 3, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President
The Southern Regional Council, inc.
3320 Gloucester Road,
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Please pardon the delay in replying to your letter of October 27th. I was out of the city when it arrived and returned here yesterday.

Thank you so much for your gracious invitation to address the annual convention. In deed when Mrs. Havens indicated that the opportunity to attend the meeting would probably be forthcoming, I immediately prepared for such a possibility and hoped that there would be no change in the plan as she outlined it.

Mrs. Agnes McKoy wrote me around the middle of October about giving a report to the membership on the Febuary Meeting on Civil and Human Rights and I assured her that it would be a pleasure to do so.

My husband regrets that he will not be able to attend the meeting but November 10th is just when he is very busy with several meetings already scheduled.

Your faith in my ability to present the facts and interpret the spirit of that gathering which was exceptional in so many ways, impells me to hope fervently that I will not disappoint you. You gave us a legacy there we must ever cherish.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

Vivian C. Mason

89 - Williams, Paul D.

November 16, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I rely on you to write a "we are sorry too" letter to GEB.

I have already written such a one to Carnegie.

We have since had more hopeful letters from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and from Independent Aid. Each stated certain additional information that would be wanted later. We will supply it in due time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39 - Williams, Paul D.

November 16, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is a rough draft of a letter asking each of our members for a minimum of $10. My guess is it should be for the signature jointly of you and Charles Johnson.

Will you please take time to blue-pencil (or completely rewrite!) the letter.

When I get back the five or six amended letters I am asking for, I will do a composite and have it sent out.

This has already had the benefit of advice from our Advisory Committee here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

GSM

1/10

I wonder if Paul Williams has answered these letters in conversation.

Did you know Mrs. Tilly is to speak before the N. C. Negro Teachers' Association in April?

met

November 16, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I forgot to inquire of you about lessons to be learned from your appearance before the teachers meeting in Virginia. Can you write me about it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39, Williams, Paul D

December 16, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

For years we have been getting from odd corners of the United States letters addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, asking for general information about race matters. We never knew what it was that kept the old name thus current.

Yesterday we had a letter from a girl high school student in Ronkonkoma, New York, saying that her high school history textbook, America—Its History and People, had a notation that said to write to the Commission if especially interested in recent Negro views of the Negro problem.

I thought perhaps your knowledge of that field would enable you to tell us at once who printed the book. If you can give us that, I will write the publisher and urge that in the next edition our name and style be brought up to date.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39 - Williams, Paul D.

November 17, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

It was a great pleasure as always to have you with us at the time of the meeting. We are all much encouraged with the future of the Council.

The attahhed draft of a letter sent for your signature, to Archbishop Lucey, and copy of letter to Father Lockwood, are self-explanatory. Please feel free to change or re-write the letter to Archbishop Lucey in any way that you wish.

I have not yet received your expense account. We are now in funds again, so please send it along whenever convenient to you.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosures

November 17, 1948

Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey
Archbishop of San Antonio
Chancery Office
230 Dwyer Avenue
San Antonio 5, Texas

Your Excellency:

Your gift of memberships in the Southern Regional Council to 25 priests in your Diocese has been acknowledged with a great deal of pleasure by staff officers of the Council. Copy of their letter of announcement which was sent to each priest receiving membership is enclosed.

One of those whom you listed, The Very Rev. John L. Morkovsky, S.T.D. has been a member of the Council for several years it seems, with dues paid up through 1948. We are wondering therefore, whether you wish your gift of membership to be applied to Father Morkovsky's dues for 1949, or whether you wish to bestow this membership elsewhere? Please let us know your wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams,
President

39 - Williams, Paul D.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 22, 1948.

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NOV 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

When writing you the last time I overlooked sending the enclosed letter.*

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

* Please file for future reference

Mas 7/1/204

C
O
P
Y

November 2, 1948

Rt. Rev. James T. Lockwood
1619 S. Flores Street
San Antonio 4, Texas

Dear Father Lockwood:

It gives us great pleasure to tell you of the membership in the Southern Regional Council which has been taken out for you by the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio. Please accept our very warm welcome.

To acquaint you with the work of the Council, we are sending you in the attached envelope, copies of our current publications, including our leaflet, "The Southern Regional Council", which describes the origin, aims and purposes of our organization. You will also receive our monthly bulletin, New South, as well as any other pamphlets which may be issued during the calendar year.

As you will see by the attached receipt, your dues for the year 1948-1949 have been paid by the Diocese of San Antonio. It is Archbishop Lucey's hope and ours however, that at the end of 1949, you will have come to feel that the work of the Southern Regional Council is of such great importance that you will want to continue your membership personally.

Please let us hear from you whenever we can be of service, or if you should have any suggestions for the improvement of our program.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Att:
CC Archbishop Lucey and Mr. Paul Williams

39 - Williams, Paul D.

November 24, '48

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your good letter. Detailed answer later.

Meanwhile, I have a date with Odum for the afternoon of Monday, November 29th. I will fly up that morning, reaching Odum's office in the late forenoon. He will be free for us at a time unstate after one P.M. (He has a class 12 - 1, and is free afterwards). I hope very much that you can be there; we'll get more results from him if you can get down.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

39- Williams, Paul D.

December 3, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I will try to answer parts, at any rate, of your good letter of November 22.

I confess we haven't started on the new folder yet, but we will. You have no idea how much clean-up is left after the membership meeting and the Board meeting. On top of that we have had a lynching.

I think the committee you propose for the folder has some problems. Odum is not likely to give detailed attention to the leaflet. Trigg is fine and would work. Guy the same. We have been pushing Wheeler pretty hard lately, what with getting him on the finance committee, getting him to make up a list of people to ask $250 of, and electing him to vice president. What would you think of picking a committee in or near Richmond? There is you and Virginius and Hancock, and maybe you could get Trigg to come up to meet with them. I would think Hancock would be a good chairman, but I would be happy with any committee you name.

Your plan about the $250 contributions is better than mine. Mine was to get you to name the committee on big gifts directed by the Board meeting November 11. I thought of our state chairmen as the members of the committee. The committee would then make up a composite list of people and this office would then write those people. Yours is a greatly preferable scheme. Under it, I take it you would:

1. Write each Board member in each state, enclosing list of the other Board members in that state, charging the Board members with holding a meeting and forming a committee, with a chairman and secretary, to push through the job of getting in touch with susceptible individuals.

2. You would write the chairman of each division and of each affiliated committee, asking them to call a meeting of the Board members.

3. We would send you and you would, in turn, parcel out to the state chairmen of our divisions or affiliate committees, the list of such prospects as we have.

4. The selected chairman and secretary of the SRC Board members in each state would be responsible for making or for getting other Board members to make the contacts that would ask for the $250 contributions. Your letter to Board members would speak of Odum's offer—which I think for simplicity's sake we should describe simply as an offer to be one of 100 people to give $250 each.

5. I will supply you in a very few days with a list of the names and addresses of the Board of Directors.

6. Ditto a list of the names and addresses of the heads of state divisions and committees. I will also give you the name and address of a suitable person to be in touch with in this capacity in the three states in which we do not have divisions or committees.

Still to do Dec 30 GS GW

I have still not put the finishing touches on the minutes of the membership meeting and Board meeting, so I cannot yet offer you the names of the persons to be on the several standing committees.

I am pleased with the plans you and Charles Smith are making. Do keep me closely informed.

I told you of events in Chapel Hill. It went all right.

We had a letter today from Channing Tobias saying that the Phelps-Stokes Fund had agreed to contribute $250 toward the publication costs of New South, and that formal notification would come later. I have thanked him. I assume that should go to 1949 money.

Negotiations with Campbell Fund look promising. They will answer us yes or no late in January, 1949. I asked them for $4,950 toward the cost of staffing the home town survey.

Your correspondence enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 22, 1948.

RECEIVED
24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I hope you were satisfied with our meeting. Frankly I was delighted by the lack of defeatism and the dead-earnestness of our group to face the facts and plan courageously for the future. I feel optimistic but I know we have a hard year before us and we must lose no time.

I believe you will agree that the folder on the SRC should be one of our first jobs. The folder should be colorful and written in down-to-earth language. I believe if you make a rough draft and turn it over to Fleming he can do his usual bang-up job.

You will remember that the board of directors empowered me to name a special committee for this folder. What do you think of asking Dr. Odum, Dr. Trigg, Dr. Guy Johnson, Mr. Wheeler and myself? Who should be chairman? I thought of asking Dr. Odum. After you have a draft of the folder I could run down to Chapel Hill with the committee and we could spend an evening together getting comments concerning the folder, then we could offer it to the executive committee for their suggestions. I could arrange to run down to Chapel Hill between Christmas and the New Year if that is not too late.

There should be a break-down of the names that were suggested for specail gifts then we should approach the members of our board of directors in each state asking them to make these contacts personally, placing this responsibility right in their hands. To relieve you of this chore I will be glad to send a letter to the board members in each state, listing the names of possible contributors and placing the responsibility on them for action. Unless you can think of a better idea, I am inclined to write each board member in each state enclosing a list of the other board members in that state and possible prospects, charging the board members with the duty of holding a meeting and forming a committee with a chairman and secretary, in order to arrive at a uniform strategy and procedure to do the work. It would be best, I think, to charge our state chairman of our divisions, with the duty of calling a meeting and setting up the work. Please give me your opinions on this and I will, of course, revise my thinking accoring to what you think best. There were certain standing committees which I was empowered to name. Please give this matter your close attention and select the people who will be good on each committee.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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Dr. Geo. Mitchell - Nov. 22, 1948 - #2.

I spoke at length with Charles Smith while in Washington last week on business. We are dead serious about a plan for contributions from businessmen and industries throughout the South. Our plan is pretty ambitious but if it works it will be most productive. We will write our plans and clear with you as our plans take shape. This will involve some secretarial expense but it is well worth the gamble. In all this we will ask for certain latitude so as to relieve you in the matters and not burden your already overworked staff.

Meanwhile I am writing "all out" letters to close personal friends asking them for contributions. I have never done this before but I am not concerned about my personal embarrassment with the future of the SRC at stake. Tomorrow I am having lunch with V. Dabney and will ask him to write a fervent letter to Stettinius urging him to accept membership on our board. Once we get him with us we can explore all possibilities with him.

I will write to GEB as you requested and send you a copy of my letter.

I am sending you some clippings from yesterdays Times Dispatch* which will interest you.

It is barely possible that I could meet you in Chapel Hill for your conference with Odum if you can make it Monday, November 29. However, do not change your plans as there is only a slight possibility that I can make this date.

I will write you again in the near future concerning other matters in your previous letters.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

* Coming later.
P.

Williams

STATLER OPERATED

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA NEW YORK

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

. 4, 1948

Dear George,

On the whole I think I had a successful trip here.

Cardinal Spellman agreed to give us $1,500.00 and Cardinal Stritch of Chicago agreed to give us $1,000.00. Don't say anything about this until the checks come through.

Yesterday I saw Ed Clinchy a trustee of the Harowitch (sp?) Foundation. This foundation had 10 million dollars but Barney Baruch got them to give 9 million to a hospital fund for soldiers wounded in World War II. So, the Foundation has but 1 million left. Clinchy, who is president of the

STATLER OPERATED
HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA NEW YORK

Nat. Conf. of Christian and Jews, asked me to write him a letter asking for 1 thousand dollars and he would support the request. He said there was a 50-50 chance for it to go through. Here's hoping.

I had a 2 hour visit with ~~Fu~~ Fulton Oursler, a roving editor of Reader's Digest. He is interested to a new article on the S.R.C. Please send him significant literature, pamphlets, New South issues, etc., marking off significant paragraphs, sentences etc., to give him a good prospectus of our organization.

UNDER SAME MANAGEMENT: HOTELS STATLER — BOSTON, BUFFALO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, ST. LOUIS, WASHINGTON; — HOTEL WILLIAM PENN, PITTSBURGH

STATLER OPERATED

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA NEW YORK

I wish you would also write him a comprehensive letter about our organization. He liked the idea of our democratic set-up so stress this point in your letter. Send me a copy.

Ousler will see Wallace of Readers Digest as soon as possible and recommend an article on the S.R.C. The Readers Digest has now 15 million circulation. An article about us would do us a world of good.

Ousler's address is:

Fulton Ousler,
Navarro Hotel,
112 Central Park South,
New York, N.Y.

UNDER SAME MANAGEMENT: HOTELS STATLER — BOSTON, BUFFALO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, ST. LOUIS, WASHINGTON; — HOTEL WILLIAM PENN, PITTSBURGH

STATLER OPERATED

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA NEW YORK

Let me hear from you.

Best regards,

Sincerely

Paul

UNDER SAME MANAGEMENT: HOTELS STATLER — BOSTON, BUFFALO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, ST. LOUIS, WASHINGTON; — HOTEL WILLIAM PENN, PITTSBURGH

39-Williams Paul D

December 7, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is the outgoing $10 letter, in its final form.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul

Paul Williams
enc: letters from Nat'l Conf of Christians & Jews officials

December 16, 1948

Dear Paul:

We were a bit slow in getting letters out to these people, but they have been most prompt in their appreciative replies.

Please return at your leisure.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

39 - Williams, Paul

December 21, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is the list of Virginia members, in the attached envelope. I have sent a similar stack to Charles Smith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39- Williams, Paul D.

December 31, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is the list of names of officers of state divisions and committees and useable contact people for the unrepresented states.

I send you also a run of names and addresses of members of the Board of Directors, the cards divided by states. I send, for your files, another copy of the list of Board members with their occupations.

Would we not also be well advised to invite to the projected state-by-state meetings the Fellows from each state?

I will be in Richmond all day Wednesday, January 5, and shall hope that you will be there. We could then make detailed plans about the state-by-state meetings.

I could be reached, if need arises, in the forenoon at the office of Moody T. Spicer, Junior Attorney at Law, Mutual Building. I am to make some talks at Randolph Macon College in Ashland on the 6th, which is Thursday, and you and I could get together that day for a while, if that should suit you better than Wednesday.

As to the new Board members. Barry Bingham and Mark Ethridge both turned

us down. Jonathan Daniels, still deciding, will probably tie in too, because he conditioned his possible acceptance on an acceptance from either Bingham or Ethridge or both. We have heard nothing further from Stettinius, of course. I think the intention to get Judge Waring on should be not proceeded with. Will explain. Otherwise, Mr. Richardson at Gammon Seminary accepted, as did Bishop Wright of the AME Church. So also did Mr. Herbert Davidson of Daytona Beach, Florida. All of those reelected have either signified acceptance, either by silence or by letters. Mr. Clyde Milner at Guilford College, North Carolina, has not yet replied to our letter.

We had a nice reply from Fulton Oursler, herewith. Please return.

I met a man who knows the man Kaplan who runs Welsh's Grape Juice. My acquaintance undertook to explore whether Kaplan would help the Council. I sent a copy of the Fulton Oursler letter, to be sent on to the man Kaplan. Let us be hopeful.

The $10 letter is doing tolerably well. I should think that about forty people have already sent in checks, most of them ten dollars. Those under over ten dollars balance those over. So we are about $400 to the good. And as the letter contains a deadline of February 15, we can, and will, write out to the delinquents.

I remember I am still to supply you with suggested names for persons to be on standing committees. I am waiting for final copy of minutes, now gone to mimeographing.

I continue to hear that Charles Smith is hard at work.

We are now negotiating to set date for mid-February Executive Committee meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

39 - Williams, Paul D.

December 31, 1948

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I have the enclosed letter from Louis Hosch. He is a trustworthy person.

I have dictated this answer to him, but I send it to you for your comment and correction and return to me before it or another answer is sent to Mr. Hosch.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

See Corresp. file -
1 - Amer. Council on Race Relations

GSM:t

okayed by PDW & mailed 1/11/49
MEJ

39-Williams, Paul D.

January 6, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3520 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

I am sending this off today air mail special so that you will have a couple of days to work up the article for the Interracial Review. I hope the enclosed copy is what you have in mind for the part on civil rights.

What I have written probably runs to about a thousand words, so you may want to prune it. As you will see, I didn't bother with a finishing paragraph, since I felt that you would want to conclude the article as a whole.

Material was mailed, as you suggested, to Mr. G. Howland Shaw yesterday.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

encl

Harold C. Fleming

During the past year, the Southern Regional Council devoted much of its efforts toward a program designed to bring about a better understanding in the South of the whole question of civil rights. The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, published in October, 1947, was greeted by a barrage of criticism and denunciation from Southern newspapers, political figures, and various adherents of sectionalism. There was almost no objective reporting of the contents of the Report and very little calm discussion of its meaning for the region. The Southern Regional Council felt it an urgent duty to get as many Southerners as possible familiar with this important document and to substitute cool judgment for heated emotionalism.

As a first step toward this end, the Council joined with a number of church, civic, and labor organizations in sponsoring a Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, held in Atlanta on February 27. Among the co-sponsors were such groups as the United Council of Church Women, the Southeastern Office of the National Urban League, the YWCA, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the CIO, and the AFL. The meeting attracted four hundred community leaders, of both races, from all parts of the South. They represented eleven Southern states, 72 towns and cities, and 52 organizations.

This body, which was completely non-political, aimed simply at examining the condition of our basic rights in the South and devising means of strengthening them at the community level. Separate workshops took up the four great areas of freedom -- safety and security of the person, citizenship and its privileges, freedom of conscience and expression, and equality of opportunity. When the recommendations were drafted and adopted by the whole group, the South had found a voice which put to shame the cries of the demagogues, the hate-mongers, and the

thoughtless who have so often served as self-appointed spokesmen for the region.

Though the emphasis in the findings was on the need for local initiative in granting equal rights, the meeting also recognized the desirability of federal measures which would protect citizens from discrimination. To curb lynching, for example, the group urged that private citizens set up local organizations to maintain watchfulness and to act promptly in emergencies; but the resolution further declared: "In addition to marshalling every resource of enforcement, state and local, we agree with the principle of federal anti-lynching legislation."

Some of the other significant recommendations were:

Higher standards of pay and training for local law enforcement officers, including training in the field of civil rights.

Removal of the poll-tax and other barriers to the ballot "either by action within the state or by influencing national representatives for federal legislation, depending on preference."

Jury service for all qualified persons.

Elimination of segregation in all graduate and professional schools, state and private.

Enactment of a fair employment practices law and effort by local agencies to persuade employers to employ and advance workers solely according to ability and skill.

Increased educational programs in churches and schools to bring about better understanding between racial groups.

The effects of the Southwide Meeting did not end with this sorely needed declaration. Persons attending were asked to organize similar action and discussion groups in their communities and to report subsequent meetings on civil rights to the Southern Regional Council. By the end of the summer, the Council had received 47 reports, twenty of which were of meetings that had grown directly out of the Southwide Meeting in Atlanta, and represented an attendance of some 2,100.

As a further step toward getting accurate information about civil rights to the Southern people, the Council issued two specially prepared publications — a digest of the Report of the President's Committee, and The Condition of Our Rights, a booklet of facts and figures illustrating the South's shortcomings in granting equal rights. Some 20,000 of these pamphlets were distributed in the course of the year, and the demand for them still continues.

Last September, when the civil rights controversy appeared to have reached a hopeless stalemate, the Executive Committee of the Council issued a 2700-word statement reviewing the whole problem and urging a constructive approach. The timeliness of this statement was indicated by the wide attention it received in newspapers within and without the South and by the numerous requests for copies which poured into the Council's headquarters. The New York Times hailed it as a document which "belongs on the same shelf with the monumental report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights."

What the statement calls for, in brief, is recognition of the fact that the problem is a complex one which demands legal, economic, and educational measures. The South was urged to abandon its defensiveness and name-calling, in favor of an honest effort to remedy the injustices which are so apparent in our bi-racial society. The rest of the nation was asked to seek a better understanding of the economic causes which underlie the South's failures in human relations. Southerners and non-Southerners alike were called on to support federal measures which would strengthen economic opportunity in the region, as well as safeguard the legal status of Negro citizens. At the fifth annual meeting last November, these recommendations of the Executive Committee were adopted by the membership as the official policy of the organization.

Heartening gains were made by the divisions and affiliates of the Council

in their efforts to translate these worthy ideas and principles into action at the everyday level of community life. They were able, for example, to play a considerable part in securing the employment of additional Negro policemen in Southern towns and cities during 1948. For several years now, the Council has concerned itself with this growing practice, which benefits both the Negro and the region as a whole. The hiring of Negro officers has uniformly led to reduction in crime, fairer treatment of colored citizens, and, accordingly, greater cooperation by them with the police authorities. The Council's periodic reports on these wholesome results did much to change the official attitude toward Negro policemen from doubt and suspicion to wholehearted acceptance. Newspapers and local citizens used the facts as a lever to pry open the minds of city officials and to create a favorable attitude on the part of the general public.

Many groups and individuals, of course, were instrumental in getting Negroes added to the police forces in such cities as Atlanta, Memphis, Chattanooga, Columbia, and others; but the Southern Regional Council can justly claim a fair share of credit for the impressive increase of Negro policemen in the past few years. 1948 was the most impressive increase of Negro policemen in the past few years. 1948 was the most impressive year of all. Between October, 1947, and October, 1948, the Council's surveys show an increase from 46 Southern cities employing a total of 236 colored officers to 55 cities employing almost 300. Significantly, 24 of the 55 cities first adopted the practice between 1945 and 1948.

39-Williams, Paul D.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

January 10, 1949

To: Paul Williams

This is to remind you that we are to meet in New Orleans January 18.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Williams (Old Fund Raising)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, those laws and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

1.000

Jan. 12, 1949

Dear George,

It was grand being with you in Washington. Hope something will come from our visits there.

Here's the check from Cardinal Stritch. Please don't acknowledge it until I tell you. Let's hold up any notice of this contribution until the one comes from Cardinal Spellman and announce both gifts in the New South.

Please tell Trigg how much I regret my inability to be on hand for his ceremonies.

Please find out from Dr. Will if he was able to write Stern for we should know this when we call on him.

Enclosed is a check from Father Purtill. He says he will take out memberships for each of his priests if our bishops to the Southern missions be discovers they are not members.

Note an account of my recent expenses for SRC. Sorry I can't donate the whole thing but I am donating $15 to our cause. Please ask Mrs. McKoy to send my check to the Roosevelt

(over)

a. McK

Hotel, New Orleans where I have reservations for my meeting with you. I will probably arrive the night of Jan 17 and be on hand early next day for our visits.

All best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul

39- Williams, Paul

January 14, 1949
Dict. January 13

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

It is hard to fix a date for the Richmond meeting. Friday, February 11, at 2:30 P.M. would be a good time for me. I have talked with Emerson Smith by 'phone. He agrees that we could have the meeting, at his new office, 109 West Grace Street (second floor).

That time is probably workable for the college people. It is probably bad for Virginius Dabney and Louis Jaffe.

I have to be in Louisville, Kentucky for the Kentucky state meeting, all day February 12. (We are setting up a money-raising meeting with Fellows and Kentucky Board members, prior to the regular state meeting.) I could conveniently be in Richmond Sunday, February 13. So the meeting could be Sunday, February 13, at Emerson Smith's office, if you think that is all right.

We are preparing letters to Virginia Fellows and Board members for your signature, pending your decision on the best time. IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR YOU TO FILL IN THE DATE AND TIME IN EACH OUTGOING LETTER. The letters should reach you by Tuesday.

Of course, in fixing the date you might want to call Jaffe and Virginius and maybe Hancock, to be sure of the best time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

NC Cmty

39 - William, Paul

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 24, 1949.

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

Miss Elizabeth Taylor
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Taylor:

Thank you for your letter of January 19. I filled in the necessary information on your enclosed letters and placed them in the mails. Thank you for your telephone message regarding the meeting in Durham. I am planning to be on hand.

With appreciation for your valued services and every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

PDW: ht

39-Williams, Paul D

January 26, 1949
Dict. January 24

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is the good news from our friends.

I think we should hold literally to their injunction. I shall myself call the gift that of an anonymous southern donor, with an occasional variant of "an anonymous southern foundation".

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P.S. Mr. Stern has very kindly sent us already his check for $500.
GSM

enclosure: copy of letter from Mr. Stubbs.

39 - Williams, Paul D.

January 31, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Following your suggestion of setting the next meeting of the Executive Committee for March instead of February, I am trying to secure general agreement for a meeting date on the 9th, 16th, or 23rd. Please advise whether any of these dates would be possible for you, and if so, whether you have a preference for any one of them. If none of them is possible, won't you suggest alternate dates?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

39 - Williams, Paul

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
FEB 2 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, an ideal and practice of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Jan. 31, 1949

Dear George,

Just a note to say I'm planning to meet you in Durham for the meeting there Feb. 9. I'll arrive around noon and leave for Richmond the following day around noon.

I'm enclosing letters from some of our North Carolina folks. I haven't acknowledged any of these.

Good news about the Campbell Fund. Also glad Stern's check came through. If Archbishop Rummel's check comes through for $500, can't we put him down for 2 donations of $250 each to help swell our number.

Leaving tonight for New York and will be at the New Yorker Hotel through Feb. 5. Drop me a note if you have time.

Please okay the enclosed letter and send to Chas. Smith. The part on finances, which I re-wrote is circled in pencil marks. We hope to get started soon on this letter.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,
Paul

Done Feb. 2nd

39 - Williams, Paul D.

February 8, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

See file on - Francis, Edward Guy

Dear Paul:

This letter to you from a Florida member got opened here and through my own shortcoming did not have attention until a couple of days ago.

You will see from the enclosed that he has written me twice since, and my reply.

He is a school teacher, living outside Daytona Beach and teaching at Daytona Beach and, I understand, a former associate of Mr. Tydings in Kentucky. Our various friends at Daytona Beach have tried to get him to take an active part in the movement thereabouts, but thus far without success.

I enclose also correspondence with Lewis Henderson in Missouri.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D

February 10, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I hope by now that you are considerably recovered from your flu germ and are feeling much better.

Attached is your travel check for $141.92. Thank you very much for the contribution.

Also attached, as you will see, is the check of Mr. W. S. Atkins of Fulton, Kentucky, sent in response to our "ten dollar letter." Since this is made to you, won't you please endorse it and return it to me so that I can deposit it.

Meanwhile, with every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

MM:s

Enclosures

39 - Williams, Paul D.

Tickler: Tuesday, March 1

February 10, 1949
Dict. February 7

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Don't forget that you were to supply us with the name of the Very Rev. Provincial of the Society of the Divine Word of Bay St. Louis.

As you have, through the treasurer of the Society, already thanked the Father Provincial, I will not do so again, but we would like to have the Father Provincial's name for our records.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

1/26

Mrs. McKoy:

After you have taken the checks and whatever information you need, please return this correspondence to me so I can hold for Mr. Mitchell's attention.

met

OK - MC

Note - I have detached the list of Priests for membership entry & will write each a letter of announcement + welcome.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 24, 1949.

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I stopped by the office unexpectedly for several hours on my return home and had a good chat with Fleming and Mrs. Tilly.

Mrs. Tilly says she thinks that the Rich Foundation in Atlanta, of which Dr. Paty is director, might match the Campbell grant. I hope you and Mrs. Tilly can meet with Dr. Paty in the near future and discuss prospects.

Mrs. Tilly also spoke of an encouraging conversation she had with Channing Tobias. I urged her to write him asking for $1000 to sponsor or assist in sponsoring one of three conferences: 1. A meeting of women church leaders of the South. 2. A meeting of the social scientists. 3. A meeting of editors. Such a meeting would emphasize civil rights along with other urgent problems facing the South. I think perhaps the church women group is our best bet but I will leave this to you and Mrs. Tilly to work out.

I am enclosing an encouraging letter from Bishop Mulloy in Covington taking out 13 memberships for priests in his diocese. I have acknowledged his letter as you will note but I think it would be nice for you to write him also. I am also enclosing a membership from the Very Rev. provincial of the Society of the Divine Word. Unfortunately his name is not listed but I will supply this when I get the information.

I am planning to meet you in Durham, for the meeting there on February 9 at 3:00 P. M. I will plan to spend the night in Durham. Perhaps we can have a get-together with Dr. Odum, Guy and Dr. Will and discuss all things necessary to salvation.

I enjoyed very much being with you in New Orleans. I trust your stops in Baton Rouge and Texas were productive.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

February 10, 1949
Dict. February 7

The Most Reverend William T. Mulloy, D.D.
Bishop's House
1140 Madison Avenue
Covington, Kentucky

Your Excellency:

Paul Williams sent on to me your most kind letter to him of January 20, with the list of priests of the Diocese of Covington for whom you were good enough to take out membership in the Council. Thank you also for the check for $26.00, which duly reached us.

We are delighted to have these new and influential members in Kentucky.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh
cc: Paul Williams

Bishop's House
1140 Madison Avenue
Covington, Ky.

January 20, 1949

My dear Mr. Williams:

I am enclosing a list of priests of the Diocese of Covington whom I feel would profit by a membership in the Southern Regional Council. A check for membership dues is also enclosed.

With kindest regards and sentiments of highest esteem, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

+ William T. Mulloy

Bishop of Covington.

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
3320 Gloucester Road,
Richmond 22, Virginia.

enc.

COPY
GEORGE MITCHELL

January 24, 1949.

Most Rev. William T. Mulloy, D.D.,
Bishop's House
1140 Madison Ave.,
Covington, Kentucky

Your Excellency:

I have your letter of January 20 enclosing a check for memberships in the Southern Regional Council for certain of your priests. I am most grateful to you for this demonstration of interest in the work we are doing. A letter will be written to each of the priests announcing the complimentary membership you have taken out for each one.

I was in New Orleans recently and had a good visit with Father Vincent O'Connell, discussing with him plans for the program for the CCS convention in Lexington next May. I think you will be impressed with the program when it shapes final form.

I am enclosing a copy of the Statement we made on Civil Rights which you may want to file for reference.

May our paths cross again in the near future affording me the pleasure of your company and the opportunity to express personally to you again my great esteem and admiration for your leadership in the South and nation as well.

Respectfully yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

COPY
GEORGE MITCHELL

January 24, 1949.

Rev. W. A. Williams, S.V.D.,
Society of the Divine Word
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Dear Father Williams:

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 17th and for the membership taken out for the Very Reverend Father Provincial. If you care to give us his name we will be grateful otherwise the membership will be listed for the Provincial. Thank you for this demonstration of interest in the work we are doing. Please relate our pleasure to Father Provincial.

I will also be grateful to you if you will remember me to Father Clarence Howard whom I know pleasantly and regard most highly.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

SOCIETY OF THE DIVINE WORD

Southern Province of St. Augustine

BAY SAINT LOUIS, MISS.

Office of the
PROVINCIAL

January 17, 1949

Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Williams,

This note is in answer of your kind letter of Dec. 2, 1948, addressed to Very Rev. Joseph Eckert S.V.D.

Father Eckert was replaced in his capacity of Provincial of our Southern Province last year June.

Kindly find enclosed our check, in the amount of $3.00, for a membership.

Kindly address all literature to:

Very Rev. Father Provincial S.V.D.
Society of the Divine Word
Bay St. Louis
Mississippi

Sincerely yours,
Rev. W. A. Williams S.V.D.
Provincial Treasurer

39 - Williams, Paul D.

February 25, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Our tickler has turned up the fact (which you and I both recall) that nothing has yet been done about getting Mr. Stettinius to serve on the Board.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D.

March 7, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I hope that your eye will not have missed the good letter from Philip Randolph in the February, 1949 Interracial Review about your article.

I have written Mr. Randolph and thanked him, and sent him various other small items.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39 - Williams, Paul D.

HOTEL GIBSON

"Famous for Friendliness"

CINCINNATI'S LARGEST · FOUNTAIN SQUARE · CINCINNATI 1, OHIO

MARK SCHMIDT, GENERAL MANAGER

Richmond, Va.

Dear George,

Just returned yesterday after a rugged trip of 2 weeks. Will write you a detailed letter tomorrow. Have some good news and some good prospects.

Definitely planning to be with you for the meeting March 16. Please reserve a room for me that night at the Ansley or Piedmont.

Hurriedly but sincerely

Paul

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

39-Williams, Paul D.

March 10, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Mrs. McKoy reminds me that on February 7 she sent on to you a check for $10 from Mrs. W. S. Atkins of Kentucky, made payable to you. You were to endorse it and send it back.

This is to remind you to mail it back or bring it with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

M E M O

T O : G.S.M.

F R O M : A.MCK.

R E : Check of Mrs. W.S. Atkins of Ky.

This $10 check, made to Paul Williams, was sent him for his endorsement on February 7th.

Would you remind him to send it back, when you next write or talk to him ?

39 - Williams, Paul D.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 13, 1949

Dear George,

Just a hurried note. Will bring along your letters and take care of answers when I see you.

Sorry about the check. It is enclosed. Please ask Mrs. McKoy to write her a personal note and I'll sign it when I am in the office Wednesday.

Its okay of course to use Cardinal Spellman's donation any way we please.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Williams, Paul D.

March 18, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Our two pending requests in New York City are with Independent Aid, Inc., and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

On Independent Aid, please try to get to see Mrs. Georgea T. Furst, 41 East 57th Street, New York 22, New York.

On the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, try to get to see Mr. Arthur Packard, or his assistant Mr. Creel. The address is 50 West 50th Street.

Our official request of Independent Aid (which, you remember, is the Doris Duke Foundation) went in December 6, 1948. We asked them for $5,000 toward our 1949 budget. I have done one or two things since to keep the application lively with Mrs. Furst. A visit from you, I happen to know, would be helpful.

On the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, our official request is dated February 8, 1949. We asked for help in general; and if they cared to make it specifically to match the $3,000 home town survey grant, all right. I think $3,000 to $5,000 is as much as they would give.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39 - Williams, Paul

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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RECEIVED MAR 29 1949 Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 22, 1949

Dear George,

Thanks for your letter of March 18. It was good seeing you recently in Atlanta. We all had a wonderful time at your home for dinner.

While I am in New York I will call on Independent Aid and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. I will keep your letter to refresh me on the amounts we desire.

My big meeting is with General Johnson and Bob Dickson of Johnson and Johnson on March 30. I'll be delighted if I can get a promise for a substantial sum from this meeting. I paved the way for this meeting in San Antonio Feb. 27-28 where I gave a talk on the SRC for Father McGowan. I was able to work out a business trip as far as Memphis so as to curtail expenses on this engagement.

The side trip to Birmingham brought a promise of $100. and a hope to make it $250. I will amend Dr. Stapler at the proper time.

Did we hear anything from Mrs Herens' friend who is going to raise us a half million dollars. Keep me informed.

Best wishes always.

Sincerely,

Paul

29 - Paul Williams

March 23, 1949

Dear Paul Williams:

Thank you for letting me read Brideshead Revisited. I will mail it on, just as soon as Mrs. Saxon finishes reading it!

Your supply of stationery like this will come along soon. Mrs. McKoy is having some overprinted with your address.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

39 - Williams, Paul

March 23, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We guess perhaps you intended fresh copies of this (Survey circular) to be sent to the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

In case you do, we send you some new ones. — sent 10 copies NET

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

WH
39 - Williams, Paul

March 25, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here, at the last minute, is a brief outline of the Town Meeting pipe dream which we talked about. Josephine approves it. From your vantage point there in Richmond, you can probably add pertinent details.

I hope this reaches you before you leave for New York. If we get a nibble from the Town Meeting people, we can put our heads together and work out a more complete prospectus.

It was very pleasant indeed being with you last week.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

PROPOSAL FOR "TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR"

to be cosponsored by

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Date: Tuesday, November 8, 1949

Place: Richmond, Virginia

The Mosque, seating capacity _____.

Possible Subject: "How Can the South Get Fair Employment?"

Possible Speakers: Van Bittner, Director, CIO Southern Organizing Drive
Carter Wesley, Negro editor (Houston Informer)
_____, International Harvester, Memphis Plant
Fuller Warren, Governor of Florida

Sponsorship: The forum would coincide with the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, one of the South's leading organizations working for regional progress.

COMMENTS:

The Southern Regional Council would be an appropriate co-sponsor for a "Town Meeting" dealing with a distinctively Southern problem, discussed by persons who are familiar with and active in the South. The Council is widely known as a responsible source of information about the South and has state groups and active members throughout the region. Its board of directors includes distinguished Southerners of both races, all faiths, and many occupations.

Local members of the Council would cooperate with the Town Meeting staff in arranging physical facilities, getting publicity, and assuring a large attendance by interested persons. The Council would also be glad to line up speakers such as those listed above. Through its membership, publications, and promotional activities, the organization could effectively arouse public interest in the South in advance of the broadcast, as well as distributing widely reprints of the discussion.

The advantages of Richmond as a location for the broadcast are several. As the old capital of the Confederacy, Richmond is regarded as an important center of Southern thought. The editor of the leading Richmond newspaper was one of the Council's organizers, serves on its Board of Directors, and has cooperated actively in its work. The people of Richmond have frequently shown their interest in discussions of the sort proposed; this is especially true, of course, of the strong progressive element of both races to be found in the city. The American Broadcasting Company has a good Richmond outlet, and the Mosque is centrally located and already wired for broadcasts.

39 Williams, Paul

March 28, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
c/o Statler Hotel
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

We got in a letter today from Packard of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund which indicates that they are in course of active decision about our request.

I am sure if you can get to see them this trip it will strengthen matters quite a lot.

Please stretch things to go to see him if you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39 - Williams, Paul

March 31, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I don't know whether or not Mr. Granbery will have sent you his printed praise. Here it is.

He is a graduate, by the way, of Randolph Macon College--by this time probably well along toward being their oldest living alumnus. I have never met him but he must be a nice old boy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure: March issue/Emancipator

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A Council to attain, through research and [illegible] the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 31, 1949

Dear George,

It was good seeing you in New York. I hope we hit something substantial from our visit with General Johnson. I would advise that you see Stubbs and ask him to intercede for you with Dr. Brooks. I will work through Bob Dixson.

I had dinner with Father La Farge last Thursday night and explained how badly we need funds to carry on our work this year. Father La Farge is writing a fervent letter to a close friend of his who lives in Detroit for an appointment with Henry Ford. If it comes through I think we should plan to go there together. Perhaps your snap talk will go over with Ford as it did with Johnson.

I made some progress with Mrs. Luce through her secretary. I am hopeful here.

Please tell Mrs. McKoy I'll be on hand for the meeting June 8th.

I wired Congressman Powell my

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inability to appear for F. E. P. C. on the dates suggested and offered myself for Wed. or Thursday of this week. He replied that hearings ended Friday but he wanted me for future use.

I am including a statement of expenses due me from SRC. Inasmuch as I have been under several special expenses lately I would appreciate it very much if you could get me my check as soon as possible.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Paul

39 - Williams, Paul D.
Acad.
Apr. 2. 49.

HOTEL Statler NEW YORK
(Formerly Hotel Pennsylvania)

RECEIVED
APR 1 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 31, 1949

Dear George,

This is just a hasty note but I'll write a detailed letter when I get home and can dictate.

Had good visits with Gov Creel and Mrs. Furst. Your brother Maurice had an appointment with Mrs. Furst immediately following mine and we had a brief chat.

Had a most encouraging luncheon date with Bob Dixson of Johnson and Johnson. Bob is General Johnson's first assistant and adviser. Details on this latter. I asked for $10,000.

Today I saw Fulton Oursler. I think the article in Readers Digest has a good chance of going through for us.

Also met Mrs Clare Luce Booth's confidential secretary. She thought Mrs Luce would be interested in doing something for us. As you know Mrs Luce is wife of Henry Luce of Life, Time etc., and is a Catholic

HOTEL Statler NEW YORK
(Formerly Hotel Pennsylvania)

The secretary told me how I should approach Mrs. Ford and I shall follow through promptly and seek an appointment as soon as possible.

Also met Alfred May, public relations specialist for Ford Motor Co. He is a smart Jew, a lawyer by profession. I told him our story and he was struck by our democratic set-up. Time was limited but he asked for literature and invited me to come to Detroit for a full dress presentation at which time he would try to get me in to see Henry Ford III. I have other contacts I can use to reach Ford.

→ Saw Mrs Loveland of Sat. Review of Lit. and she thought they might use a story on S.R.C. — that is an article written by one of us. Remind me on this later.

Saw Channing Tobias briefly. He thinks we are doing a grand job.

All in all I ~~felt~~ feel encouraged.

(Over) More later.

Sincerely
Paul

Hotels in Boston · Buffalo · Cleveland · Detroit · St. Louis · Washington · New York (Formerly Hotel Pennsylvania) Pittsburgh (Hotel William Penn

P.S. Write me care of Redmond (Over)

P.S. Tell Fleming I could not see Denny on this trip but will endeavor to see him another time.

Tell your secretary I rec'd the wire and assured that I would speak at the New England Methodist meeting if they could put me on the program late afternoon or evening of May 20.

Met Nelson Rockefeller long enough to ask for an appointment at some later date. He said okay.

P.

39 Williams, Paul

April 1, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Your letter of March 31 from New York is enormously encouraging.

We stand ready to supply any information you may need.

I am delighted that you saw Fulton Ouraler. I had been preparing to write you and ask you to give that one another push.

Donald Comer gave us $250. That's the twelfth one.

Ralph McGill gave us $25 today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

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GSM says this is completely answered. MEJ

4/11/49 39 - Williams, Paul

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April 4, 1949

Dear George,

Before I write you the promised full report of my N.Y. visit there are a couple of things I want to take up with you now.

I spent about an hour with Creel of Rockefeller Brothers. He was very nice but had several things on his mind which he passed in review to me and I tried to answer as best I could. First, he wants you to send an up-to-date picture of the financial picture to include Cardinal Spellman's contributions and any others that have come in since his last memo from you. Secondly, he wants to know prospects for financing next year. His idea here, I think, was that they are not keen on giving money to an outfit that might be going out of business. Anticipating this, I stressed our conversations with several foundations which emphasized that they might be willing to give as money providing we can show more respectable money coming out of the South. I also stressed our State campaigns — the $250 idea. He asked if this was a one year campaign only. My answer was that this depended

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on our financial picture at the time of our annual meeting in Nov. I added that if our State campaigns were productive we might consider doing this sort of job annually but would delist raw prospective contributors each year. I stated that the 100 contributors were being asked this year on an emergency, one ~~shot~~ (shot) basis.

Finally, Cecil thought our chances might be somewhat enhanced if you wrote again, if you have not before, giving the activities of our State Divisions and Affiliates. This grew out of my insistence that our whole program had to be seen not only in relation to our regional activity and program but intensified at the grass roots through our State groups.

I would recommend, therefore, in view of the above that you get off a letter to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in the next day or so, recalling my recent visit with Cecil and giving in some detail your answers to the three points raised by Cecil. I told Cecil you would attend to this right away.

One more thing for this letter to gain your advice. When I received a wire to speak at the New England Methodist

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conference May 20 I wrote saying I would accept if they placed me on the program in the late afternoon or evening. I presumed at the time that the invitation might have been suggested by Mrs. Tilly and that the meeting was an all day affair and because of this it might be to their advantage and ours to have a spokesman tell about the general work of the SRC or our activity for Civil Rights.

Now comes Mr. McConnell's letter which puzzles me at several points. First of all he speaks of my address in Atlanta and blackboard and colored chalk. I feel sure that he meant you and your blackboard talk about the sub-regions of the South. I certainly cannot delivr <u>your</u> talk with all the marvelous overtones you can bring in. I would be quite willing to write McConnell saying that he probably confused the two of us and that I would gladly stand aside for you. What is your advice? Another thing, the program is a banquet affair, which was not evident in the wire of invitation, and is likely to be a pretty intimate affair, so intimate in fact that they might not relish a member of the Catholic faith as the layman representative if they knew this in advance. Of course, as you know, I

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would make no reference to religion except to mention that all religious representatives work together in friendliness in the SRC. If I make the talk it will be a general talk on the South, a talk however which you could do much more expertly than I could possibly do. However, I am not intent on pushing you into the job unless you feel, like myself, that you were the one intended for the assignment in the first place. As you know, I realize how over-worked you are and desire to take as many assignments off you as possible. Write me on this just as soon as you can.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul

P.S. I'll be home until Easter Monday.

P.

P.S.2. I forget to include that Ariel brought out the old chestnut about getting more money in the South. The thought, for example that $50,000 could be raised in Georgia alone and that those who supported Carmichael in the last

(over)

election might be sought to support the SRC. I told him frankly I did not know this Georgia situation but would pass on his suggestion to you. He also mentioned the Rich Foundation and in this connection he mentioned that we intended to apply to apply to the Rich's and had a good friend there in Paty. Then I said quite frankly that we would send on the information he requested and wished that he and Mr. Packard would judge us on our merits, our accomplishments and our obvious need in the ferment of the New South — and that we would get nowhere if we allowed one Foundation to chase us to another and thereby put us on a merry-go-round, merrily getting nowhere.

P.

39 Williams, Paul

April 6, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Here is our check for $173.91 covering your travel~~s~~, recently submitted. Thanks so much for the donation of $30.00. This is a great help and adds up.

Dr. Mitchell showed me your recent letter to him telling of your fund raising activities, and both of us felt greatly encouraged by it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

39 Wh-Misc
Williams, Paul

April 7, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Following the suggestion made at the last meeting of the Executive Committee that an attempt be made to clear a date with Dr. Charles S. Johnson for our next meeting, I have so written him, and have received a reply from him indicating that June 15 would be a very acceptable date for him and that he would hold this open on his calendar if agreeable with other members on the Committee.

Please advise whether this is a convenient date for you and if it is not, won't you suggest alternate dates which you would have open?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

39-Williams, Paul

April 11, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I was in Florida all last week, and that has held me up until today on getting out the letter to Packard for Creel's consideration. Truth to tell, I had supplied Creel in my letter of February 8 with about all the things he asked for, but we plain mortals have no alternative but to supply with courtesy what they may wish. I have dictated a lengthy letter and we are working on the various enclosures. It will be tomorrow before we can get them off. We will send you a copy.

I had some encouragemmnt in a verbal message from my friend, R. W. Hudgens, who went a couple of weeks ago to see Packard about our need. Packard was reported as friendly.

Your visit will have done a tremendous lot to move it along. I still think that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is a good bet. I wonder if it ever occurs to foundations that ten or fifteen per cent of what they give is eaten up in the effort of begging it out of them.

Re McConnell and the talk May 20 at Worcester, Massachusetts. The Methodists in the South had a meeting of tiny town and country ministers some three weeks ago here in Atlanta. I was asked to make the map speech to them. They had brought in the man McConnell, who teaches what I may be pardoned for calling "rural theology" at the Boston University School of Theology and is quite a leader. His brother is a distinguished bishop.

The map thing caught McConnell's fancy. He came up and talked with me after the meeting and, in a hint or two, foreshadowed the Boston meeting. He must have been handed as our identification a Fleming pamphlet or something of that sort. It was his own confusion that led him to ask you to go up for the Worcester meeting.

I telephoned McConnell just this morning (Bath, Maine) and got it all straightened out. He now understands that the Council's map speech man is Mitchell, and wants that blackboard business done for him again for his Worcester meeting May 20. So you are relieved of that. Unnecessary for you to write him. I am confirming by letter to him, and telling him I will be there and so on. I know you would have made him a good speech, and I appreciate your willingness to relieve me. It is a good chance for me to get my expenses paid New York-wards, and I will use the trip to put some more digs in where necessary.

If you have suggestions for things I should do in New York that trip, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. You said you wanted to write Creel. He is:

Dana S. Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
50 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

G.S.M.

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D

4/13/49

4/13/49

JP:

Please send Paul Williams (label attached) 150 of the new "punch pamphlet."

Thanks, met

39 - Williams, Paul

April 13, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

This is in reply to your fine long letter of April 5. Delighted that you made the progress with Reader's Digest.

I have written Clarence Pickett and Rockefeller Brothers Fund, as you suggested, and copies were mailed to you.

I have also written Mrs. Furst, as enclosed.

The Saturday Review of Literature article sounds most inviting. I don't readily find your reference to it of some time back. Can you tell us about when she wants it? Fleming and I have talked about what he should write. We think it ought to be for your signature. The argument would be that the controversy over civil rights has by no means hurt the South, but has greatly speeded the pace of improvement in matters of human relations. There would be some bit of economic background and then detail about change in voting, in church interest, in police administration, in increased opportunity for Negro professional persons, in appointments to administrative boards, and so on.

On the V. Dabney-F. B. Young letter. We did send you 150 letterheads and envelopes. I am today mailing you 150 of the new "punch pamphlet". You will need fifty-odd of them for your outgoing letters, and the rest are for your general use. We got 10,000 of them.

JP instructed
MEJ

I will definitely be on hand at Lexington, Kentucky May 10.

We are preparing today the material for Dixson and will get it off to him this afternoon. I am also making up a duplicate to go to you for your own use.

I will fit my plans in to yours when it comes to any need you may have for me to see the Johnson and Johnson people. Charles Johnson is a big gun to bring up. I believe he would come, though he would have to have pretty good notice ahead. Would Hancock serve adequately if you decided to ask him?

Mr. C. C. Spaulding is president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, and of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank. His address is: 116 West Parrish Street, Durham, North Carolina. Spaulding is the best man.

Odd about the way we get batted back and forth between the people who think we are going too fast, and the ones for whom we are too pokey, isn't it?

I am concerned about making the Board spick and span and will do my best to get it done.

I will be glad to go to Lexington, Virginia if they ask me. Trigg is so much closer, and he would be better.

That was a good letter you wrote to Dixson.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
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GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
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APR 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

April 5, 1949.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

The reason I was able to see as many people as I did in New York was due to the illness of G. Howland Shaw, chairman of the Commission on Community Organizations of NCCJ. Mr. Shaw asked me to deliver his report at the executive meeting of NCCJ. It was there that I met Nelson Rockefellow, Channing Tobias, Alfred May of Ford Motor Company and Mrs. Loveland of Saturday Review of Literature. I am enclosing a news account of this meeting. I had a good talk with Fulton Oursler of Readers' Digest. He is most sympathetic about an article on the SRC and has been given the green light by the officials of Readers' Digest. Unfortunately, however, Oursler is leaving for Europe in a day or two on an extended trip. He has talked with Stanley High of Readers' Digest and has turned over all the materials to him. He advised that I write High and send him any news materials, offering at the same time to supply him with human interest accounts of the SRC. This I will do immediately. I shall also express my willingness to meet with High in New York to discuss matters in detail. Frankly, I am delighted at this turn of events because in some respects I prefer High as a writer to Oursler. I will keep you informed on this.

I have written you in detail of my visit with Creel. If you send me his full name I will write him a note of thanks for my conference.

I had a leisurely visit with Mrs. Furst. I am inclined to believe that our prospects are better with her than with Creel. She expressed great admiration for you and thought that because of Clarence Pickets' regard for you, a letter from you to him would help our cause. I think you ought to put it on the line to Mr. Picket. I also think a letter from you to Mrs. Furst would be in order. Their board meeting takes place in the near future so time is of the essence. I suggested to both Furst and Creel that if they helped us this year we would not expect a contribution annually. Whatever you think of my wisdom in the matter please follow through according to your good judgment.

Mrs. Loveland of the Saturday Review of Literature suggested that in our article we emphasize some of the hopeful things happening in the South, bringing in of course, the work of the SRC as an agency working for the right kind of changes in the South. Do you want Fleming to prepare such an article? Who would sign the article? I suggest yourself, V. Dabney or Dr. Odum. You may have other suggestions. I understand the Review has grown in circulation and has about a million subscribers now.

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#2 - Mitchell - April 5, 1949.

Moreover, they would probably pay us something for the article, but the publicity is worth more.

Thomas Young has not returned the letter Dabney and I approved. I am writing him to speed things up and will follow through as soon as I hear from him. I will have my secretary do the letters and have Dabney and Young sign them and send them from Richmond. Please send 150 letterheads of the Atlanta office and envelopes bearing the same address. Dabney thinks, and I agree, that this would be better than sending the letters out on my stationery inasmuch as I will not be one of the signers.

Please don't forget your date to speak at the CCS convention in Lexington, Ky. on May 10.

I have written you about my invitation to speak at the New England Methodist Conference and will await your answer before making a final comittment.

Please prepare a folder of significant SRC literature including our Civil Rights Statement, our general folder on SRC, all our special pamphlets, and anything else pertinent and send this folder to Robert Dixson, Director of Industrial Relations, Chicopee Manufacturing Company, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Simply say in your accompanying letter that you are sending the material at my advice. I think you prepared such a folder for Edgar Stern some time in the past, and a similar one would be appropriate for Dixson. Dixson who seems to be most sympathetic to our work happens to be a Catholic and is General Johnsons' right hand man. I am convinced that Dixson wants to do something for us. I asked for $10,000 and Dixson did not blink an eye. I also suggested that if the amount were forthcoming it would help our cause immensely if they could allocate the amount as coming from their plant in Gainsville, Georgia. Dixson thought this could be arranged. It may be necessary before a final decision is made for you and I to have a conference with Dixson and General Johnson in New York or New Brunswick. At such a meeting I think it highly important to have a Negro representative and can think of no one better than Charles Johnson. Do you agree?

Dixson is working on a progressive code for business to follow. A document of considdrable importance which will be published in the near future. I suggested that he should have a Negro representative among the signers and mentioned the name of Mr. Spaulding. Can you send me his full name and the name of the Insurance Company and the name of the bank he heads. Can you think of anyone in business more worthy than Spaulding?

A final word about Mrs. Furst. She stated that Doris Duke is worried that our organization is a little bit too progressive, hence her willingness to go along with the Committee on the South which is mainly research, rather than ours which is more

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#3 - Mitchell - April 5, 1949.

interested in programs of action. Doris Duke, according to Furst, thinks the CIO an agent of Stalin. You can bear this in mind when you write Furst and Picket. Strangely enough, Creel was worried because our program is perhaps not militant enough. So the story goes and we are caught in between.

Returning to Dixson for a moment. He spotted the names of Clark Foreman and Burnham. I answered by giving my story about the United States Senate and our democratic makeup, assuring him at the time that after the term both these gentlemen on our board, it was quite likely that they would not be re-elected. I emphasized moreover, that when they were elected they seemed to have a clean bill of goods but had deteriorated in the meanwhile. I wonder if you could write Burnham and ask him if he has changed residence and is no longer in the South. If so we can take care of him at our next board meeting and get him off our board.

This is my story up to now. Let me hear from you.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

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January 31, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Following your suggestion of setting the next meeting of the Executive Committee for March instead of February, I am trying to secure general agreement for a meeting date on the 9th, 16th, or 23rd. Please advise whether any of these dates would be possible for you, and if so, whether you have a preference for any one of them. If none of them is possible, won't you suggest alternate dates?

Sincerely yours,

Agnes McKoy

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Please send 150 of the above stationery and envelopes with Atlanta address.
PDW

39 — Williams, Paul

April 15, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of April 12. Appreciate your willingness to wrote Regnery. Not quite time yet to do it, as we have not yet got the other South Carolinians asked thus far. Won't hurt anything if your letter has already gone, but your letter can wait until later if you haven't sent it.

I quite agree that Trigg is the one to go to Lexington, Virginia. The Council will be happy to pay his expenses. I am leaving it to you to tell Trigg that the Council will pay his expenses.

Judge Waring wrote that while he appreciated the invitation to be a member of the Board, he felt it important for him not to be immediately concerned in our activities, in view of the fact that doubtless additional cases involving racial prejudice might be expected to come before him for a decision, and that therefore, he thought it best not to become a member of our Board. I wrote him and told him we quite understood the matter, but remained with the greatest admiration of the courage, clarity, and rightness of his decisions. Our one or two Charleston people who had been interested were notified by me.

I know I ought to do something about Paty, and will try to.

I could be in New York Monday or Tuesday, May 23 or 24.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

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April 12, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

In answer to your letter of April 5 I must state that I do not know Mr. Regnery but I will be glad to write him asking for a sizable donation. I will send you a copy of the letter I write him.

I am waiting to hear from you regarding the items in my lengthy letter to you.*

The people in Lexington said they would be glad to have either you or Dr. Trigg as their speaker. They can arrange to have their meeting at 8:00 P. M. on any of the following dates: April 24, May 1 or May 15. If it is not convenient for you to accept this invitation I will ask Trigg** if he can do it and offer to let the SRC pay his expenses.

Did we hear anything from Judge Waring?

I think it would bewise for you and Mrs. Tilly to see Dr. Paty and see if he would be instrumental in getting something from the Rich Foundation.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

* See over.
** On second thought I shall ask Trigg, since he is closer by, and try to get him. This will relieve you of this assignment

(See over)

P.S. Have your letter of April 11. Good letters you wrote Packard and Prickett. Good that you are taking the Worcester assignment. Will write if I think you should call on some people in N.Y. I may be able to meet you in N.Y. week (early part) and will see if I can make appointments with General Johnson and others for that time. Tell me if you will be free the early part of week of May 23.

P.

39 - Williams, Paul D

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April 18, 1949.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Hal:

Hearty congratulations to you for the new SRC folder. I think it rings the bell.

Yours for blood and glue and tears.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

39- Williams, Paul

April 19, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here or there these may be helpful to you.

The Council and the Georgia Interracial Committee played a leading part in organizing the meeting. It went very well indeed, and has undoubtedly started a new stream of Protestant interest in these matters in Georgia.

I have sent copies to the Independent Aid people and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39- Williams, Paul

April 20, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I did go up and see Mr. Thomas Byrd at Burnsville, North Carolina, April 14.

He likes what little he knows about SRC. Said raising money for us would be a matter of a series of "still hunts", as we obviously couldn't have any whopping campaign with costly publicity. I told him we had at most only three or four thousand dollars to use up on an effort of that kind and he admitted that wouldn't keep him running long, but did not, because of that, put the matter out of his mind. Said if he took on the job, he would let us know after a very few weeks whether the thing looked promising or not. He would work for a monthly salary and his expenses--not a commission, which neither he nor I would approve.

Mr. Byrd is pressed by his children to stop taking on extra jobs of this kind. Could not be active on it until September. He is coming to Atlanta on his own business late this month, and will spend a couple of days with us, looking into things and making up his mind. I believe he could do the job.

I talked with him entirely in terms of a sustaining fund of half a million. I think he would have liked to jump in on these little $250 amounts, but I told him we would handle that ourselves.

On the general matter of money, we are perhaps six weeks ahead of crisis. If one of the foundations comes through, or if your Johnson and Johnson people would come through, that would ease us into the autumn.

I am bothered to see how slowly the states get out those letters. It seems to take time, on our volunteer system, to negotiate with the people who will sign them. No one of the letters has come out yet, unless yours has, and we have cleared things for such letters in North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, and Florida. I have one being worked up in South Carolina also. We now have twelve $250 contributions given or pledged.

I am to see some of the better off Negro citizens of Atlanta in the next five or six days and ask them to join the twelve.

Mrs. Tilly broadcast over the Mary Margaret McBride program on Good Friday. We have had two or three quite small checks reach us directly, and are in hopes that larger sums will have gone to the station, but shan't know until tomorrow when Mrs. Tilly comes back.

The thing I want to emphasize is that the next six weeks are critical. If in that time we get funds ahead for the summer, we will come through.

You wrote me March 22 that you would remind Dr. Stabler in Birmingham at the proper time. I risk this extra reminder to you.

We are all full of admiration of the toil and skill you have put into this extra job of being head of the good Council. One of the main joys of life is working with people for whom admiration grows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

39-Williams, Paul D.

April 21, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

They have moved the date of the Tennessee Division's meeting to May 17 at Nashville. I have to be there. I wasn't particularly anxious to make this New York meeting of the Conference on Citizenship anyway.

Again, if it fits into your schedule, perhaps you could take it in. If not, skip it.

If you think of going, they should get some notice from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

April 1, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The Fourth National Conference on Citizenship of the NEA--blessed, as you know, by the Attorney General--comes up again. This year it is in New York City, Commodore Hotel, May 14 - 18.

If you could go, it might be helpful. I went last year, and thought it too little down to brass tacks.

What would you think of taking it in, at the Council's expense? If you wish to go, why don't you fill out their blanks and mail them on in, for the Council. If not, send it back to us and we will just skip it this year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39 - Williams, Paul

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(1) NCF
(2) Files

April 19, 1949.

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Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I will be at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia all this week if you want to get in touch with me. The following week I will be in Richmond.

Thanks so much for sending me the folders on the SRC. I think it looks grand. Please congratulate Hal and all those responsible for its attractive setup.

I will write you further concerning the Saturday Review of Literature.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams,

PDW:ht

39 - Williams, Paul D.

April 27, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the kind words about the new punch pamphlet. I hope it will do some good.

In return, my congratulations for all the worthwhile leads you are turning up for the Council. I look forward to hearing more about the enticing Saturday Review possibility.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

39- Williams, Paul B

April 29, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3520 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here are the two things you asked for. I got them up in something of a rush today, but I hope they will meet the need.

The thing on the workshop was drawn up with the help of Lib Taylor, who has had some experience with such things. Actually, the ways of running a workshop are so many and so flexible that you will be quite safe with your own commonsense approach.

Mrs. Tilly is listed in Who's Who in case I have not given you as detailed facts as you needed. These are the ones that she herself suggested.

All good wishes for a successful meeting of the CCS.

Best Regards,

encls

Harold C. Fleming

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RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

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April 27, 1949.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Hal:

I have been asked to explain the technique on workshops at the annual meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South in Lexington on May 10, 11 and 12. This meeting will emphasize workshops on education, labor and industry, rural life, racial relations, etc. If you could gather some material describing the workshop technique, how it differs from that employed for the panel discussion, etc. I will be most grateful. Ten minutes or less should be sufficient. Mrs. Tilly may have this material at her fingertips and could dictate it to one of the girls in the office. I was also impressed by the woman who chaired the session on legislation at our Atlanta Civil Rights meeting. You will probably know her name or you may know someone else you can turn to, if indeed, you are not familiar with the technique yourself. I would appreciate your sending this material at your earliest convenience.

By the way, Mrs. Tilly has accepted an invitation to speak before the Catholic Interracial Council in New York on May 5. Please send me a thumbnail sketch of her so I can send it on to New York to place before the one who will introduce Mrs. Tilly.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

Jane says Thelma Stevens of Woman's Division Meth Ch in NYC

PDW:ht

RECEIVED
APR 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Williams, Paul

May 2, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I had a nice talk this morning with Miss Fahy. Incidentally, your letter to Father Giri, with Miss Fahy's letter enclosed, is safely in the outgoing mail.

I advised Miss Fahy to attend the Lexington meeting. She could there be in touch with people who could act. I doubt that she will go, but she might. We went over various parts of the South in which she might usefully pick a rural parish and settle down for two or three years and get something started. I liked her very much. Fortunately I had had some contact with her brother years ago.

Byrd stopped by Atlanta about the 20th of April and talked some more. He is still interested, and I rather think will get active for us in the fall. I don't count on his raising a large sum, but there is a fair chance that something quite useful will work out.

Mrs. Tilly and I went over one day last week and talked with Paty. He said that heavy commitments had been made before he became responsible for the Rich Foundation and that it would be some time before important additional commitments could be taken on. Nevertheless, we told him the urgency of our need and he said we might submit a request for an emergency contribution. I have written up such a letter asking for $5,000. Here again I don't feel too hopeful, because of the stress he put on the many other requests they had already in hand.

Sad letter from Independent Aid, copy attached. Its lack of the usual "let-you-down-easy" touch seemed ominous to me, but maybe I have too lush an imagination.

No news as yet from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, but I shall continue to hope pretty highly there.

I am at your service in connection with the New York trip.

Mrs. McKoy is working out the date for the meeting, and I will leave that to her. I do hope there will be a time when you and Charles Johnson can both be here.

We are typing the North Carolina letters, which we think should be signed and mailed out from Durham May 4 or 5.

Do, please, speed the Virginia ones.

Mr. Donald Comer will sign the Alabama ones. Fresh copy to meet his taste is in Alabama now.

I have been making speeches all over the lot.

Ten-dollar campaign still goes nicely. We have had around 250 contributions averaging $10 apiece. We will give it one more shot, by way of a report to our membership on how well each state did in the campaign. That won't be a fourth beg-them letter, but will revive the memory anyway, and there may be some blessed souls who will of grace pay off.

You will be interested to know that some ten days ago Mr. Leonard Haas' mother died. The family made it known that in lieu of flowers contributions to the Southern Regional Council would be regarded appreciatively. Altogether we have had perhaps $50 in that way. Leonard Haas is a stout friend.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

C
O
P
Y

Independent Aid, Inc.
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

April 27, 1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In response to your recent appeal for funds for the Southern Regional Council, I am very sorry to write that the Board has found it impossible to take favorable action.

I hope that you will find other means of raising the budget required for your work.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

(Mrs.) Georgea T. Furst

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
. . .
. . .

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

April 26, 1949.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
APR 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Thank you for your letters of April 20 and 22.

I am very interested in what you write about your meeting with Mr. Thomas Byrd. I hope you can convince him to do the job for us when he meets you in Atlanta. I feel like this would be the answer to our whole problem if Mr. Byrd could raise the amount you mention. I am writing Mr. Dixson suggesting a meeting with him and General Johnson following the time you will speak in Worcester. I hope the dates can clear so we can know something about this in the near future.

I can't make the Citizenship meeting in New York so I think we had better skip it this year. I gathered from your letter that you did not think the meeting too vital for our interest.

Thomas Young has finally answered my letter and we will get to work on the Virginia letters as soon as possible.

I wrote Mrs. McKoy that I could not possibly make the June 15 meeting of our executive committee. I have a long standing engagement for that day in New York when I am to join a farewell party to one of my bread and butter authors who is sailing for Europe. I think it is more important to have Charles Johnson at the June 15 meeting rather than myself.

Please read the enclosed letter from Sarah Fahy. She is a sister of Charles Fahy who was Solicitor General during the Roosevelt administration. Miss Fahy is a sincere worker of some ability and I asked her to drop by and discuss her problems with you. After you read her letter please enclose it in my unsealed envelope to Father Giri and mail it for me.

I will be writing you soon again concerning a few matters.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

39- Williams, Paul D.

May 13, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

I forgot to mention in my letter to you that we are sending you under separate cover our newest display assortment of Council publications. I do hope this will be helpful to you as you go about so ably presenting the cause of our Council.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 19, 1949.

Dear George:

I think we covered the items in your letter of May 2 when I saw you in Lexington. I am sorry we did not have a better get-together there but we will make up for it when we meet in New York. I am trying to make a date with General Johnson for May 23 or 24 and will also try to line up some other people too. I have written Mrs. McKoy that I can make an executive meeting in Atlanta on June 8 but the other dates are pretty difficult for me to make.

Everybody raved over your talk in Lexington, in fact there was no question but that your presentation was the highlight of the entire convention. Congratulations !

Concerning the McNamara letter I thought it best to send my letter on to Charles Smith and have him return it to you. I wrote him and spoke with him twice asking for his signature. Last night I phoned him and he promised to put it in the mail and send it on air mail-special delivery. I trust he has done so. In fairness to Charles I can forgive his tardiness because his father has been on the point of death and had a sinking spell in Charles' home recently. No doubt Charles has been occupied with all this.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Williams, Paul D.

May 18, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

How are we to meet in New York? I leave Thursday, May 19, by plane for Worcester, Massachusetts. Expect to spend that night at Hotel Sheraton, and probably the next night also (the 20th). Saturday morning I could be reached in Boston at 5 Rollins Place, Boston 14, telephone RICHMOND 2-0789. Saturday evening and Sunday, in care of Mr. G. O. Clifford, Piquot Road, Southport, Connecticut.

I will come into New York by an early morning train Monday, May 23. Unless I have heard otherwise from you, I will hunt for you at the Pennsylvania Hotel. But we could get going more quickly if you would let me know just where to meet you, and when.

The letter for Monsignor McNamara came in all right and we are getting it out today, with all signatures except Mr. Clement's. He is in New York.

Thanks for compliments about the talk at Lexington. That speech is always a pleasure to make, and goodness knows I had a friendly audience.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

39- Williams, Paul D.

May 31, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

I am sending separately some material that may be useful to you. It includes a sheaf of reprints of The Reporter article on the Council and two copies of a new Negro magazine, published in Birmingham, called The New World Commentator.

As to the latter, George has told me of your efforts to strengthen the ties between SRC and organized labor. You will see that the magazine carries my piece on the Council cheek-by-jowl with an article on labor by Ed Stone, S. E. public relations director of CIO. Technically, the magazine leaves much to be desired; but it is an earnest attempt from the Negro community to present the liberal case. I hope you can put it to use.

I am looking forward to seeing you next week.

Warm regards,

Harold C. Fleming

39- Williams Paul B

To Cal

June 2, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Hotel 2400
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Here is your check, and our thanks for all you do for us. It was so good of you and so characteristic that you should add the personal contribution to all the time and effort which you had put in.

We look forward to seeing you on the 8th.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

coc

AM:s

Enclosure

20.00 Cont

39- Williams, Paul

June 2, 1949
Air Mail--Special Delivery

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Hotel 2400
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

R. W. Hudgens was for years connected with a firm in Greenville, South Carolina, that dealt in cotton mill securities. Now he is in charge for the Standard Oil Company of its program, jointly conducted with the Venezuelan government, of economic rehabilitation in Venezuela. I don't know the exact name of the subsidiary corporation for which he works, and I don't know the phone number. His office is Room 5118, 49 West 49th Street, New York City. He could be reached through Mr. Arthur W. Packard or Mr. Dana S. Creel of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 49 West 49th Street, NYC.

If it were desired to consult Mr. Embree, he could be reached as Edwin R. Embree, in care of The Liberian Corporation, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City. His telephone number is MURRAY HILL 7-6100.

Here are two copies of the Durham statement.

I suppose the distinguishing programs of socialism are public ownership of industry and of land. The Council has never advocated either. It has always seen the vital importance of further industrialization in the South but so far as I know, it has never questioned in the least that industry should be privately owned and managed.

On Agriculture, it has favored increase in the South of privately-owned family farms as being important to basic democracy in rural areas.

The issue of housing would be a pretty good test of the Council's views. It has simply asked for more and better housing in the South, and has hoped that the houses would be provided in part by private capital and in part by publicly assisted programs of slum clearance.

I have never heard socialist views expressed in the meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee of the Council. All members of the staff are and have been chosen for their freedom from doctrinal positions and their ability to work practically within the economy of the South as it is. I think the truth is that the Council is a wholehearted effort to make democracy work. Those who founded it and those who have conducted it have believed deeply in the highest traditions of American political democracy. Getting that in the South is a huge job. We have all been devoted simply to that job.

You can reach Channing Tobias at the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

P. S. The enclosed from The Reporter might be useful.
GSM

39-Williams, Paul

June 6, 1949

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I will meet the Comet at the Emory Station Wednesday morning, June 8. If you have found the energy to be up and packed by then, I hope you will pile off at Emory and let me take you home to breakfast. That will give us precious time to talk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39- Williams, Paul B.

June 13, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You will be delighted to hear that this morning's mail brought a check for $2,500, which came through Mr. Dana Creel from "a person who wishes to remain anonymous" and "is glad to make a special and non-recurring contribution to the Council's general program."

The same mail brought another letter from Mr. Dana Creel, as secretary of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, saying that the Fund had not found it possible to assist the Council this year.

I have expressed our regrets to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and our jubilance to Mr. Creel. In the jubilent letter, I went on to ask Mr. Creel whether we were constrained by the phrase "contribution to the Council's general program" in a way that would prevent us from using the $2,500, so neatly, to make up the last part needed to match the anonymous southern foundation. It really arises because I will need with Stubbs evidence that the contribution is entirely available for matching.

I don't know what Creel will say, but I hope he can write me with language that will enable use for matching.

I talked by telephone with Arthur Packard, in order to prepare the way on that point.

It will be all right if they prefer not to have it for matching. Some of the sums pledged the other day could be thus used.

Here is a copy of my answer to Carter Wesley's letter. Advise me if I am in error in this reply. Of course I won't send out the letters to the pledgees unless Wesley says to.

I called your home this morning to give you the good news, but no one answered, so I assume you are comfortably at Lewisetta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39- Williams, Paul B.

June 22, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note of June 19.

I haven't yet heard from Creel about allocation of that gift. It was a life-saver in meeting our current payroll.

We have sent out to Executive Committee members who were in attendance at the last meeting a paragraph or so from Wesley's letter to me.

I will try to see Stubbs, and perhaps Josephine, but I think my original letter to Brooks at Athens, plus my talk by 'phone with Stubbs, did most of what we can do to pave things.

I do hope the meeting with Mr. Ford will work out. Charles Johnson would be your best bet, but I will be willing to go, of course.

Can you keep pushing to be sure that the Virginia letters get signed and out?

I will be in Raleigh most of next week at some Institute Trigg is having.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Office of the President
3320 Gloucester Road Richmond 22, Virginia

RECEIVED JUN 21 1949 NASHVILLE Southern Regional Council

Lewisetta, Va.
June 19, 1949

Dear George,

Thanks so much for your letter of June 13. Glad to have this good news. Hope we can use it to match the Atlanta money.

I think both your letter and Wesley's were correct but if Wesley wants to make it stronger its okay with me.

Had a good answer from Gov. Johnson — also from Bob Dixon. Will send them on in my next letter. Fr. LaFarge also wrote that he had written his friend in Detroit about a conference with H. Ford. Either you or Dr. Charles should go with

(over)

me if this comes through.

Since Gen. Johnson says he has placed our request with his Southern Concerns it might be well for you to follow through and get Stubbs to say something to Dr. Brooks. Do you think Wilkins could help? She said something about having a contact with Brooks.

Please continue to write me at Lewisetta, Va.

Best always,

Paul

39-Williams, Paul B

June 24, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Corapeake Cottage
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We had a useful reply from Dana Creel today, and I have bundled it up with the other material and officially applied to Stubbs for the release of the $3,000 appropriated to us by an anonymous and southern foundation. I have conferred with Stubbs and all seems in order.

Spencer Love's $250 came through t'other day.

Mr. Leonard Haas sent us $150 from a local business firm as part payment on his guarantee of $500. That good man should in some way be showered with blessings.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

39- Williams, Paul D.

June 30, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Lewinetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I have been in Raleigh for the last two days. I called on Bishop Waters, and he told me of his invitation to you to talk with his seminarians and of your foot ailment. I am sorry about the latter.

Bishop Waters most kindly invited me to stay for dinner and to go with him and substitute for you in talking with his student group. I enjoyed it greatly.

Stubbs has sent us the check for three thousand. We will set up a separate account and keep all of that money permanently in Mr. Milton's bank.

Brooks has not queried Stubbs.

Brand new article by Hodding Carter in Collier's of July 9, 1949. Mentions many Council persons, and it praises Council sweetly toward the end. I intend to send a copy of it tomorrow to Brooks.

We will seek to order reprints for wider mailing, and, in any case, will buy twenty copies to mail about, one of which I will send you.

In the White press, we had a poor splash with our letter to the governors because our friendly AP man, Ben Brice, was on his vacation and AP muffed it. Then UP came out with a release which a number of others copied, but not a large number. The Negro press splashed it. The Christian Science Monitor made good use of it. I think we can do a follow up a year hence and show remarkable progress in such appointments.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSMrwgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

39- Williams, Paul B.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Lawrenceville, Va.
June 28, 1949

Dear George,

Thanks for your good letter of June 24th containing the cheering news that Neel was cooperative and now it appears that Stubbs will come through.

Would it help any if Stubbs passed the news of these two developments on to Dr. Brooks as information for the Chicopee (Johnson and Johnson) people? I'll leave you to follow through on this if you think it wise.

I expect to stay on here in Lawrenceville until at least over the 4th of July.

Did our open letter to the Governors make much news? Please send my copy of the South to Lawrenceville.

Best always.

Sincerely,
Paul

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Williams, Paul B

July 5, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
Corn Peake Cottage
Lewisetta, Va.

Dear Paul:

I noticed the other day in going through old corresponpondence many months ago that Money Boyd had undertaken to get a decision from Mr. Stettinius on the Council.

Here is an extra copy of the article from Collier's. Maybe you could use is as an instrument for stirring Boyd's and Stettinius' interest again. I assume Boyd's address is simply Charlottesville, Va.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul D.

July 1, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is a list of newspapers that have carried a story on the Executive Committee's letter to the Southern Governors.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul B.

July 7, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Last Sunday's New York Times, July 3, had on page 18 nearly a full column about the statement of the executive committee on appointments of Negroes. John N. Popham wrote it and did it excellently.

Because of the holiday, copies are scarce. I sent one to Charles Dollard at Carnegie.

No hints of life from Gainesville, Georgia where Johnson and Johnson has its mills.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

39- Williams, Paul B

July 11, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams

Corapeake Cottage

Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I greatly appreciate this most kind letter from Bishop Waters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul D.

July 13, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I had a note June 29th from Luther Jackson mainly about something else but praising the release to the Southern Governors, and saying, "Feel free to call on me to see any persons in Virginia whom you think I can influence. Am deeply concerned about the financial status."

Can you write or telephone Mr. Jackson with your suggestions as to the persons he should see from among those to whom we appealed for $250.00.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul

July 15, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I would like for our files to contain a list of the people to whom the Collier's article has been sent or is to be sent.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

CROSS REFERENCE 39- Williams, Paul

Correspondence

Subject: Greenville self-survey

From: Dr. Mitchell

Date: July 18, 1949

34-Williams, Paul B

Copy to Lewisetta, Va.

July 27, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I have to go to New York on personal business (the death of my sister's husband). I am to be there all of this coming weekend and shall come back down through Richmond on Monday or Tuesday. I will call your home and hope to see you if you are in Richmond. If you are down at Lewisetta, I will explore bus connections for getting myself there.

We are low on funds. We will make the payroll the end of July allright, but I don't know where the middle of August comes from.

We have heard nothing from General Johnson. The sum total of the pledge letters available from the last meeting of the Executive Committee does not exceed a few hundred dollars, and I am reluctant to use that device anyway.

We greatly need General Johnson to come through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul

August 2, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
Pocopeake Cottage
Lewisetta, Va.

Dear Paul:

I think this arises because recently in Atlanta, I had breakfast with Aubrey and Jim Dombrowski. Jim asked me whether I would join him as sponsor in a meeting he wanted to organize on segregation in education in the South. I simply said "No."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul

August 3, 1949

Mrs. Paul Williams
Pocosenke Cottage
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Williams,

I found when I got home Paul had called Atlanta from Washington in a effort to reach me; so, he did all he could to get us together.

Truth to tell, I greatly enjoyed excursioning to Lottsburg and Lewisetta; and I enjoyed also your own and your sister's company, and the supper, and beer, and conversation, and the view, and the ride home to Richmond.

I daresay Paul will write me a long letter when he can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39 Williams, Paul

HOTEL STATLER WASHINGTON D. C.

Lewisetta, Va.
Aug 6, 1949

Dear George,

I'm sorry we had a mix-up. I got your letter too late to phone you from Lewisetta. When I got to Washington I called your home in Atlanta and phoned the Conn. address your wife gave the operator. I was informed that you had left Conn. for somewhere in Va. I then took a chance and phoned Broadus' N.Y. address but there was no answer after several attempts to get a call

through. I then presumed you were on your way to Richmond and I phone the Johnson sisters across from my house to be on the lookout for you and tell you I was in Warrington, not Louisetta, to save you the long trip. But we just missed you all along.

I'm not surprised at Aubrey Wilbons' action nor am I disappointed.

I'm still working on the Johnson & Johnson thing. That

the reason I went to Washington. Bob Dixon was scheduled to be at a testimonial dinner given for F. McGowan last Monday night but he had to leave on his vacation instead.

I'll be in Richmond Monday and part of Tuesday. Wednesday I'll be at Hotel Raleigh Washington. Thursday and Friday I expect to be at the Flanders Hotel, Ocean City, N. J.

Will write you again from Richmond.

Sorry to miss you in

4

Lewisetta and sorry you had the long, pretters trip down.

Kitty says thanks for your note.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Williams, Paul B.

August 13, 1949

AIRMAIL

Copy to Lewisetta, Va.

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Mrs. Tilly urgently needs a reply from you to her letter of July 12, copy enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

P.S. You will not have the same task you had at the other meeting; but we do want you to introduce the meeting and then the women will take care of the sections.

Cordially,

Dorothy Tilly
(Mrs. M. E. Tilly)

39 Williams, Paul D

1201

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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DR GEORGE MITCHELL= 5474

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WESLEY MEMORIAL

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62 X

BLDG ATLA=

CONGRATULATIONS ON METHODIST DEAL WILL BE PRESENT I

FOR MRS TILLY'S MEETING WRITING HER=

PAUL D WILLIAMS..

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

39- Williams, Paul

August 29, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul,

Mrs. Havens has written thusly to the right person in General Motors. We all agreed that if opportunity offers, you should be the one to go to see him.

This is simply an alert.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul

September 1, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You asked me to write you something about what the Council could do in assistance to the labor movement.

Our effort is to enlarge freedom and justice for all the people of the South. We do our work, in part, by pressing constantly our several thousand strategically placed members to be active in their own local communities on behalf of impartial enforcement of law. Our monthly journal reaches a large proportion of the more important newspaper editors of the South and is influential in building public opinion favorable to all disadvantaged groups in the South.

One of the foundation purposes of the Council is to get at improvement of race relations by lessening the poverty and inequality, which are basic to better race relations. All of us on the Council staff understand that the work of the labor movement is of major importance in lessening poverty and in building democratic responsibility.

If the South is to become an area in which trade union operation may be described as normal, the South must go much further toward resolving its present conflicts and inequities.

The Council bases its work on this job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39 - Williams, Paul

September 15, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I am dreadfully skittish about your going to see Billikopf. He can only connect me with an appeal and that would be just too embarrassing.

He knows about us because his son joined us a couple of years ago, and Mr. Billikopf wrote and asked me to send our material to two or three persons in New England, which I did.

I am going to send him a copy of Race in the News and tell him what it is. If that small contact should rouse in him a desire to help the Council, well and good; but I shiver when I think of the embarrassment of a more direct appeal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul

September 16, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I wrote Bishop Waters in this vein.

I wonder if you would care to write some letters to such other dignitaries in your church who could help.

I thought of Archbishop Rummel and Bishop Gerow.

I have sent a copy of the pamphlet with a letter, copy enclosed, to Father Vincent O'Connell.

I am asking the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, etc., variously, to do what they can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Williams

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 16, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I did what I could for our cause in Washington this week. I had a good meeting with Mr. Lewis Strauss. He was very decent and comprehended quickly our program. I asked him for $1,000 and he said we should hear from him in a week or ten days. I think our chances are 50-50 with him.

Mrs. Eugene Myer is still vacationing near New York City and will not return until October 20. There is a chance that I will get a conference with Mrs. Luce in New York week after next and if so I could see Mrs. Myer on the same visit. Mrs. Myer's secretary gave me the summer address.

Father McGowan called Bob Dixson in my presence and Bob said that he and the General are still considering our request and we should hear from them soon. I also dropped by to see Harry Read at the CIO and he agreed to go up to see the General within ten days and argue support for us. I am enclosing a note Harry sent me in answer to my recent letter to him that he speak with Bob Dixson about our request. Now Harry thinks it best for him to take the matter up with the General himself and of course I have no objection. Indeed I am grateful to Harry for his willingness.

I had dinner and spent the evening with Charles Smith. I am enclosing a check he gave me for $250.00. You will be saddened to know that Charles and Cynthia have reached the parting of the ways. They are separating in a week and a divorce will take place as soon as possible. Charles has a good job with UNESCO paying him $7500 a year with good chances for advancement. He likes his work very much.

If you have Mrs. Havens San Francisco address please tell her that October is a tough month for me if I have to go to Detroit to see the General Motors crowd. I could make it on October 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15 or November 1, 2 or 3. I presume however, that the Detroit people will give us several dates. Please return the letters I recently sent you to General Johnson, Bob Dixson, Harry Head, etc.

I will be in Richmond through Tuesday of next week. The remainder of the week I will be at the Emerson Hotel in Baltimore until Saturday noon.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

39. Williams, Paul D.

September 22, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

In Chicago, you could get useful advice from Frank McCallister, Roosevelt College. Frank is a long time socialist, now teaching labor education at Roosevelt College, lived in Atlanta for years, and knows the Council. His Georgia Workers Education Service had much help from the Rosenwald Fund, as did Roosevelt College.

I frequently heard Dr. Alexander say that his approach to Marshall Field was through Mr. Louis Weiss.

Mrs. Tilly called me yesterday and said two or three people have asked for your introduction to Mrs. Roosevelt; in particular, an Atlanta Methodist parson thought it most beautiful. You had it written out. Could you send us it and the other one for the morning meeting too, for this use and that?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39 - Williams, Paul

September 26, 1949

Dear Paul:

I was to return to you this copy of your letter to Mr. Strauss.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul D.

September 26, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I sent Miss Loveman on the Saturday Review of Literature a copy of Race in the News.

I have had this reply back from her today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

O. G. CLEMENTS
MANAGER

Williams
(Fund Raising)

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

THE EMERSON

A MEYER HOTEL

BALTIMORE & CALVERT STS.
BALTIMORE 3, MD.

Sept 26, 1949

Dear George,

I'm writing this letter on a bumpy C.&O. train to Chicago and cannot trust my fountain pen.

I rec'd all your letters. Will answer all of them in due course but will take care of most of the items now.

First, I cannot make Hampton much as I should like to do so. I suggest Emerson Smith or Guy Johnson.

The Va. letters are being typed and will go out on my return from this trip. I will follow up by seeing most of the Richmond people myself. This I promise.

I told you I had a good lead last ~~wk~~ week which I meant to follow up. This I did.

(over)

MEYER HOTELS

GOVERNOR CLINTON, NEW YORK • THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD. • THE PATRICK HENRY, ROANOKE, VA.
THE SIR WALTER, RALEIGH, N. C. • THE HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN. • THE FARRAGUT, KNOXVILLE, TENN.
THE WINDSOR, JACKSONVILLE, FLA. • THE ROOSEVELT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

The prospect is Charles McCormick, the spice king of Baltimore. Father Cronin of Father McGowan's group in Wash. wrote McCormick in my behalf and a conference was speedily arranged. Cronin and McCormick are close personal friends. McCormick promised me 30 minutes, which was all I asked for, but he kept me 2 hours and called in 3 members of his board as I told our story. McCormick and his associates seemed keenly interested in our work and had plenty of questions, some of them plenty tough, to fire at me. I wished you might have been with me with your pithy way in answering questions, but, on the whole, I think I made out pretty well. I'll tell you some of the questions and my answers when we meet.

I feel confident that McCormick is going to help us and soon. How much is another question. He intimated his wish to help us annually. I countered by saying that a large amount this year was more acceptable with a promise on my part not to hit him

O. G. CLEMENTS
MANAGER

THE EMERSON

A MEYER HOTEL

BALTIMORE & CALVERT STS.
BALTIMORE 3, MD.

again next year. My proposal didn't go over so well as McC made it clear that he would rather give us something modest annually. I hope it will not be too damned modest. I shall write him from Chicago.

McCormick was not so hot on the Civil Rights legislation and turned it a political trick by Truman to get elected. I answered by saying that regardless of the political implications we had to face the fact that the civil rights issue is before us and we have to approach it intelligently and calmly through educating the masses, as SRC has been doing or face inevitable tensions in the South. This

MEYER HOTELS

GOVERNOR CLINTON, NEW YORK • THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD. • THE PATRICK HENRY, ROANOKE, VA.
THE SIR WALTER, RALEIGH, N. C. • THE HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN. • THE FARRAGUT, KNOXVILLE, TENN.
THE WINDSOR, JACKSONVILLE, FLA. • THE ROOSEVELT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

(over)

viewpoint was acceptable to McCormick.

McCormick himself believes in the separate but equal principle but he gave pretty convincing proof of his emphasis on the equal aspect in his company. I kept to myself my own conviction that compulsory segregation in itself makes for inequality.

McCormick clearly demonstrated his contempt for the Sou. Conf. for Human Welfare and I had no difficulty explaining how differently the SRC operates, quoting the key sentence in McGill's recent editorial on our Atlanta meeting.

The conference was most cordial. In fact I think it was warm and I believe something tangible will come of it. McCormick gave me an autographed copy of his new book by Harpers entitled "The Power of People", signing his inscription "to my good friend Paul W. from Charlie". If he doesn't come across with a respectable check I think I'll

O. G. CLEMENTS
MANAGER

THE EMERSON

A MEYER HOTEL

BALTIMORE & CALVERT STS.
BALTIMORE 3, MD.

give up my begging tour for SRC. I'm simply no good on the "touch act".

My trip to Chicago is on company expense, of course. I'll make every effort to see Mr. Field using the avenues you have suggested. Unfortunately I'll be in Chicago only three days and then return to Richmond.

Send me Charlie Gilman's address. Father Higgins advises to have Gilman write Dave McDonald of Steel inaugurating the story of SRC and that he (F. Higgins) will take the matter up with Dave at the Cleveland CIO convention in October. If necessary

(over)

MEYER HOTELS

GOVERNOR CLINTON, NEW YORK • THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD. • THE PATRICK HENRY, ROANOKE, VA.
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Higgins will make a date with Dore for me. Higgins says it would be folly to try to see Dore during the present steel controversy, and suggests the plan I have worked out above. Don't talk to Gilman until after I send you a copy of my letter to him. Simply send Charlie's address.

I left copies of my speech and introduction to Mr. R. with Hal Fleming. If he can't locate the copies let me know and I'll send my copies when I return home.

Please send promptly by first class mail to Mr. Charles McCormick, Chairman of the Board, McCormick & Co., Baltimore Md. the following pamphlets: Vance's, Health in the So., Ed. in the South, Raper's, Housing in the So., the Jacksonville survey story (pamphet illustrated – not the big mimeographed study). Do not send anything

O. G. CLEMENTS
MANAGER

THE EMERSON

A MEYER HOTEL

BALTIMORE & CALVERT STS.
BALTIMORE 3, MD.

on Civil Rts., or Race in the News, or the Negro in the economy of the So. In your accompanying letter simply say that at my advice you are sending typical studies on the South done in popular style and that the pamphlets are widely used in colleges and universities throughout the South and by study groups.

Please don't mention McCormick's viewpoints to anyone; nor Fr. Cronin's and Fr. Higgins's help. I'll explain why when we meet if, indeed, it is already not obvious to you.

(over)

MEYER HOTELS

GOVERNOR CLINTON, NEW YORK • THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD. • THE PATRICK HENRY, ROANOKE, VA.
THE SIR WALTER, RALEIGH, N. C. • THE HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN. • THE FARRAGUT, KNOXVILLE, TENN.
THE WINDSOR, JACKSONVILLE, FLA. • THE ROOSEVELT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

Please make the date with Spaulding for Nov. 7, rather than the 8th. I don't want to miss a minute of our annual meeting.

The dates of our annual meeting are 8th & 9th aren't they? Please check and let me know.

Best always.

Sincerely,
Paul

~~P.S. I'll be at the Drake Hotel, Chicago, in case you want to reach me.~~
P.

P.S. Write me care of Richmond.
P.

39- Williams, Paul

September 28, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The October 3 issue of Time, out tomorrow, carries on pages 55 and 56 a good story about Race in the News. We are told that Newsweek carries one too, but haven't seen it.

A lucky check for $250 from James L. Coker of Hartsville, South Carolina, will get us over this week's payroll hump. For October 15 I think I am going to be dependent on what your good offices will have effected.

General Johnson was in Atlanta today to make a speech to the Chamber of Commerce. I attended the luncheon and heard his good speech. He waved at me from the rostrum. He was flanked by his various Chicopee Mills people. His luncheon partners on either side were not unfriendly to the Council, so I half hope that he will reach a decision today. I have further hoped that he will call me to their conclave and announce good news, ~~but~~ the telephone bell has not rung that way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

39-Williams, Paul D.

September 29, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Charlie Gillman's home address is: 82 Roseclaire Drive, SE, Atlanta.

That's fine about Mr. McCormick. We will greatly hope.

I sent him the attached today.

Fleming had the introduction. Sorry I bothered you.

The annual membership meeting is on November 9, which is Wednesday. If we go by last year's precedent, we would have the Board meeting on the following day, November 10. There is some thought that our problems are so complicated the Board should have a meeting on the 8th, to sift things for the membership. What do you think? I suppose it really turns on money. If we are going to be in fair shape, then we can do as we did last year. But if we are shaky, it would be a pity to have the membership meeting make decisions unassisted by the careful consideration of the Board.

In any case, I will try to confirm the already tentatively made date for you to see Mr. Spaulding on Monday, November 7.

Race in the News still promises to run like wildfire. Both the Time story and the Newsweek story are fine.

Odum sent in his $250 this morning.

Byrd is settling into a job of work.

I have offered Mrs. Tilly continuance as in charge of the women's program. That is quite important. If I carried through with the Executive Committee's arrangement and separated her, it would have many unfortunate consequences. I have, however, most reluctantly told Mrs. Havens that unless we get money by October 20, we can't continue to pay her. That's particularly dismal because she is now at the great San Francisco Episcopal convention, where she can do us good.

Howsomever, with your good news, and with other bits here and there, I begin to feel more cheerful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

gsm/t

P.S. Bill Howland, of **Time** here, tells me that he will be seeing Henry Luce next week and will speak kindly to Mr. Luce of our Council.
GSM

39- Williams Paul D.

September 30, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You will probably be wiser to use Charlie Gillman's office address. They have just moved to: 72 Fairlie Street, Northwest, Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

39- Williams, Paul D.

October 6, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the 'phone conversation today.

We will change our plans and Byrd will arrive alone, by train, in Richmond Monday morning, October 10. He will call you and try to get some of your time that morning. I will go on to Washington (more slowly by car) and pick Byrd up in Richmond on Wednesday or Thursday, and come back through the Chapel Hill area.

I have had an hour or so with Fred McCuistion of GEB just now and he raised the corner of a chance that we could get a sort of emergency grant of about $5,000. The office will be in a flurry tomorrow preparing the budget letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

39- Williams, Paul D

October 7, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Somebody sends me the New Leader, which ordinarily is not just to my liking. But here is a good and interesting article by Mrs. Luce.

I wrote my friend Horace Cayton about RACE IN THE NEWS and he put in his column about me instead of about the booklet. We are dickering with Charles Johnson for a way to get him to send this out to quite a mailing list with a request for funds for the Council. Dr. Johnson has agreed by 'phone.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosures

39- Williams, Paul

October 17, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Mr. Byrd and I saw Dr. Alexander on last Friday. He had not been successful in such efforts as he had made in New York, but is going back there this week and expects to be in Chicago shortly, and will continue to be effortful.

He got out his address book and gave us the addresses of two of the Rosenwald daughters. All of the daughters have been besought for aid from various organizations long carried by the Rosenwald Fund. I showed some pride that we had not so besought them, but Dr. Alexander seemed to feel that we would not be in bad company and that the trial would be worth it.

His suggestion: that you send a letter recounting fairly briefly the Council's influence and mentioning particularly the work on improving the press through RACE IN THE NEWS. Two letters should go: one to Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, Alverthorpe Gallery, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, and the other to Mrs. David Leavy, 300 Park Avenue, New York. Slightly different letters, but quite all right to send letters to both.

Now, further, Mr. and Mrs. Leavy, I am informed, would be quite exceptionally influenced by word from Mrs. Roosevelt that she felt an interest in the Southern Regional Council. Can you arrange such a letter from Mrs. Roosevelt to Mrs. Leavy? Mrs. Roosevelt's address is: Apartment 15-A, 29 Washington Square, West, New York 11.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
cc: Mr. Byrd

39 - Williams, Paul

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Nov. 17, 1949

Dear George,

Please see enclosed concerning a ray of hope from Johnson & Johnson. I'll get my friends working on Bob Dixon again. I'll keep you informed. I've already written Fr. Higgins & Harry Read of CDO.

Enclosed is one of my telephone contributions. I have answered the letter. You can put Mr. O'Neill on our mailing list. I will push ahead on the other pledges I had over the phone. They will all come three okay.

Monday I am going to Washington to follow through on a couple of prospects, including Mrs. Eugene Meyer. Roper is going to make this appointment for me. I'll be in Washington Monday Tuesday and Wednesday until noon and can be reached at Hotel 2400.

Please send air mail 10 of the Time & Newsweek Reprints on Race in the News care of Hotel 2400. Send 10 Race in the News to my home address.

That was a swell piece in Sundays N.Y. Times. It would be fine to have some reports

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

made for our campaigns, especially as we endeavor to get reliable contributions.

Write me when you can.

Sincerely,
Paul

P.S. Please return enclosures.
P.

P.S. It would be grand to have a copy of the Sunday's N.Y. Times for me to send Dixson. If copy is available please send to Work. I need my copy to show Mrs. Myer.
P.

39- Williams, Paul

December 2, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3022 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is a letter from Virginius Dabney. I take it that means he is quite ready to send out the Virginia letter. Do please push them through.

I hate to rest so many troubles on you, but they have to be shared. We had $88.00 in the bank this morning, today is pay day, and the payroll is somewhere around $900.00. We found $40.00 we could deposit; and I took out of my bank the money I was going to use to pay taxes on my house - $200.00. That let us pay the most needed persons, but did not reach the higher salaried ones. The other $400.00 that your friends are to send in will go a long way to relieve this little hump. I don't urge you to embarrass them, but I simply report that we are in the shape we are in.

We are making stabs about here and there: Mrs. Ascoli again, a man in Nashville, Tennessee, etc. We did take up $50.00 from the colored Baptist Convention of Alabama in Dothan, and with what Bishop Waters and what Guilford College gave me for North Carolina talks, we earned another $35.00 in lecture fees. Mr. Byrd is making good plans and is following through on things, but it is sometime yet before money will come.

Mrs. McKoy is still sick but hopes to be back at work next week.

How did you come out with Mrs. Meyer?

The Board Meeting called for a meeting of the Executive Committee early in January. When do you want it? I have already given away January 10, and January 15-21. The meeting ought to be as early in January as practical.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

PW

December 28, 1949

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I was cheered in our telephone conversation to learn that some part of the four hundred dollars was in your hands and that you were sending it on down.

We confront the pay roll at the end of this week and the treasury contains something undera hundred dollars. So, we await with some eagerness whatever checks may have reached you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

PW

January 3, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for the letter and checks.

Fleming has your note and will act on it.

I sent the pamphlets on to Mr. O'Conner, sent no letter with them. We have made him an associate member.

You are quoted in John Popham's, New York Times, story, Saturday December 31 on page 13. You said, "delay, procrastination and timidity will not solve it any more than will violence, bitterness and conflict."

We got everybody paid but me and Mrs. McKoy. If you scrape up any more, please send it on down pronto!

The next big hurdle is that at the end of this month, we will owe withholding tax of six hundred dollars, and it will be due.

I expect Byrd in tomorrow with some news.

Mrs. Roosevelt promised to send us a check when she could get her income tax figured and said she would hope it could be as much as five hundred dollars.

I am to be in Norfolk January 10, talking to the Interracial Committee there, address c/o of Mrs. Arnold F. Straus, Algonquin Park, Norfolk, Virginia. I expect to come to Richmond January 11, but am no sure I can make it. If I come, I will, of course, call you up.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Office of the President
3320 Gloucester Road Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Hal,

Thanks for your note. Do you have an extra copy of the talk I gave in Atlanta which you transcribed so well. I want to touch it up before it appears in print. I have misplaced the copy you sent earlier.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely
Paul

P.S. I will be in Chicago at the Drake Hotel Jan 2 & 3; in Cleveland at the Hollenden Hotel Jan 5.

P.

Williams

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

(Old Fund Raising)

Wash. D.C.
Jan 10, 1950

Dear George,

Good news. Enclosed is a check for $1000 from Cardinal Spellman which reached me over the week-end. It represents an outcome of a meeting I had with the Cardinal in N.Y. ~~two~~ two weeks before Christmas. It is a contribution from the Catholic Missionary Union. Don't give any publicity to this except in our inner circle.

I'm leaving by plane today for Pittsburgh to ~~[illegible]~~ try for new money for the SRC.

Sorry to miss you if you went to Richmond after your Norfolk talk.

Best

Paul

C

January 10, 1950

Mr. Douglass Cater
The Reporter
220 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Doug:

Trust you are back at your editorial duties with renewed vigor now that the New Southern Wind has blown on you. I've discussed the hoped-for Southern issue with George Mitchell and pass on herewith such ideas as we have.

The theme of the issue probably ought to be the South in transition from an out-dated colonial economy toward national integration. Agriculture is moving away from the export staple crops toward the higher valued specialty crops and dairy products -- stuff that can actually be consumed in the South as well as shipped out. Industry -- though still Northern-owned to a considerable degree -- is gearing itself to supply Southern markets. In textiles, for example, fifteen years ago practically all that was produced was coarse, unfinished stuff, sent north for finishing and marketing; now that is being done in the South. Unionization is having its effect, too, on wages, working conditions, and to some extent race relations.

The thing to show about all this, of course, is its effect on the Southern people. Despite all the new wind a-blowing, we're still plagued by all sorts of hangovers from the older feudal days -- chiefly evident in race relations and government.

How to show the effects on the people? It occurred to us that one way would be a series of short, punchy profiles. Maybe too much of that would be monotonous, but anyway it's an idea. And I don't know any better way to bring out the general through the particular, especially when there's so much to bring out. Here are some general suggestions for interviews that would cover the major areas of the region and their changes pretty well:

Mountain. See what's happened to a typical mountain family in a valley redevelopment area. One good such area lies to the north of Franklin, N. C.

Piedmont. Industrial workers, one white, one Negro (could bring in the unions here); maybe a Southern industrialist, preferably one who inherited the trade from his father and has been in on the changes; probably the "new politician" we talked about would come from the Piedmont, could be a young, forward-looking member of a state legislature, you know, instead of Congress.

Plantation Belt. A big landowner who has switched from the traditional staple, share-cropping type of farming to mechanization, dairy farming, or beef cattle; a colored ex-tenant who has become an owner (most have done it with the help of the Farm Security Administration).

Coastal. A turpentine hand, who will demonstrate that things are still pretty primitive there; somebody in the chemical or paper industry -- maybe some place like Panama City, Fla.

As for the writing, here are a few possibilities which you can probably supplement from your own list of stringers:

Arthur Raper - Now with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, has lived with Southern agriculture for the past fifteen years or so and knows it inside out. Has authored several books, best known: Tenants of the Almighty.

Jonathan Daniel - You know him. Editor, Raleigh News and Observer. Author. Would be good for an over-all piece.

Henry Lesesne - I think this guy can write. You've probably seen some of his stuff in the Herald-Trib and Christian Science Monitor. Don't know if he's done any mag writing. Why not try him out some time? Address: 2512 Glenwood Road, Columbia 4, S. C.

Calvin Kytle - You've got him. C/o Calhoun Times, Calhoun, Ga.

Tom Sancton - Is he still on New Republic? If so, guess he's out. If not, it should be worth your while to track him down; he knows the South and can write.

Alex Heard - This guy (a Georgian) wrote most of V. O. Key's Southern Politics. Now doing work toward a PhD in political science at Columbia, lately at University of Alabama's Bureau of Public Administration.

Ben Rainey - In case you haven't heard of him, a long-standing liberal battler here who teaches English at Georgia Tech. Has written some articles. Could do a trenchant profile.

H. C. Nixon - A professor of, I think, political science at Vanderbilt. Has authored several books. A witty guy with plenty of information.

This can serve at least as a first installment on the help I promised you. Let me know as you find out what more you need. I hope you can swing the deal, Doug, and come haunt the South for a few weeks. If you do, we'd love to have you make the Council your headquarters.

Meanwhile, I await eagerly the Potato-Sack piece.

All the best,

P.S. - How're things in Nashville?

P.P.S. - Enclosed are a couple of clips that might help if you haven't finished grinding out your article. Did you know about the Talmadge thing?

PW

January 12, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

It was a case of De Profundis.

The appreciation measures the former misery.

I look forward to the first opportunity to thank you in person.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

FW

January 25, 1950

Mr. Paul Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

We are delighted!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

PW

January 25, 1950
Dictated January 23

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

In Mrs. Tilly's recent ten day trip by air to Palestine and back, she had the opportunity to talk with Channing Tobias about our needs. We had a letter from him on January 16 saying that the appropriate part of their Board had voted us an emergency grant of $1,000.00. There will be some formality with the Executive Committee, but Mr. Tobias has written us that our prospects are good for our receiving that amount.

Cardinal Spellman's most magnificent gift, plus this prospect, will carry us through January in fair order - but only just, as we must pay $530.00 withholding tax January 31.

We keep on growing in usefulness. Our literature sells much better. Our ideas are gaining rapidly.

Byrd is away and won't be back until tomorrow, but I rather think he has some good prospects now.

We look forward to having you here at the Executive Committee meeting. Can you get here in time to get off at Emory and let me take you home to breakfast? Suit your real convenience, but I cherish that opportunity to talk with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Williams

February 9, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I came across a remarkably fine memorandum by Mr. Ernest E. Neal, Director of the Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute, on Low-Income Negro Farm Families and Economic Stability in the Cotton South. This was read December 15, 1949 before the sub-committee on low-income families of the joint committee on the economic report.

I have only one copy but I have asked Mr. Neal to send one to you.

You will remember that he was being considered as one to appear at the Catholic Education Conference in New Orleans in April.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Williams

February 14, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You will be interested to know that your Hotel 2400 will be host to a meeting February 23-24 of the third annual conference on civil liberties. This will be the meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House of which one of the Council's Fellows, Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell of Howard University is secretary.

It will, of course, be an interracial gathering.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

39- Williams, Paul D.

n pt

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY

TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS

2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

CATHOLIC DEPARTMENT

EMMITT M. O'CONNOR
VICE PRESIDENT

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
VICE PRESIDENT

April 10, 1950

Dear George,

See enclosed from Guy Johnson. Saw V. Dohrey this week and he will do his best to get us something. Also Bell Ellerson.

Our meeting in N.O. is at the Main Auditorium of the Municipal Bldg., scheduled for 9:30 a.m. Friday April 14. I'll be at the Jung Hotel so call me on arrival and come up to my room for a shower.

Best.

Sincerely,
Paul

P.S. I am enclosing expense items, if funds on hand permit. Wouldn't do so except that I plan to go to N.Y. after N.O. to try to raise some funds for S.R.C.

AN
HAS

SRC - Bd. of Directors
(P.B. Young)

April 18, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Mentzer-Bush Publishing Company
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We were disturbed, as I know you were, to receive a copy of P. B. Young's letter to you of April 12. It is an incredible blunder on his part, but one for which we must necessarily feel sorry.

I don't know what you have done about it or plan to do about it. If you have not already written him, however, here are a few things which have occurred to George Mitchell and me as worthy of mention in any letter you might send.

a. We haven't any idea of what he means by his reference to a "full list" of directors from which his name was excluded. His name has been included in every list of the Board -- in whole or in part -- which we have put in print. The only thing we could think of was the reprint from the New York Times, which, as you see, does not purport to contain a complete list of our Board of Directors at all.

b. The charge that we are out to injure the Negro press is, as you know, absurd. Nothing in Race in the News can reasonably be construed that way. It is true that one case is cited of a white newspaper's undertaking to rival the influence of an Eastern newspaper circulating in the area. This is reported merely as an illustration of one of the attitudes found in white Southern newspapers.

c. You may recall that the Southern Regional Council issued a pamphlet entitled The Negro Press, consisting virtually completely of utterances by Mr. P. B. Young himself -- and highly laudatory in tone. If we had any animosity toward the Negro press, inherited or otherwise, we should not have been likely to publish this on our own initiative.

d. As many people on Negro newspapers, including the Norfolk Journal and Guide, will testify, we have always cooperated in every possible way with them. We have supplied them with all our releases, as well as special information requested. We have invited Negro newsmen to

be present at all news conferences and to publish materials arranged by the Council. And we have had the hearty cooperation of Negro editors on our programs and in our other activities.

e. Race in the News and its effect on the white Southern press have been generously praised by persons deeply interested in the welfare of the Negro press. Channing Tobias, you will remember, described the booklet as one of the most important contributions to race relations in recent years. Mr. C. A. Scott, who heads the only Negro daily in this nation, has been warmly enthusiastic, and the booklet has been praised editorially by such uncompromising Negro newspapers as the Chicago Defender.

Mr. Young has embarrassed both himself and us, and I know that the matter will have to be handled privately and delicately by you. I hope some of the points made above will be useful.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

P.S. In case you do not have the publications cited above, I am sending you copies by regular mail, first class.

HCF:er

Fri 4/24/50

Dr Mitchell -

Harold has read this & would like to talk with you before you write him -

B -

Journal and Guide

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
NORFOLK 1, VA.

APR 14 1950
Southern Regional Counc

April 12, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams: I received your telegram and also your letter dated April 3 regarding the executive committee meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

Looking over a piece of literature sent out during the past several months by the Council I have noted that my name does not appear as a director. The last piece of literature I received contained a full list of the directors and officers but my name was not included. I recall resigning as a vice-president but I stated, I think, that I would continue to serve as a member of the Board. Evidently I was dropped altogether.

I have not contributed this year or last to the Council because I have been conscious of a movement by the Council to cripple or injure the Negro press. The pamphlet gotten up and distributed to all the newspapers in the South recently pointed out how the white press could make the Negro press unnecessary. It went so far as to relate that in one case one white daily newspaper had "succeeded in keeping out of its territory a Negro newspaper."

It appears that the purpose behind this is to remove from the scene the Negro press, which does not always deal with race relations in the manner approved by many southern white people.

The Negro press itself has worked diligently during the past twenty-five years to have the white press dignify the Negro in the news; to print the word "Negro" with an upper-case "N", and to apply a liberal and humane editorial policy in connection with race problems. The Negro press has also undertaken to persuade the white press to print something about Negroes besides crime.

Knowing, however, that the only field the

COPY

Negro press has, in view of present southern sentiment, is its Negro readers and their purchasing power, the Negro press has not thought to liquidate itself by having the white press to go in for covering its field in all its details. But that is exactly what the Southern Regional Council is attempting to do. It is attempting to make the Negro press - unnecessary. Three weeks after its recent letter and pamphlet were distributed the Winston-Salem papers hired from under us our North Carolina Edition editor.

The idea is not exactly original with the Southern Regional Council, but was inherited from the old Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Back in the early 1940's an official of that organization issued a strong statement denouncing the Negro press and asking white editors in the South to go in for Negro news in such a way as to cut the ground out from under the Negro press entirely. This was done opening, publicly and without compunction.

I don't think I can afford to spend my money to assist in the liquidation of my business.

This has nothing to do with my attitude toward the attitudes of the white press because I have done as much as any person in the country to modify and to humanize the attitude of the white press in its relations to the Negro question and to a decent handling of Negro news.

There is a difference, however, in going in for doing this with the view of eliminating the Negro press and doing it with the view of humanizing the white press.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

/s/ P. B. Young
P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Williams

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 22, 1950

Dear George,

I think we had a good meeting Saturday. When the history of the S.R.C. is written those present at Saturday's meeting should be given due credit for refusing to let the Council die.

Your appraisal was the finest yet given by anyone on what our aims should be once we can overcome our present strain.

Enclosed is a check for $100 from Julian Reiss. From his letter and my knowledge of him I think we can be will come through with another $100 before the end of the year. Don't bother to acknowledge his letter but I suggest you make him a member so he will automatically get all literature.

done

I hope you got off the letter to Weaver. It is important that the letter Mrs. Tilly wrote Carey be included in my letter to Weaver. Let me know about developments.

done BR

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

As soon as you learn about the whereabouts of Strauss on his return around May 1 I hope you will push Guy and Odum to get busy at once. Let me know too and I'll push the thing from this end. If necessary, I'll offer to go with Odum to see Strauss. We must not let this big opportunity pass us.

I'll keep in touch with Roper and Smith regarding the Paul Mellon thing.

Tomorrow I go to the hospital for 2 days for tests and xrays. I'll be in Richmond all the week.

It is important that we push everybody towards action so we can make the collections agreed on at at meeting before June 1.

Had a grand time at your house before my train left.

Best.

Sincerely,
Paul

Williams

February 27, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Somebody paid for me to go to Chicago on a queer movie business about ten days ago, and that let me go to see Marshall Field. Various people's work with him had brought him to the point that he wanted to help us and he pretty much told me that they would find $2,500 from an emergency fund and might be able to find the other $2,500 later on. I had been back only a few days when here came the check for $2,500. I have thanked the Field Foundation for that and put in a pretty strong hint as to the other $2,500.

That check enabled us to pay the printer some $800.00 and to wipe out nearly all our small debts. So, we are feeling better.

The hundred dollar letter has as yet brought spare but most welcome results. I believe we have had about $375.00 from it thus far, maybe a bit more. Dr. Clement thought it would bring in fifteen hundred dollars, but I doubt it. Anyway, what is in hand from it will enable us to get through tomorrow's payroll.

Byrd writes gloomily from Texas. All the rich people are Dixiecrats.

The Rich Foundation did not turn us down but is seeking some way to ease a gift to us. They meet again March 7. I have fairly well grounded expectations that they will give us five thousand dollars--probably anonymously.

Race in the News is now out to the county weeklies in all southern states except Florida, Louisiana and Arkansas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Paul Williams

Paul D. Williams

April 25, 1950

Dear Mr. Williams,

It has occurred to me that you asked for a copy of Mrs. Tilly's letter to Mr. Carey. Herewith.

A copy of it was sent along with your letter to Mr. Weaver; also the pamphlets that you suggested.

Here is your letter from Mr. Reiss, back.

We had $100 checks today from three sources, one of Mr. Haas' contacts, from Mr. Mynders, and from the Catholic Committee of the South. Plus some smaller amounts. Three cheers.

Hope your two days in the hospital aren't/weren't too uncomfortable.

Sincerely,

Beth Rogers

Paul Williams

MEMORANDUM

April 27, 1950

TO: GSM

RE: Paul Williams' effort

Paul undertook to request of Cardinal Stritch another $1,000, and felt we might put him down conservatively for $500.

Paul Christopher and Charles Gilman wrote George Weaver asking him to press Philip Murray for $1,000 from the General Fund. Weaver was confident he could get the thousand.

Dave McDonald of the Steelworkers promised Paul $1000.

Paul obtained $200 from Miller and Rhoads.

Irving May of Talheimer's promised $100 through Virginius Dabney.

Paul said April 22 that he had lately called personal friends and had personal pledges of $500.

Paul expected Charles McCormack of Baltimore to give us $200 ~~xxxx~~ again. ~~thousandxxxxxxdingx~~

Paul state again that he believed Archbishop Rummel would give us $500.

Dave McDonald had told Paul about the Sidney Hillman Foundation. Said he would help on that. George Mitchell was delegated to see Potofsky.

When in Washington, Paul had talked with Charles Smith and Arthur Raper about the Paul Mellon Foundation. Smith and Raper called in Dr. Mordecai Johnson, who said he would meet with Oscar Ewing and hoped that Brooks Hays would join the group, and Johnson and Raper and Smith could do the job.

Williams -

May 17, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Mrs. Tilly is to be in Richmond for a mid-day talk June 5 to the American Christian Palestine Committee. Hotel reservation that night at hotel thus far unknown -- in Richmond. Local Richmond head person unknown. Arrangements made through New York.

She will be free to go with you to Washington late the 5th or during the 6th.

Let us know your wishes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Later info: Mrs. Tilly will stay at the Richmond Hotel. Local contact person, Mrs. Claire Salten.

GSM

GSM:er

Williams, Paul

June 6, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Just after the Supreme Court decisions came out, the AP called us for a comment. I called your home but got a D.A. I consulted Josephine. She likes this statement, which I did release, though she thought perhaps it went somewhat beyond any position the Council had previously taken. I thought it a proper position, and put it out.

We do earnestly hope you can be here for the tenth. Charles Johnson's coming is no more certain than usual.

We have had no check from Cardinal Stritch. I assume it must have reached you by now. How very kind it is of him and of you.

I am told there is prospect of a check from the Textile Workers Union of America - C.I.O.

Here is Cardinal Stritch's letter back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er
Encls.

HOTEL Statler NEW YORK
(Formerly Hotel Pennsylvania)

Richmond, Va.
June 4, 1950

Dear George,

Just returned from N.Y. yesterday, after 3 weeks away from home, to receive your message saying you want me to go with Mrs. Tilly Tuesday to Wash. on a begging mission. Will phone her tomorrow and go hgts see her and will arrange to accompany her to Wash.

— It is possible that I won't be able to make the ex. com. meeting on the 10th in Atlanta because of the trip to Wash. which will probably take the best of two days. But, I'll do my best. If Dr. Chas. Johnson is sure to be on hand maybe you won't need me. Please advise by writing my home address.

Please note enclosed letter from Cardinal Stritch. I wrote him a nudging letter and this is his answer. I haven't rec'd any check — have you? Please tell me so I can write him again.

There are a few other things I want to take up with you and will write you again this week.

Best always.

Sincerely,
Paul

P.S. Glad Mr. McDonald's check came through.

RECEIVED JUN 5 1950

Williams, Paul

N H V
~~GSM~~
Ret to GSM

June 21, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I talked by phone with Fleming in New York and heard also from him of the probability of the Rock Hill money coming through. As I understand the technicality, it is this. Among the customary contributors to the NCCJ is a Mr. Lowenstein, who has big textile interests in the Rock Hill vicinity. If Mr. Lowenstein's contribution can be steered by the NCCJ into the direct local support of the Rock Hill survey, 'twill be. But if it cannot be, then the NCCJ will itself put up the five hundred. That's all perfectly satisfactory. And we are of course just delighted that you found that new resource.

I saw Leonard Haas today, and he and I are to get together and prepare the letter you wish to send to the NCCJ asking for a goodly sum to the Council.

The staff here provided the Flemings with a handsomish reading lamp as a wedding gift. Done before they left.

No news as yet from TWUA.

I tried to call on Straus last week, but reached his vicinity at a time when his secretary told me the death just a day or two before of a baby granddaughter made it ungracious for me to reach him. I will keep trying.

We will be looking for word from Cardinal Stritch. His check will buoy us a lot.

I am driving toward Washington the end of this month and may get to see you at Lewisetta.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

NH
GS
GSM

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]
OFFICE OF [redacted]RESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Florietta, Va.
June 19, 1950

Dear George,

Enclosed is the recent letter I wrote N.C.C.J. Also attached is the wire Hal sent me today assuring us of $500 for the Rock Hill survey. He and Jane will tell you the complete story.

I am sorry I didn't think of asking the Ex. Com. to consider some kind of wedding present for Hal and Jane from the S.R.C. despite our meagre budget. They have performed loyal and distinguished services and interrupted their bridal trip to attend the N.C.C.J. meeting. If anything can be done I'd appreciate it. I'd also contribute personally towards a gift, although I sent Hal $10 as a personal wedding gift. It would be nice to have a remembrance from the Council when the Flemings' return to Atlanta.

Hear anything from the Textiles Union? I know you will pursue the Strauss prospect when the opportunity is ripe. I wrote Paul Sifton who is trying to get us $1000 from the Auto Workers. I'm writing Card. Stitch again.

(over)

In July I'll go to see Irving about the Paul Mellon Foundation and take Dr. M. Johnson and Dr. Piper along. In August, sometime, I can arrange to see the Pres. of Hiram Walker; also see the Pillsbury Foundation people in N.Y. Please urge Mrs. Tilly to pursue the several prospects we uncovered in Wash. and she agreed to follow up.

I'll be in Lewisetta, Va. until after July 4.

Write me.

Best always.

Sincerely,
Paul

P.S. I'll see N.C.C.J. about giving at least $1000 to our general budget as soon as possible. Mr. Hoas agreed to write me a letter which I need to pursue this. You can mention this to him when you see him. He can write the letter to my Richmond address and it will be forwarded promptly.

P.

Williams

June 22, 1950

Mr. Paul Williams
Lewisetta, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is the Tuskegee speech I made. We had it set up in type for June New South, but for reasons of space we could run only snippets of it. I thought you might be willing to read through the whole thing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er
Encl.

July 12, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You were going to dig out for us the name of a Negro contractor in New Orleans lately written up in Fortune magazine.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

NH: Extra copy for you if you want - Williams, Paul D.
otherwise, may be destroyed

August 16, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I had the fiscal jitters late in July and wrote you about them. Then as a P.S. I was able to say, I believe, that the Methodists had sent in a thousand dollars. That carried us neatly past July 31 and August 15.

Now I have the jitters again about August 31.

I have written out yesterday to Grace Hamilton and Forrester Washington and Josephine Wilkins and Carter Wesley and Harry Richardson and one or two others who had pledged us sums and not yet paid, and asked them to try to get their amounts in before August 31. That was pretty severe, but I had to do something.

If you have not yet exhausted all remedies toward causing Cardinal Stritch's Chancery to amend its lapse, do please try that again.

I have tried to run through my memory the other things you have cooking. Bob Dixon, McCormick, the Amalgamated (Hillman Fund), the $800 of the "Virginia effort," and the Mellon Fund. Can you speed any of these?

Will Alexander writes me that he will be willing to come down for several days early in September and help us make lists of people to go after.

I am preparing quite a memorandum for Charles Johnson and the John Hay Whitney Fund.

I have approached the Southern Presbyterians for a grant. They have had a reorganization and better people are running things. No news till November, though.

Quite apart from money, tell us some news of you.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell

September 5, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I assume the National Catholic Educational Association will have sent you a copy of their August, 1950 report of the Proceedings of the New Orleans convention last April.

On pages 477 and 478 it carries what purports to be a resume of the map speech.

That is a very difficult speech to summarize, and I have never seen it well reported but once or twice (one of those times in the Journal and Guide). So I sympathize with the summarizer's difficulties. But it makes the (understandable) error of turning allegory into history and then, for difficulties of acoustics or speed in notation, fails to get even the allegory right. So I am reported as saying some things which I don't believe and which were not in the speech. Many spots are really pretty bad.

I would like to make, pro forma at least, a record of dissent. I thought perhaps this letter to you would suffice. If in your judgment I should lodge courteous correction with some suitable official of the association, let me know and I will do that, or nothing as you advise.

You know that I greatly enjoyed that meeting and have no doubt that what I really said was true and was helpful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GS S M:er Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

September 11, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of September 7. I was out all last week.

Fleming sent Hunton right away the full copy of New South and said the Interracial Review is welcome to any or all of it.

The annual meeting will be Wednesday, November 8.

We set the Executive Committee meeting for Saturday, October 7, 10 A.M. It was a hard choice. As it fell out, it was almost entirely the white members who could come that day. But we have written the others and asked them to try their very hardest to get here for the 7th. Clement and Trigg and Wheeler were good for the 26th but not for the 7th.

We got everybody but me paid August 31. Dues money and other scrapings come in more generously in September than any other time of the year, I suppose, and we are taking in thirty or fifty dollars a day that way. Still, we will be far short of enough to pay out the next thousand September 15. Thus we will be hoping the more for success with Cardinal Stritch's check. Many thanks for writing about it again.

We will hope later on for sustainment out of your letters to General Johnson, Mr. McCormick, and others.

Should I not along about now put in an application to the Hillman Foundation for help for 1951? Or what do you think? I am still hoping with you that they will help us this year.

Please tell Father Flaherty I am honored to be invited to talk for his group on the afternoon of Friday, October 27, and will be on hand with much pleasure.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN

OFFICE OF T RESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 7, 1950

RECEIVED
SEP 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Please see the enclosed telegram. I wired Mr. Hunton saying we would gladly give him permission to reprint the article in the Interracial Review. You will note that he would like to have the complete text. Will you send it on to him.

The September 26 date is impossible* for me to make but I can make the executive committee meeting on October 7. Let me know what you decide to do on this. * Have an engagement in Chicago.

Recently I have seen several influential people and I am writing others to help the Council. I hope something comes of my efforts. I also hope we may hear something favorably from Archbishop Stritch concerning a recent letter which I have written him. It appears that my last letter reached Chicago when the Cardinal was in Rome and it may have been buried in his correspondence. Perhaps my fresh letter may produce results. I have also written General Johnson and Mr. ~~McCarthy~~. McCormick I am working on the Hillman Foundation and hope to give you a report of progress on this in the near future.

What is the date of our annual meeting?

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

P. S. Father Flaherty, Superintendent of Schools in the Richmond diocese phoned me yesterday to see if I could obtain your services to give your map talk at his Teachers Institute scheduled for Richmond on October 26 and 27. He would like to have you as a principal speaker on the afternoon of Friday, October 27. Can you make it? He will pay all your expenses - that is certain and I think it is possible that he could offer you $25.00 in addition. PDW:

September 7, 1950

Mr. George Hunton
Interracial Review
20 Vesey St.,
New York, New York

Dear George:

I got your telegram and sent you an answer last evening. I am sending a copy of your wire to George Mitchell and have asked him to send you all pertinent information. I trust you will hear from him in the near future.

It was grand having an unexpected reunion in Boston with you recently. Hope to see you on my next trip to New York.

If you have a half dozen extra copies of the Review in which my article appeared I wishe you could send them on.

What are the dates for the dinner in New York and the Hoey Award affair?

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

AIR MAIL

September 8, 1950

Mr. George Hunton
Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hunton:

We are glad to send you the enclosed copy of New South containing the report on Negro membership in Southern professional associations. The Interracial Review is welcome to use, in whole or in part, the table on page 1 and the article beginning on page 2.

Do not hesitate to let me know any time we can be of service to you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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LC = Deferred Cable
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RE93

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

1958 SEP 5 PM 2 05

R.NB385 NL PD=NEWYORK NY 5=

PAUL D WILLIAMS=

3320 GLOUCESTER RD RICH=

MAY WE HAVE PUBLICATION SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCILS SURVEY ON NEGRO VOCATIONS SUPPOSE IT WOULD HAVE TO BE CONDENSED IF YOU GIVE PERMISSION WILL YOU ALSO SEND COMPLETE TEXT PRESUME WE WOULD USE ABOUT 1500 WORDS PLEASE ADVISE WESTERN UNION COLLECT=

GEORGE K HUNTON INTERRACIAL REVIEW=

Re 43241	PDW
By PL 828A	To be PLD

1500=..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Sept. 16, 1950

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Dear George,

The enclosures speak for themselves. I am writing thanks to Cardinal Stritch and asking Mr. Luttell, whom I know personally, to remember us next year.*

Will be glad to see you Monday when you are in Richmond. Phone me when you arrive. We can have a good talk.

Sincerely,
Paul

* You need not write either.
P.

Williams

September 25, 1950

Inauguration Committee
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Gentlemen:

The Southern Regional Council will be represented at the inauguration of Mr. Daniel by its President, Paul D. Williams. His address is 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond, Virginia.

He understands that he is himself to provide academic costume, and will do so.

We are honored to have this opportunity of taking part in the inaugural ceremonies.

Sincerely,

S George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

CC: Paul D. Williams

September 25, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I got back somewhat weary last Saturday.

At Philadelphia the American Friends Service Committee had just achieved a check for a thousand dollars for us. It was a difficult precedent for them, as they did not like to take money given for Quaker causes and put it into another purse, but they did it, and the check is in the bank here in Atlanta -- or it was!

I was not able to see Clarence Pickett, but we have a letter from him, copy of which is attached. Do you wish to write him directly, or should I ask Dr. Will to? Dr. Will does not know him at all. I would think a letter from you directly would do as well as any.

I saw Stuart Meacham at the Sidney Hillman Foundation. They will reach a decision in a few days. He doesn't seem particularly hopeful for an emergency grant, but I still think all of your pressures could get it out of them.

I understand, partly through a letter from Charles Johnson, that the John Hay Whitney Fund at its meeting refused to create the precedent of aid from that fund to a going organization! but that Mr. Whitney was so much impressed with the material about the Council that he undertook to aid us with his wife privately. How much that would be we don't know, nor is it quite certain, but the minimum guess is $2,000, and the maximum could be well up.

I talked with somebody in the IUUWU and know what to do about making an application, and will apply.

I also talked with the William C. Whitney Foundation (Michael Straight) and will do the needful there.

I saw a lot of other leads, none very good.

This morning we had a check for $500.00 from the UAW. I had never formally applied, but a labor friend here, Ross Groshong, had worked on it some, and I believe you had already caused Reuther to know about us. Groshong thought it should have been a thousand, but we are glad to have the five hundred.

Dismally, a letter arrived this morning from Monsignor McNamara saying he is greatly disappointed that he can't get here for the October 7 meeting. We will have a tight time getting a quorum even for that date, but should go through with it, and I will do my best to pull in the five, six, or seven people.

We continue to be grateful for your strong and unselfish aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

P.S. I have notified Virginia State College at Petersburg that you will represent the Council. The date is October 14. You are to be in line by ten thirty that morning.

GSM:er
Encls.

Williams

October 6, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

This is just a brief reminder that you are to be the Council's representative at the inauguration of Mr. Daniel as President of Virginia State College at Petersburg on October 14, 10:30 A.M. You are supposed to bring your own academic regalia.

Sincerely,

Beth Rogers
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

39 - Williams, Paul
(10-11-50)

Cross-Reference:

SRC Statement re Ralph Bunche & Nobel Prize (for Fr. La Farge, Interracial Review) — See correspondence with Paul Williams (10-11-50) filed under:

American Jewish Cttee
(in Finance Files)

Williams

October 13, 1950

Miss Helen L. Thacker
5014 Devonshire Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Miss Thacker:

In the absence of Dr. Mitchell, I thanks you for your recent letter introducing yourself and will pass it on to him when he returns.

It takes several weeks to have the stationary orders filled. I am ordering some today and will have it sent directly to you. In the meantime, I send you the small supply which we had on hand.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:jwh

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October 9, 1950

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
432 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I should like to introduce myself at this time as being Helen Thacker. For some time now I have been doing stenographic work for Paul Williams.

My purpose for writing you at this time is to tell you that our stock of stationery is completely depleted. Would you be so kind as to send me a supply to my home address, 5014 Devonshire Road, Richmond, Virginia. Most of the work ~~done~~ for Mr. Williams is done here in my home, therefore I keep the stationery here.

Thanking you, I remain

Sincerely,

Helen L. Thacker

Helen L. Thacker

October 18, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

You will be pleased to hear that the foundation which previously put up the basic money for the Home Town Self Survey project at a meeting today granted us a thousand more for continuing that project. We have to match it with $1500.00 — by July 1, '51. But we can use Mrs. Ascoli's forthcoming $500.00 for part of it, and it ought to be possible to scrounge up the last thousand.

I have written Morris Abram.

A good man accepted the chairmanship of the Tennessee 50 for '51 campaign. I hope th t a good man in North Carolina will take it. Our North Carolina friends are off to a new start. They will convene a meeting of the North Carolina Division in November.

The Rock Hill survey is about to get started. I saw all the people there one day last week. Missed Father Shean, but talked with an assistant to him, Father Wall.

You should have seen me standing up in a gown preaching a sermon at Talladega College day before yesterday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Dictated October 17, 1950

October 31, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

As a committee to do the annual-meeting planning that the Executive Committee would have had to do, we picked Glenn Rainey, John Griffin, and Grace Hamilton. They met here one day last week with us. They got enthusiastic about an idea (mainly their own) of making the Board members and everyday members do nearly all the thinking and talking themselves. Here are the agendas which, on their ideas, the staff has worked out. They made the criticism, which I think is quite valid, that year after year we have brought to a table leadership people from over the South and dully reported to them. They are a great resource of policy and program, and we ought to tap them for that.

It makes a set of meetings entirely different from what we have done before, but I think well worth trying.

It relieves you of any speech at all on the day of the Board meeting (except that you are to urge the Board to use its division into groups to cast up for us policy and program).

We put you down for fifteen or twenty minutes near the beginning of the membership meeting November 8, hoping that you would proffer and invite policy. I think the ideas you outlined to Fleming fit admirably there, and Fleming will duly do his part toward getting them into neat compass. And I will add to the notes for you the business about two democracies.

I think that putting your talk further down into the meeting would destroy the sequence which the little committee so carefully planned of discussion sections, adjourning for lunch, and then coming back as a whole body. So unless you greatly prefer it, I will leave the agenda as is. But we can certainly change it to suit what you decide is best.

Mrs. Tilly brought us a few minutes ago fine news of a newly launched

Louisiana Division organized October 30. Seventy-five or eighty people present. More white than Negro, which is the reverse of the usual. Various of your New Orleans friends were active in getting it going. They chose Mrs. Cohn as temporary chairman of the State Division, but I think did that because of the absence at other meetings of the Dillard University people and most of the Jewish people. At a January meeting they will choose a permanent person. Mrs. Tilly also attended the meeting of the Arkansas Division, which is getting along all right. So now we are organized everywhere except in Oklahoma -- though there is still the queer situation in Virginia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

CC: Harold C. Fleming ✓

W - Paul Williams

HOTEL Statler NEW YORK
(Formerly Hotel Pennsylvania)

Dear Hal,

As usual I am asking you for help in the talk I will give at our annual meeting.

My talk will be a symbolic thing which may go over big or fall flat on its face. I'll take the gamble. One part of it deals with mirages that promise much to the South in the way of progress but fall short on delivery. The mirages I am listing are the following

1. States rights.
2. Education
3. Time - gradualism
4. "Leave us alone"
5. Brotherhood
6. Prudence

I will fill in the 5th & 6th points, but I'd like your help on the first four

(over)

points. I don't care for exhaustive treatment but just a paragraph or two on each point.

Can you send your stuff to me to arrive if possible by next Saturday. Send it airmail special delivery – to Richmond address. I'd like to finish my talk before leaving Richmond. I may arrive in Atlanta Monday in advance of the meeting.

Please ask George to put my talk, if possible, on the agenda just before the break for lunch.

Best always.

Sincerely,

Paul

W - Paul Williams

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Nov. 13, 1950

Dear Hal,

Thanks for your letter of Nov. 9. Today was the first opportunity I had to touch up the speech and add the points which were missing. Immediately after our meeting I had to go to Washington to attend the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Nat. Conf. of Christians and Jews which lasted 2½ days.

If the points which were missing have any importance I think they should be opened up in several instances, as I have tried to do, otherwise they may appear quite sweeping and grandiose. I would have done this in my speech if time had permitted. Please use your own good judgment in editing these 8 points, or, as I prefer to call them, principles or basic ideas. Please give credit to the Commission on American Citizenship, Washington, D.C. on whose statement I leaned heavily in developing the 8 basic ideas.

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Please note Insert A and place this sentence as indicated. I hope you agree that such a sentence is necessary to clarify what is waiting for us in the valley of the Rio Grande lest it be conceived as a never, never land. I had this in mind, as you know, but didn't develop it.

Whatever polish you can give the entire speech or the 8 points will be appreciated. You know the spirit behind the speech — indeed the best part of the speech, in my judgment, was your own ideas in developing the mirages that exist in the South. Please feel free to add or delete as you think best.

If Warwick prints the speech please see that the SRC is given the proper credit line and ask Roy if I can have 50 copies of the issue, if possible, or a lesser amount, which I can use in begging for funds for the SRC.

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Best wishes always to you and your wife. One of these days I hope we can have a leisurely visit together and talk about the things in which we are so keenly interested.

With gratitude and personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Paul ~~D. Wh~~

P.S. Perhaps I am greedy in asking Ray for 50 copies of his paper. Ask him to be the judge on the amount. Please ask him to send me 3 copies immediately after release and let the rest follow in due time.

Paul

P.S. — If you want to insert my idea in connection with the treatment of education you may, of course do so. "By education many people conceive of a brick by brick process with 100 years between bricks. Such a notion is not tenable in today's swift-moving, atomic age" Or something like that. P.

W - Paul Williams

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Nov. 18, 1950

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ARLINGTON

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NORFOLK

Dear Hal,

Hope you could make out the stuff I sent you regarding my speech. Please use your own good judgment in editing my stuff.

I leave it to you whether the word perhaps should be left in, or deleted, in the last sentence of the speech.

Please send me a copy of the final copy when convenient.

Best always.

Sincerely yours,

Paul

P.S. Perhaps Warwick would like it better if I sent names of those I am interested to receive marked copies of his paper which will carry my speech. Let me know. P.

Sleilwosher est. 35,000 jan. issue PW

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Nov. 22, 1950

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NORFOLK

Dear Hal,

Thanks for your recent letter. Glad my insert was satisfactory.

I'll be glad to have whatever copies Ray can send me. Just for curiosity please tell me the size of issue Ray puts out, if this is not too confidential.

Could you arrange to get me 50 copies of New South which will carry my speech. Better ask the printer to add this number to our regular printing. I think I can send the copies to some of my friends and pick up some money for us.

See enclosed which came in today's mail. The thought occurs to me that this could be considered for reprint in a

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forthcoming issue of New South. The article puts the race question on an international basis and does a good job of exploring the scientific factors involved in race. Please discuss with George. You'll have to get permission of course. If you use the article it would be fine to get the identification of the people listed in the last paragraph, especially those who critically read the text. Tell me what you think.

Best always,

Sincerely yours
Paul

Sent him copy of Maxwell Hahn's letter of Nov. 20. (Field Foundation)

Williams

November 22, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I sent the leaflets to you. We are at the bottom of the stack on the Herald Tribune article, so I send only about 28.

I am all gratitude for your energy in trying to arouse Spalding.

I have not before thanked you also for the heartening expectation that both Cardinal Spellman and Cardinal Stritch will help us again in 1951. On that, I have the same feeling I had in our dealings with the Quakers. How rare it is to state your need to people who can help and then to be helped.

Here is a copy of a missive that floated in this morning.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

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ARLINGTON

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NORFOLK

Nov. 20, 1950

Dear George.

See enclosed.* Please send me about 35 of our new printing of What Kind of So. do you Want and 35 of the reprint from the N.Y. Herald Tribune, The So Strikes at Inequality.

In haste

Sincerely
Paul

* Please return
P.

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1950

Paul Williams

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Nov. 25, 1950

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NORFOLK

Dear George,

Thanks for your several letters. Thanks too for the material on Chas. Johnson which was just what I wanted.

A wire from Father Maurice Shean just informed me that Gov. McMath has accepted the C. C. S. invitation for Columbia. Thanks to what you did to make this possible.

Thanks for all your endeavors to get the proper letters for the Woodruff appeal. Please note the enclosed from Spaulding. He notes that our letter was well done but the endorsements (not only their sincerity but their strength) will have quite a bearing in the matter. Whatever can yet be done on the letters or by word of mouth (personal appeals) will help

(over)

our cause.

I am glad that John Griffin feels encouraged. Try to discover if our appeal got there in time for decision at this month's meeting. If not try to find out when the next meeting will be held.

Good to get the $200 from the anonymous donor via The Field Foundation.

I'll arrange to be on hand for the executive meeting Dec 16 if we can get a quorum. Let me know as soon as possible.

I think some of our executive members may have some difficulties making the ex. meetings because of expense. For my part I will not put in any expense account for my trips to Detroit and New York which did not bring in any immediate results. I am enclosing an expense account for fares and hotels only — no incidentals.

I'll be away all next week. I gave you my itinerary in case you want to reach me.

Best always.

Sincerely,

Paul

P. Williams

March 27, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We are finding the revision of the Ford request a difficult job of editing and have not quite finished it as yet. Hope to give it to the typist in the next day or two. Then it has to go out I suppose, to the members of the special committee. So I would think it would be about April the 18th or 20th before it would be all ready to shoot.

Any luck in New York? And what news in general?

I made a Louisiana tour and with the help of many people in New Orleans and Baton Rouge set up five local interracial committees, of which one only forthwith became a chapter of the Council (Lake Charles).

We've got somewhere around $700.00 in the treasury and owe a couple of hundred in things that will have to be paid (telephone, etc.), and will be lucky if we fully make the payroll at the end of this month.

I went over to Memphis and made friends with the Memphis chapter of the AJC. Long-time cultivation, but I suppose the trip will pay for itself in members and small contributions. I have prospects of a similar trip to Philadelphia in mid-April -- possibly more productive.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Williams

June 12, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The only dates which Bishop Waters has so far fixed for me are given below. I have, however, reserved for his disposition the whole period from Monday, July 16, through Friday, July 27, and have told him he might arrange anything he wanted in that time.

I stopped in the Bishop's residence in Raleigh last Saturday, but the Bishop was in Ohio.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

The two dates are Wednesday, July 18, Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia; and Thursday, July 19, St. Joseph's Convent, Columbia, Pennsylvania.

GSMser

Williams

July 28, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

I am back from the ten or twelve days in the New York and Philadelphia area. I stopped by your front door going up on the 14th and coming back on the 23rd, but assumed from the twig or two on the front walk that you and Kitty and the children were safely off at your cottage.

The round of the convents was an agreeable experience. Bishop Waters had arranged for me to be at Chestnut Hill College one day, the next day with another group near Lancaster, and the day after that at Maryrood in Scranton. Four hundred sisters at Chestnut Hill, fifty-odd at Columbia, and perhaps two hundred at Maryrood. It went all right at all three places; perhaps best at Maryrood. While the sisters arranged for me to be fed in the strictest privacy at Columbia and at Maryrood, I was exceedingly well fed at all three places. In each audience was a good sprinkling of sisters actively teaching in Southern schools, most of them in North and South Carolina. They understood it all, of course. To the others it was a bit foreign, but they were polite.

Maryrood College gave us $100 for expenses and honorarium, and at Columbia the Mother Superior and one of the North Carolina teaching sisters joined the Council. So that from the point of view of cost even, the trip through the convents more than paid for the direct outlay.

Mr. Byrd a year ago had laid some groundwork with the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and we had a formal appeal before them for $1,000 a year. By good luck, I caught the right two people in in New York. They told me how to proceed toward getting an annual grant and said that gladly they would scrape the bottom of two or three barrels and try to send us $500 now. Before I got back to the office they had sent the $500. (which went to pay backed-up withholding taxes). I would unravel the effort to get an annual grant, but that is complicated somewhat by the death of our good bishop here in Atlanta (Bishop John Moore Walker), who would have been particularly helpful.

In Philadelphia I saw a good deal of some people in the American Friends Service Committee. They asked how much we would need to keep us in running order until the Ford money might come through later in the fall. I gave them the figure of $4,000. They thought they could find from a couple of small foundations about $5,000, and they have already written the documents required. It will be some

weeks on that, but I would feel pretty confident that they will get it. That would take a great deal of worry off my mind.

Can I beg you to put in a day on bringing off the steve the various things which you have cooking? Dixon, from whom we have heard nothing; the two Cardinals; Miller and Rheads and Thalhimer's; and anything else you want. We are really pretty desperate in these July and August months.

I had occasion to be in New Brunswick an hour or so on my trip and considered calling Dixon myself, but on better judgment did not. But you will see from my thought of it that we are hard pressed.

The "Open Letter" to the governors had a notable press reception. Excellent story in the New York Times, and A. P., U. P., and I. N. S. all played it widely.

I have encouraging news, through Will Alexander, that the Ford people are really interested in our proposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec

Williams, Paul

August 21, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Gramercy Park Hotel
New York, N. Y.

Dear Paul:

The date of this year's annual meeting is pretty important.

By the by-laws it ought to be Wednesday, November 7. We have had three or four intimations on behalf of the Ford Foundation that they will not reach a decision on us until late this fall. I would personally add, "if then," but they have not so added.

An annual meeting November 7 in the absence of a decision from the Ford Foundation would be almost useless. An annual meeting after the Ford Foundation had decided could either (a) launch the show on its new life if we have been successful, or (b) put the Council into something approaching liquidation if we have not been successful. I haven't thought much about what (b) would be, but I suppose it would be about two persons and perhaps a quarterly issue of New South and not much more. Maybe a budget for that would be $12,000 a year.

As to (a), we here have been supposing that it would be wise to turn the membership over to State organizations; convert the Council itself into a self-perpetuating Board of about 75 members (24 of whom would be head people in the State organizations); and let that Board set broad policy, which would be executed through an Executive Committee closely supervising the Council's own staff.

On the possibility that (b) may come to life, we will busy ourselves here in drafting by-laws suitable for that kind of structure.

Now to the point: It seems to us sensible to postpone the date of the 1951 annual meeting by a month. Transposing to December the second Wednesday, you come out with a date of Wednesday, December 12, for the 1951 annual membership meeting. Presumably, the present Board would meet Tuesday, December 11.

Under the by-laws, we have to have an annual meeting, but at the direction of the Executive Committee, the annual meeting may be set anywhere within 60 days either way of the second Wednesday of November.

Proposal, therefore, that we poll the Executive Committee now by mail as to whether they would agree to setting the date of the 1951 annual meeting for Wednesday, December 12, in Atlanta.

I would not take this step without your approval. What do you think?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

P. S. One might suppose that this question could be decided when the Executive Committee meets. But it now appears that the Executive Committee will not meet until October. That too much complications the time for shifting the date of the annual meeting and for getting ready. Hence, the idea of polling the Executive Committee now about it.

Williams, Paul

August 9, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, 22 Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Dr. Mitchell has asked that I write to you about the date for the next meeting of the Executive Committee. No time was set for this meeting at the June 30th meeting of the Committee, nor was there any discussion about it.

The general opinion here seems to be that from many standpoints a meeting in early October would be much better than one in early September. July and August have been very poor months for us financially and there are several promises that we are hopeing will come through in September.

If you will let me know what date (or dates) in October would be best for you, I will circularize the other members of the Committee and find the best one for the majority. We should be able to determine the date a month in advance.

At the June meeting of the Committee the date for the Annual Meeting was set for Wednesday, November 14th with the meeting of the Board on the 13th.

I do hope you can find a convenient date in October and shall look forward to meeting you when you come to Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. NORMA HUFF
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Re[illegible]C.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]ANTA 3, GE[illegible]A
OFFICE OF [illegible] PRESIDENT
3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 6, 1951

Dear George:

Thanks so much for your letter of July 28. I was glad to learn that you had such a promising trip and that the good nuns took care of you at the places where you spoke. I had to take my vacation earlier than I expected so I missed you when you called by.

I hope that the Quakers will come through for us and that the several projects that I am working on will bear fruit. I am enclosing a letter I have written Walter Reuther. Also letters to Paul Sifton, Paul Christopher and Tom Starling. Pherhaps it would be a good idea to see Starling or at least talk to him over the phone.

I should learn something from Robert Dixson and the two Cardinals in the near future. I will see Miller & Rhodes and Thalheimer's tomorrow. I expect to see Dave McDonald in Washington or Pittsburgh within the next two weeks, as I was advised that he might turn down a letter but would act more favorably if I could see him.

Bishop O'Hara wrote a splendid letter to Henry Ford, II and I will send you copy as soon as possible.

You told me that the Executive Committee would meet again in September. The last two weeks in September are impossible ones for me but I could make a meeting in Atlanta on September 7 or 8 or September 14 or 15. Please set this date as soon as possible and let me hear from you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

P.S. Glad you dropped by for a visit. Please don't forget to send me 2 copies of each of the letters which have been written to the Ford people. P.

Williams, Paul

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1951

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3320 GLOUCESTER ROAD RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

A Council to attain through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Program

Nov. 16, 1951

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
VIRGINIA MEMBERS

WILSON M. BROWN
RICHMOND

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
RICHMOND

J. M. ELLISON
RICHMOND

GORDON B. HANCOCK
RICHMOND

LUTHER P. JACKSON
PETERSBURG

LOUIS I. JAFFE
NORFOLK

J. G. POLLARD
SOMERS

ARTHUR RAPER
ARLINGTON

P. B. YOUNG
NORFOLK

Dear George,

Thanks for your interesting report written from Detroit. I shall be glad to learn more when you return home.

I think it would be in order for me to write Alfred May and thank him for his courtesies to you and Chas. Johnson. But at the same time I'd like to take advantage of bringing in any new argument in favor of our grant or a re-emphasis on our regular arguments. Please draft such a letter and I'll add any personal flourish necessary. I think May will prove our real friend and go to bat for us but he needs a little nudging from time to time.

Did you or Dr. Charles see Hoffmann? Will be interesting to learn what transpired.

I don't think we need Palmer re Ford. I have another more important angle

(over)

to pursue and can use the extra report to advantage. The person is a priest, Pres of a large Cath. college who is a personal friend of Bob. Hutchins — and this might help.

If you didn't use Odum's letter, please return them. Please see enclosed letter to Odum.

I don't think we need bother with a fancy speaker for our Dec. meeting. If the Ford money comes through, we'll have lots to discuss. If the Ford money fails, we'll have to give plenty of thought towards our finances for next year.

I think we could nicely use Odum and Chas. Johnson to speak at our meeting — perhaps impromptu — so allow some time for them.

I'm not too keen on breaking our annual meeting into the groups as we did last year — unless you see a need for it.

I'd like about 30 minutes for my swan song — preferably at the close of the morning session. Morning session could be reports — afternoon for discussion.

Pick a good spot for Marion Wright, since there is a good chance that he'll be new Pres, so the crowd can get to know

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
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SOMERS

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ARLINGTON

P. B. YOUNG
NORFOLK

him letter.

Perhaps it would be a good idea for you to draft two agendas for the Dec. meeting — one on idea that Ford comes thru and one on not coming thru. Or, perhaps the same agenda would serve in either case.

Glad to enclose a check for $200 from the Cuneo Foundation of Chicago. I called on John Cuneo the last time I was in Chicago and then wrote him. Please list this Foundation with the word Catholic in parenthesis afterwards.

See latest letter I have written Card. Stritch. This should come thru soon. I am working on several other sources that might bring us something more before the Dec. meeting. Please bear in mind that Channing Tobias (over)

said he would help the cause if we needed a final push before the Dec. meeting.

I'd like if possible to go into the Dec. meeting in the black. This would help the morale of the SRC

Saying this makes me reluctant to enclose an expense account for a four day trip I made some months ago for SRC. You recall the executive board requested me to see Alfred May and seek his advice on strategy re Ford Foundation. I stopped off in Wash. to see Paul Sifton, Harry Read Gus Weaver et al re A-U-W; in Pittsburgh to see Dave McDonald - Steelworkers; Detroit to see Al May, A-U-W, and tried to see Carl Mooney but he was out of the city. I am putting down only fares, hotel bills and L. Distance calls. I am absorbing items like meals, taxi fares, tips etc. I wish I could afford to absorb the whole thing. I don't remember the dates of my trips but you could refer to a letter I wrote you from the Statler Hotel, Detroit in long hand giving reports on the Pittsburgh and Detroit highlights of the trip. I did not have the heart to send in the expenses while we were dragging bottom. There is no hurry on sending me a check for my expenses.

Please let me hear from you. Sincerely,

Paul

P.S. Please return enclosures.

Williams Paul D.

April 14, 1958

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I was to send you material on the police project and general material.

Here is a copy of the police proposal, as sent to the John Bulow Campbell Foundation, and also a copy of my letter to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Also enclosed is a copy of my letter to Mrs. Georgea Furst of Independent Aid, Inc. It might be better than the Rockefeller one as a general letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures
GSM:eb : cy ltr to J. Bulow Campbell Foundation, (no salutation), dtd 28Nov47, sgd, GSMitchell, and Charles S. Johnson.
cy ltr to Mrs. G. Furst, dtd 8Jan48, sgd GSMitchell.

P. S. Rather than have the girls type out six pages of another copy of the Rockefeller letter, could you dig into your files and lay a finger on your copy of this letter, sent you on March 17?

GSM

From Desk of M.E.T.
Circulate

WOMAN'S HOME
COMPANION 640 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
PLAZA 9-1000

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

January 10, 1955

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 30th, which has been referred to me by Mr. Smith.

Unfortunately, we do not have reprints of The Washington Story available. However you may order them if you wish. The cost of reprinting a picture story is twenty-three dollars more than a regular text story, so that the cost of reprinting The Washington Story would be approximately $50.00 for the first thousand, and $16.00 for each thousand thereafter. The cost for five hundred would be only $8.60 less than the cost for the first thousand.

I hope that this information will be satisfactory. We're pleased to hear that you enjoyed The Washington Story.

Our best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Woodrow Wirsig

Woodrow Wirsig

December 30, 1954

Mr. Paul C. Smith, Ed.-in-Ch.
Woman's Home Companion
640 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Smith:

The Southern Regional Council, working in the field of human relations, is very appreciative of your story of the integration of the public schools of Washington, D.C.

We are writing to inquire if it is possible to get reprints of the article which is carried in your December issue. This would be very valuable for organizations in the South especially. We would appreciate it if you would advise us if reprints are available.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
In Charge of
Women's Work

MET/rnf

~~Circulate~~ File JAN 27 1955

January 24, 1955

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for sending us some of your material. You mentioned our Club Box in the December Companion. I am wondering if in that same issue you saw the story, "One More Step" about desegregation in the schools in Washington, D.C.

As you may know, our package programs are based on articles that appear in the magazine, therefore an article must appear in the magazine before we can undertake a club program. In that connection I forwarded your letter and materials to our articles editor for his attention. Your group might see what they could do to get a story similar to the "One More Step" story in the magazine.

In the meantime, I shall keep your materials on hand for reference. We are familiar with the Council's work from our club program, "How to Beat the Bigots," which lists your organization as reference.

Thank you again for your interest and kind words about our club program service.

Cordially,

Betty Carter

Betty Carter

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Rml 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 30, 1954

Miss Betty Carter
Woman's Home Companion
~~640 Fifth Avenue~~
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Carter:

We are very much interested in the splendid service you are giving to women's groups in your "package of ideas" every month. In the December number of Woman's Home Companion we see how well they fit in for help in adult education classes ~~and community service.~~

In this connection we have a suggestion to make to you. Our suggestion is that you prepare a "package of ideas" on the Supreme Court decision on public schools and ways in which the integration can take place on the local level. Such a packet is really a crying need in at least twenty-two of the states of the Union and we believe will be welcomed everywhere by the clubs you serve. Under separate cover we are mailing to you some of the pamphlets that have been prepared by our organization.

Answers for Action
Chris. Conscience & the S.C. Dec. on Seg. Schools
SRC - Toward the South of the Future
New South - Appalachian South
Segregation in the Schools
The Churches Speak

Trusting our suggestion may receive your serious consideration, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
In Charge of
Women's Work

MET/rnf

EDWARD B. BURLING
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN
DEAN G. ACHESON
NEWELL W. ELLISON
JOHN G. LAYLIN
H. THOMAS AUSTERN
FONTAINE C. BRADLEY
WM. MERRICK PARKER
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EDWIN McELWAIN

COVINGTON & BURLING
UNION TRUST BUILDING
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

RECEIVED DEC 9 1955

Dec 6, 55

Dear George Mitchell,

I would still like to talk with you sometime when you come through D.C.

Sincerely,

Harris Offutt

Mr. H. Wofford,
Covington & Burling,
Union Trust Building,
Washington, 5, D. C.

December 9th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Wofford,

Enjoyed the speech, and mainly agreed with it.

I do get to Washington, though I haven't lately, and when I come I'll call you up, and we can talk.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

MRS. GEORGE WOLFE 7901 CARROLL AVENUE TAKOMA PARK 12, MARYLAND

Dear George,

We'll be happy to meet you at Cosmos Club at 7 PM Wed. the 11th. Looking forward to seeing you—

Bee

RECEIVED APR 7 1956

COPY

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1937 FROM
(PEABODY—SLATER—JEANES—RANDOLPH FUNDS)
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

RECEIVED MAY 22 1956

May 21, 1956

Mr. T. J. Woofter
1869 Wyoming Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Woofter:

As soon as your letter of May 17 came this morning, I checked with George Mitchell on his plans and the following is about the situation with the two of us.

I already have engagements which will take me away from Atlanta beginning June 2 to June 10. I will be in the office all of the week beginning June 11, though I will be tied up with Bob Lester and the Southern Fellowships Committee on the 11th.

George said that for the week of June 4 to 9, he would be in his office the morning of June 4 and all of June 5, but was scheduled to be away the balance of the week. He, too, will be here in his office all of the week of June 11 to 15.

If you could plan your trip the week of June 11 to 15 rather than the week of June 4 to 9, we would both be available and be happy to help in any way.

Sincerely yours,

J. C. DIXON

JCD:rf
CC: George Mitchell

COPY

RECEIVED MAY 28 1956

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1937 FROM
(PEABODY—SLATER—JEANES—RANDOLPH FUNDS)
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

May 25, 1956

Mr. T. J. Woofter
1869 Wyoming Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Woofter:

Since writing you a few days ago that I would be available any time during the week of June 11 - 16 here in Atlanta, I have had word from my brother who is an Admiral in the Navy that he is scheduled for foreign duty this summer and that he will be in Atlanta for a visit with me from around June 9 to the 16 or 17.

During his visit here, I expected to take some time off from the office to be with him and his family and to go with him to South Georgia to visit our father.

But if you will write me what date you will be in Atlanta, I will make my plans to be here because I want very much to see you, to talk with you about some of the things you have in mind, and to tell you about some of the things we are trying to do in the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

J. C. DIXON

JCD:rf
CC: George Mitchell

June 15, 1956

Mr. T. J. Woofter
1869 Wyoming Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

I got around today to reading with care the chapter on cooperation.

My few and small marks are mostly in red pencil, but on page thirteen I resorted to inky scratches.

I suggest that on page one you are too harsh on the NAACP. Would advise gentler language.

On page thirteen where you have Spring Hill, I say Mobile. Spring Hill is not much more than a Jesuit college and a straggle of suburban homes. Mobile does have a newly set up bi-racial committee invoked by the Mayor. The real truth is that a priest at Spring Hill, Father Foley, induced the Mayor to set up the committee.

Generally speaking I think the chapter is a fair and certainly a helpful presentation of the period. It will make a real contribution to Southern history.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. Ms.

September 28, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

I don't know whether you know Jack Woofter or not. Helped Dr. Will in the old days. Helped Arthur Raper write the book. Came down here two months ago with a bum chapter Woofter is writing. I patted it some. I don't think it's going to be a very good book.

But Jack is trustworthy, and on our side, and accurate. So I see no harm in putting him in touch with the results of your study. Preferably the full conclusions when and where published; less preferably, Bem Price's results.

Will you write Woofter?

GSM/eab
Encl. Ltr. from T. J. Woofter
dtd 9/20/56

AIRMAIL

October 3, 1956

Mr. Thomas J. Woofter
1869 Wyoming Avenue N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. Woofter:

Dr. Mitchell has referred to me your letter inquiring about our survey of integrated situations in the South. The full findings, along with a similar report on the North and West, will be available from the Fund for the Republic in about two weeks. I'm told that the price will be 40¢ per copy.

The news story which you saw was based on advance proofs which the Fund for the Republic made available to an AP reporter. Therefore, I am sorry to say, I have no news release or other summary which I can send you. If you would like a copy of the full findings, the quickest way to get it would be by placing an advance request with the Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

September 28, 1956

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

I don't know whether you know Jack Woofter or not. Helped Dr. Will in the old days. Helped Arthur Raper write the book. Came down here two months ago with a bum chapter Woofter is writing. I patted it some. I don't think it's going to be a very good book.

But Jack is trustworthy, and on our side, and accurate. So I see no harm in putting him in touch with the results of your study. Preferably the full conclusions when and where published; less preferably, Bem Price's results.

Will you write Woofter?

GM.

GSM/eab
Encl. Ltr. from T. J. Woofter
dtd 9/20/56

WOOFTER
REET
IA
Thomas J. Woofter
1869 Wyoming Ave., N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

20 Sept. 1956.

RECEIVED SEP 28 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I would have liked to have had more of a visit with you on my recent trip South if our schedules had permitted. I feel that I did not get sufficiently caught up on current development.

On the basis of your comments I have revised and, I believe, considerably strengthened the latter part of the chapter on cooperation especially with reference to the elements in the present situation.

I recently saw a newspaper report of a study of integrated situations. The account was not too clear but it appeared to be a release from your office. If you have an extra copy of this press release I would like very much to have it, also information as to when and where the full report will be available.

If you get to Washington be sure to give me a ring.

Sincerely

T J Woofter

T. J. Woofter.

October 16, 1956

Miss Evelyn Honeywell
Assistant to the Editor
World Call
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Miss Honeywell:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 15, 1956 with permission to reprint the article in World Call by the Reverend C. S. Cartwright. The article will appear in the October issue of New South.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Managing Editor
New South

JC:mbo

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER
Editor and Chief of Staff

MISS EVELYN HONEYWELL
Assistant to the Editor

JAMES L. MERRELL
Assistant Editor

MRS. EVYLIN R. GRIBBLE
National World Call Secretary

WORLD CALL

INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE OF DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Telephone: FLeetwood 7-1166

October 15, 1956

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Your air mail letter of October 10 has just reached us. It was sent to our publisher in Spencer, Indiana, instead of the editorial office. Hence the delay.

We shall be glad to grant permission for you to reprint in New South the article by Colbert S. Cartwright, "The Church, the World, and Race." Enclosed is a tear sheet from our July-August issue.

Sincerely,

Evelyn Honeywell

Evelyn Honeywell
Assistant to the Editor

EH

Mr. Cartwright

A Southern pastor gives his views on

The Church, the World, and Race

By COLBERT S. CARTWRIGHT*

LET us consider two pictures. The first picture is entitled "The World." The scene is the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. Autherine Lucy, 26-year-old Negro secretary, attends her first classes after being admitted as a student in obedience to a Federal court order. Demonstrations by the students immediately begin in protest against this Negro's presence on the campus.

A few days later violence reaches a peak when university officials escorting the Negro co-ed are cursed and struck with eggs, rocks and mudballs. The board of trustees of the university quickly meets and, as a safety measure, bars its first Negro student from classes until further notice.

Tests Welcome

The second picture is entitled "The Church." The scene is the city of Atlanta, Georgia, on a pleasant Sunday morning. A student at Morehouse College, Atlanta, decides to carry out an experiment by testing the genuineness of the "Welcome, everybody" invitations posted in front of the city's fine churches. He is a student for the Christian ministry and colored.

The ushers in the first church he visits ask him if he has not made a mistake and tell him of a colored church where he will be welcome. When he replies that he wishes to worship in their church that morning, an usher opens his coat, displays a police deputy's badge and tells him to move on.

Seated in Front Row

At the second church the colored ministerial student enters, the usher says he will take him to the gallery for a seat. When the young man says he prefers to remain downstairs with the other worshipers, the usher escorts him to the very front row. There a pleasant and refined white lady and her young daughter smile a welcome.

At the end of the service the daughter remarks to him, "Wasn't that a fine sermon!" and the mother offers to introduce him to the minister who was greeting others at the front of the sanctuary. The minister is apparently quite natural and cordial in shaking hands and welcoming him.

But next day at the country club, discussion is excited, and the opinion generally held seems to be that Communists from outside the region have incited the student to this "communist" behavior.

These two pictures—the first of the world and the second of the church—remind us that the racial attitudes of church people are for the most part the same as the attitudes of the society in which Christians find themselves. The persons in the world who throw rotten eggs at a Negro girl have their counterpart in an usher who flashes his police deputy badge at a Negro attending a white congregation's worship service.

Should the church simply reflect the social attitudes of the community in which it finds itself?

Attitude of Early Church

Turning to the New Testament, one discovers that the early church considered the attitudes and the ways of the world to be the very antithesis to that for which it stood.

Paul, writing to the little minority of Christians swallowed up in the sprawling city of Rome, counseled his fellow Christians, "Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect." *(Romans 12:2)*

Paul regarded the church as a body of persons who stood with God, as God's holy people on earth, against the ways of the world. He saw followers of Christ taking their firm stand with God against the prejudices and dehumanizing social customs of the day.

Said Paul to the church at Corinth, "Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is from God . . . " *(I Cor. 2:12)* Being a follower of Christ inevitably sets a person apart from the general run-of-the-community attitudes.

Earthly Colonies

The New Testament churches regarded themselves as earthly colonies of God's heavenly kingdom. Heaven was their home, their native land. For the time being they dwelt in a hostile country which was unsympathetic to their heavenly ideals and practices.

But within their colonies—the churches—they were free to put their ideals into practice immediately. Within their little compounds, surrounded by an unsympathetic society, they were free to practice the customs of their native land.

So the early church cut through the whole world's prejudices of race and culture within its own fellowship. Although the world made its fine distinctions between races and cultures and social levels, the church refused to do so.

In letter after letter—*Romans, Galatians, Colossians*—Paul reminds his churches that within the church

*Mr. Cartwright, a native of Tennessee, is pastor of Pulaski Heights Church, Little Rock, Arkansas.

the big distinctions of which the world makes much and deems important have no place. Typical are Paul's words to the church at Colossae, "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all." *(Col. 3:11)*

The message of the New Testament church to the church of our day is clear. In Christ's church there must be no distinctions made between white and Negro, crude and refined, educated and uneducated, healthy and unhealthy, but Christ is all, and in all. The church by its nature is blind to worldly distinctions.

Church Belongs to God

The church does not belong to the world but to God. This fact some time ago received dramatic utterance in the stumbling words of a native chieftain by the name of Jason on an island in the South Seas. He and his tribe—all Christians—had built a chapel commemorating the 1,600 Americans who fell in battle there.

As Jason presented the chapel to the American Army chaplain, he said, "We want tell you all people that we fella belong Solomon build this church because we want thank you. Now we give this church you. But this church no belong you and me. This church belong God!"

The tragedy of the church in the twentieth century is that it no longer thinks of itself as belonging absolutely and unquestioningly to God. The church has become infiltrated by the world in regard to racial attitudes.

Issues Are Complex

We are living at a time in which the ungodly forces of prejudice are violently let loose. The issues in regard to racial desegregation of the public schools are so complex and so filled with satanic emotions that it is difficult for the sincere southern Christian to know what should be done in his own community.

Issues are muddled in the world, but there can be no comparable confusion in regard to the proper action for our churches to take. Looking to the New Testament church we know without question that our churches should not reflect the prejudices of our communities. Our churches must be different.

Churches Face Test

The crisis in our southern communities inevitably thrusts a crisis upon our churches. Our churches are facing the test as to whether we shall simply be mirrors of our communities' prejudices or whether we shall regard ourselves as colonies of heaven expressing in our own fellowship something of that brotherhood which is like to that above.

There are many ways a church can set itself apart from its community's prejudices and racial animosity. No two churches need make the same approach. It is important to remember that there is no room in Christian charity for our judging one another.

Yet one thing is certain. Our churches will have missed their calling if they do not vitally witness to brotherhood among the races in their own fellowships as they confront the prejudices of their communities.

BOOK CHAT
By C.E. Lemmon

THE most important religious book of popular circulation which we have seen this season is *Faith, Reason, and Existence,* by John Hutchison. It is contemporary because it takes into consideration what the author calls the "Copernican revolution that has taken place in religious thought" during the past forty years. It is a philosophy because it deals comprehensively and rigorously with the special field of religion—man's ultimate concern. While no such book is easy reading, the clarity of the author's statements and the comprehensiveness of his treatment make it an admirable review of the main concerns in the field of religion at the present time. The material is so well outlined and indexed that this work should serve as a book of reference in the library of every thoughtful student of religion.

J. B. Phillips is one of the most popular of present-day writers on the Christian religion. In addition to writing books of general interest, he has translated all of the New Testament (except the book of Revelation) into modern English. In his little book on *New Testament Christianity* he tells of the impression made on him as a translator. He resolved to put, so far as possible, all preconceived notions of the Scriptures out of his mind and translate the simple Greek documents without prejudice. As he proceeded he said he felt the strange power of the personality of Christ emerging; and as he went on with the Acts and Epistles he sensed with peculiar vividness the spirit, enthusiasm, and courage of the early Christians. This New Testament Christianity was infused with a vital quality of faith, hope, love, and peace.

The little volume is a product of lectures he has given to satisfy what he calls "the hunger of all the churches for this spirit of New Testament Christianity." Disciples are likely to note the resemblance of this approach to that of the pioneer preacher, Thomas Campbell, who nearly 150 years ago pleaded for the vital life of the Christian religion as revealed in the New Testament.

RAY Freeman Jenny is one of America's leading preachers and pastors. Like all ministers he is dismayed by the ignorance of laymen in regard to the Bible. He is also dismayed by the quantity of material necessary to teach people a modern approach to the Scriptures. To meet this problem he has written introductory essays, of about 700 words each, on the books of the Bible. He calls it a *Bible Primer.* The simplicity of this work is its chief virtue. It is modern and scholarly in its approach. Dr. Jenny has spent a great deal of time and research in the preparation of this unique book, so deserving of wide usage.

A SERMON might well be defined as "focusing on some area of human experience and bringing to bear the resources of the Christian gospel for healing and redemption." This has been excellently done by J. Clyde Wheeler in a book of sermons, *Claim These Victories.* In these sermons Mr. Wheeler deals with

(*Continued on page* 41)

January 23, 1957

Mr. C. Vann Woodward
Department of History
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore 18, Maryland

Dear Mr. Woodward:

You may not have heard that Dr. Mitchell is leaving the Council to carry out a long-projected wish for a sojourn in Scotland. He left duty status on January 15th, and the Directorship has fallen to me.

We think that existing studies of Southern attitudes toward segregation are seriously inadequate. I am enclosing a copy of an article which recently appeared in Scientific American, which is about the best yet. Much less useful is the Gallup report, as carried by the newspapers (copy also enclosed). The May issue of the Catholic Digest ran the results of a poll. We don't seem to have a copy available, but I am sure you would be able to get hold of it without much difficulty. I am sorry that this limited material is all that we can offer.

We are great admirers of your writings, and have made enthusiastic use of your book, The Strange Career of Jim Crow. I hope I shall have the opportunity to meet you one of these days.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Encls.
HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

1/17/57

To: HCF

From: FBI

There's very little in our files on studies of Southern attitudes toward desegregation. There are many expressions of opinion in letters and articles, however. I suppose the best thing we have is the report of a Gallup Poll last March.* This is in a newsclip and we can make a copy of it. Other things that may be useful are:

"Southern Attitudes on Desegregation", a one page rather general statement by a psychiatrist, New Republic, May 14, 1956.

"Negroes on Southern Campuses", the opinions of six editors of college newspapers, New Republic, Feb. 27, 1956.

Newsclip on the Florida poll re admission of Negroes to state universities, April, 1956.

Newsclip on a nationwide survey made among white Americans asking if they want integration. Article is very brief and we don't have full report. Survey was made for Catholic Digest Magazine.

March 1956 Southern School News' report on behavior of children in integrated classes of St. Louis, Mo.

There are a number of articles whose writers report on the opinions of Southerners that they have interviewed. We can suppy copies if you feel these interview are "surveys". Some of the writers are William Atwood, Robert Warren, Al Kuettner, Carl Rowan, etc. In addition, there are articles by those who write on the South's views, but do not refer to specific surveys; some are McKnight, Dabbs, McGill, Warren.

* The attached was not in the files when I first checked. This is the only copy we have.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

January 14, 1957

RECEIVED JAN 1 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Could I beg a little help from you? I am interested in finding any recent studies of differences in Southern attitudes toward segregation. Particularly I would like to know if you can tell me of any studies of differences between age groups and geographic areas, and between rural and urban populations. If there is such a thing I would like to see a check list of the Southern Regional Council's publications.

Thank you very much for your kindness.

Sincerely yours,

C Vann Woodward

C. Vann Woodward

Mr. Fleming:

Mrs. Howgate, Field Secretary of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom working out of Philadelphia office. The organization is planning a meeting in Miami Florida in June. She is on her way South in preparation for that meeting. Was down here a little more than a year ago and talked with Dr. Mitchell, and she wants information about the South in order to facilitate travel conditions, etc. The organization is interracial, inter-faith, international.

Mrs. Howgate is staying at the Hampton Hotel (JAckson 4-7746 - Room 320).

Note: I did give her GSM's phone number so that she could call and talk with him.

EAB

MEET THE U. S. SECTION

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

EDUCATIONAL WORK	The League is dedicated to education of the public in non-violent ways of working for peace. Such efforts involve the support of the UN, of World-wide Disarmament, and the easing of tension on all fronts.
LEGISLATIVE WORK	Our Washington office discusses, with Senators and Representatives, State Department and other Government officials, the issues with which the WILPF is concerned. Our Legislative Secretary testifies before Committees on current legislation and sends to Branches news and memos interpreting legislation and recommending action.
WORLD-WIDE DISARMAMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION	A Special Committee heads this work because of its importance today. They seek to educate the public, through the formation of local citizen's groups, study groups, public meetings, literature, and all publicity channels, in the need for and an understanding of World Reconstruction and World-wide Disarmament in place of the present suicidal arms race.
UNITED NATIONS	The League has an accredited observer from the U. S. Section of the WILPF to the UN. The WILPF is one of the 70 non-governmental organizations with consultative status B in the Economic and Social Council of the UN. It also has advisory status to the Food and Agricultural organization and to UNESCO.
HUMAN RIGHTS	Here are committees concerned with civil liberties, civil rights and race relations; the rights of conscientious objectors and of stateless and displaced persons, labor and human relations, American Indian status, and democratic government in the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.
INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS	This Committee seeks to promote sincere and just relations between our Government and the other independent American Republics, especially in economic spheres, in the interest of true democracy. It publishes in Spanish a quarterly of Peace News. It initiated the first Inter-American Congress of Women.
INTERNATIONAL SCOPE	This includes support of UN activities for peace; International European Summer Schools; International Headquarters in Geneva; Committees on the Middle East and Africa; International Congresses of Women; and Art For World Friendship, to reach children everywhere.
FOUR LIGHTS	FOUR LIGHTS is a lively, stimulating publication sent monthly to members and subscribers. It examines, explores, penetrates, and pursues all approaches to Peace without bias.
LITERATURE	This Department furnishes the tools necessary to an intelligent understanding of world affairs. It handles both its own material and the leaflets and pamphlets of allied organizations, and is prepared to provide Branches and members with any information they need about current problems. It prepares each year a Study Packet on conditions in one part of the world.
MEMBERSHIP	In the U. S. Section there are Branches or members in all states and the District of Columbia. On the International level members are found in 34 countries. The newest International Sections are in Israel, Japan, Nigeria, and India.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

is an organization and a means through which women can come together, can work together, can express their opinions and their determinations. Through the League they can cooperate with men and make women's interest in humanity a power for better human life. Here the individual woman can make her contribution.

PEARL BUCK.

What's the WILPF About?

It is an international and interracial organization, founded by Jane Addams in 1915. Its aim is to work by non-violent means for the establishment of those political, economic, and psychological conditions both at home and abroad which can assure peace and freedom. Both International Chairmen, Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch, were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize—the only American women who have ever been so honored.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Please enroll me as a member ☐ Enclosed is a contribution ☐

Please send me further information ☐

M .....

Address .....

.....

National and State Dues $3.00 (includes 50c for Subscription to FOUR LIGHTS)	$
International Associate Dues (includes International, National, State, and Subscription to PAX et LIBERTAS) $8.00	$
Special Student Dues $.50	$
Contribution	$

Pay to local treasurer or send to Administration Office: 2006 Walnut St., Phila. 3, Pa.

5M—6-54—105

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

JANE ADDAMS HOUSE
RITTENHOUSE 6-7110

2006 WALNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

Raleigh, North Carolina,
February 16, 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED FEB 18 1957

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

I have just been in Chapel Hill, North Carolina where Dr. Wayne Bowers directed me to you as a source of sound advice.

I am the field secretary for the United States Section of this international, interracial and interfaith organization described in the enclosed folder (in case you have not heard of us). We are planning to hold our Annual Meeting in Miami, Florida in June and I am on my way there to work with the members of our local branch to set it up. On the way I am making contacts with our individual members scattered through these areas and working with our branch leaders in Chapel Hill, Atlanta, and St. Petersburg.

We want the fact that we are interracial and interfaith to be a demonstration in these southern areas

that there has been and is such an organization working comfortably together ever since 1915, we also want to have whatever we do on the constructive side in these days of heightened tensions and we want, especially, to have our members travel to and from the meeting as comfortably as possible for all concerned. Since it is my job to work out travel details, I am seeking the advice of experienced southern leaders wherever I can.

I plan to be in Atlanta from Monday afternoon to Wednesday after, February 20th and I would very much appreciate being able to see and talk with you. I realize that this letter will barely get there before I do but I will telephone your office when I get to Atlanta and try to arrange a time to talk with you that is convenient to your schedule.

Any ~~thing~~ information or advice that you can give me would be greatly appreciated. I should like also to discuss our program for the meeting with you, hoping that you might be able to suggest participants from these areas.

Hoping, then, that I shall be able to talk with you,

I am, Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mary Wallace Hovgate
Field Secretary

September 5, 1957

Mr. T. J. Woofter
1869 Wyoming Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Woofter:

Thank you for your kind letter of August 26. I have indeed inherited a difficult job, but all of us here have the satisfaction of knowing that we are playing some part in one of the important developments of our time.

I was happy to receive a copy of your recent book, Southern Race Progress which I have read with great interest. I was pleased to notice the good comments on it in the enclosed column from The Chattanooga Times. In case you haven't yet seen it I enclose a copy.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 Chattanooga Times article, dated September 4, 1957

RECEIVED AUG 27 1957

RECEIVED AUG 27 1957

RECEIVED AUG 27 1957

THOMAS JACKSON WOOFTER
1869 WYOMING AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

Aug. 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I take this belated opportunity to welcome you to your new job. It is an important but difficult job at this time. I wish you every success.

I have asked my publisher to send you a copy of my recently released book, SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS. I think that you will be particularly interested in Chapters 4 and 17 both of which contain a good deal of material regarding the Interracial Commission when I was associated with it in the 1920s and something of the tribulations of the Southern moderate today. I have been disappointed that only a few Georgia papers have published anything about it as I am very anxious to get my message to the right people.

I think that you will be interested in the editorial from the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle which has been reproduced in several other Gannett papers. It shows an unusual Northern sympathy with Southern moderation.

Best luck and more power to you

Sincerely

T.J. Woofter

T.J. Woofter.

Democrat and Chronicle.

Without or with offense to friends or foes I sketch your world exactly as it goes.

DON U. BRIDGE, General Manager
AL F. MAHAR, Business Manager

GEORGE R. SHOALS, Managing Editor
NORRIS W. VAGG, Assistant Managing Editor

C. E. CARPENTER, Editor, Editorial Page

Published by Gannett Co. Inc., 57 Main St. E., Rochester 4, N.Y. Frank Gannett, president emeritus; Frank E. Tripp, chairman of Board; Paul Miller, president; Douglas C. Townson, E. R. Davenport, vice presidents; Cyril Williams, secretary and treasurer.

First published January 1, 1833, as The Morning Advertiser; name changed to The Daily Democrat February 8, 1834; combined with The Chronicle December 1, 1870; with The Rochester Herald 1926.

TELEPHONE: LOcust 2-8800

Clinton: A Longer View

Let us sort of step back away from the headlines for a moment and take a longer view at segregation.

When that is done, an interesting thing happens. The ugly parts of the picture dim; the bright parts become brighter.

For example, the headline look at the segregation news has been the bitter Knoxville trial of segregationist John Kasper and others on charges of trying to block integration at Clinton High School. And, of course, the charges and counter-charges in Congress over the civil rights bill.

The broader look, from the perspective of distance, is this:

An all-white jury convicted Kasper and six others. Bitterness lingers, trouble may ensue, the case will be appealed, but this simple decision for justice is a new shining light in the south.

Then there is a major contribution to the issue in the form of a new book, "Southern Race Progress," by a southern scholar named Dr. Thomas J. Woofter, printed by Public Affairs Press in Washington, D.C.

Listen to such calming language as this, written by Dr. Woofter from a background of nearly half a century of living and studying in the south:

> "Except in the minds of the extremely prejudiced, there is now substantial agreement that the democratic ideal demands for every race full political participation, equal justice before the law, equal economic opportunity, and free access to the best public institutions. The differences which still divide public opinion and impede cooperation largely concern the practical questions of timing and methods rather than the ideal goal to be reached. This does not mean that the road ahead will not be rough at times nor that democracy will work without our best efforts to make it work."

Dr. Woofter is not a Pollyanna. He is simply accurate. His book, factual and charming, envisions an end to the whole issue once there is greater understanding by whites and Negroes of their interdependence, and once there is more reliance on facts and less on fantasy.

In a preface to the book, Jonathan Daniels, whose strong southern newspaper voice speaks through the Raleigh News and Observer, credits Dr. Woofter with helping him to "understand the troubled south," and says the book is must reading for those "who would understand in depth the debate which sometimes now seems to be restricted in participation to the extremists—the defiant, the vindictive, the headlong and the stubborn."

The nice thing about the longer look at the problem is that it is also the most accurate look as well as the more attractive look. It should be used as a panacea for the headlines, but at the same time not as an excuse for complacency.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 11, 1958

Mr. William K. Wolfe
45 East 135th Street
New York 37, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wolfe:

Your letter of March 7th requesting information and an application blank for the "Social Work Fellowship and Scholarship" offered by the Southern Regional Council has been turned over to me. Frankly, I am puzzled for we have no such scholarship program. I wonder whether you have us confused with some other organization? Or perhaps you have heard about the scholarship program offered through the Southern Regional Council by the Encampment for Citizenship to find qualified participants from the South for the Encampment.

I am sorry that we are not in a position to offer scholarship aid to worthy students, but this is not a part of our program. Would you be good enough to let me know where you got the information?

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

F.13.R.

45 East 135th Street
New York 37, New York
March 7, 1958

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have been accepted as a matriculated graduate student at the Adelphi College School of Social Work.

I am in need of financial aid in order to persue this course of study. Please send me some pertinent information and an application blank for the Social Work Fellowship and Scholarship that you are offering.

Your immediate reply will be greatly appreciated. Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,
William K. Wolfe
William K. Wolfe

L.S.

JC

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND

DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORY

July 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciate very much your thinking of me in connection with the review of the new book by Mr. Dabbs, and particularly the kind way in which you put your invitation. I should be most happy to accept were it not for the fact that I have already agreed to do a review for the Nation.

Will you kindly put my name on the subscription list of the New South and send me a bill.

Sincerely yours,

C. Vann Woodward

C. Vann Woodward

Please put him on complimentary.
H.

July 16, 1958

Dr. C. Van Woodward
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Dr. Woodward:

I am writing this on the assumption, perhaps ill founded, that a letter so addressed will reach you this summer.

We should like to ask a favor of you. Mr. James McBride Dabbs, farmer and writer of Mayesville, South Carolina, has written a book called, The Southern Heritage to be published by Knopf on August 18. Over and above the merits of the book, which I think are considerable, we have a special interest in it, since Mr. Dabbs is the president of the Southern Regional Council. Less biased, advanced writers, like Hodding Carter and Robert Penn Warren, have also praised it highly.

Would you be willing to review the book for our publication, New South? I turn to you with this request because my strong feeling that Mr. Dabbs' approach to the South's problems is one which you will find especially congenial and which you are especially qualified to assess. Though a "liberal" on matters racial, Mr. Dabbs has the love of tradition and the positive values

of Southern culture natural to a farmer who has remained close to ancestral soil all his life. In examining the South from its perspective history, he finds every reason to discard segregation, but he also finds those elements which could make the South something better than the dehumanized industrial society which seems to be gaining on us elsewhere.

I make this feeble attempt to characterize the book only because I sense in it a close kinship with much of your own writing. I hope you will feel so too and will be willing to oblige us by taking the time out to do a review of it. If so, please drop me a word to that effect and I shall send our advance copy to you at once.

With appreciation and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

September 22, 1958

Mr. Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
1018 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wood:

Thank you for your kind letter of September 17th. I am glad to send you the enclosed list of our board members, and I thought you might like to see also our most recent report of program activities.

The next time I am in Washington, I will be sure to call you in the hope that we may become acquainted.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

CORNELIUS A. WOOD, JR.
1018 DUPONT CIRCLE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

September 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me the material covered in your letter of September 15, 1958.

I have heard much of you from our mutual friends and look forward to some opportunity when we may meet.

Would you be good enough to send me a list of your Trustees?

Sincerely yours,

C. A. Wood, Jr.

Separate mailing to both Nicholson and Ellison:

Nov 1958 ~~January~~ - March, 1959 NEW SOUTH
Journal and Guide Reprint - "An Adventure that Restored Good Race Relations..."
Dabbs Transcript
Congressional Record Reprint
February & March, 1959 Southern School News

March 30, 1959

Mr. Robert D. Nicholson
World Youth Projects
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Nicholson:

Thank you for your letter of March 19.

I am sending separately, to you and Mr. Ellison, the various materials you requested. You will note that the particulars on subscription to Southern School News are given on the inside mask head of that publication.

We are grateful for your continuing interest in the work of the Council.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Leslie E. Ellison

WORLD YOUTH PROJECTS

156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., U.S.A.

Cable Address: Daybreak, New York

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
YOUTH DEPARTMENT

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
AND SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION
YOUTH DEPARTMENT

March 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will serve to acknowledge with appreciation receipt of your 1958 annual report.

During the past week we enjoyed having in our apartment as guests Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Eugene Ellison. Mr. Ellison is just before graduation from McCormick Theological Seminary, 800 West Belden Avenue, Chicago 14, Illinois. Both he and his wife were raised in Texas and they have plans to return either to Texas or some point in the South or Southwest after graduation.

Mr. Ellison is one of the most promising men in his class and has a keen interest in racial harmony. In the course of our visit I introduced him to the work of the Southern Regional Council. This letter comes to ask that you forward to him at the above stated address some of the basic materials put out by and describing the SRC. I think he would particularly be interested in THE NEW SOUTH.

Out of Nashville, Tennessee there exists, I know, an organization known as SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS. This I understand is principally a news service on integration efforts accross the South. Unfortunately I don't have available their address. Would you office please do me the favor of having them send me at this address and Mr. Ellison at his address two or three current issues of their paper with information on how to subscribe?

In the work and through our friendships we come in contact with people from the South who need to be aware of the work of the SRC. In this connection would you also let me have two sets of some of the basic materials which I could use for the purpose of introducing the SRC. Could I please have the last five issues of THE NEW SOUTH? This represents a period when I was out of touch with the publication.

Good wishes to you and your colleagues, Mr. Fleming. You assistence in these few matters will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Robert D. Nicholson

Robert D. Nicholson

cc: Leslie E. Ellison

December 24, 1959

Professor C. Vann Woodward
Department of History
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Woodward:

My friend with the Associated Press has at last informed me that the plan is to use your series in January, as I gather you have been advised.

This is good news, and we will be watching with interest for the publication of the articles.

With good wishes for Christmas and the coming year,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND

DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORY

January 4, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for the information about the AP use of my articles. I only hope that they have not grown stale because it has been almost a year since I wrote them.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vann Woodward

C. Vann Woodward

March 29, 1960

Dr. C. Vann Woodward
History Department
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Dr. Woodward:

It is likely that you have seen the enclosed announcement of your series for the Associated Press. However, with the possibility that you have not, Harold Fleming thought it would be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure

August 17, 1960

Mr. Joseph Gorelik
V. C. Representative → Workmen's Circle
Circle Camp
175 E. Broadway
New York 2, New York

Dear Mr. Gorelik:

Your letter of August 12th to Mr. Fleming is being sent to Reverend King at his office. Should you need to correspond with him in the future, you may do so by writing him at the following address:

Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

I'm sure you will be hearing from Rev. King reasonably soon, and we hope that his apparently very heavy schedule will allow him to accept your invitation.

Best wishes for a successful summer camp.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF/mf

CORRESPONDENCE

Memo from C. H. PARRISH

LWD

ML ✓ JM

a good bit of sense here.

What has happened to Jim?

~~Remark~~

6/20

I think Jim Wood is in business — printing out of Atlanta — He's at WAOK — San Mosque

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PR ✓ I haven't read this, though Woodward mentioned his idea with me at length. I can't attend the lunch.

Will you please read & offer advice to Maggie & Jim as to how they should respond at the lunch

return to LD

41 Exchange Place S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
January 16, 1962

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is the proposal for a CITIZENS INFORMATION SERVICE I discussed with you.

I would be very pleased to have you attend a luncheon discussion in the private dining room at Beamon's Restaurant on Auburn avenue at Butler street, Monday January 22, 1962 at 12:30 noon.

The purpose of the discussion is to evaluate the need and feasibility of the program and consider means for financing its start. Once in operation, it will support its own costs.

I have arranged an indefinite leave of absence from my duties with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to devote full time to the development of this project. My leave will begin March 1, 1962.

Attached is a list of persons familiar with the proposal, who have said they will attend the luncheon. The date indicated is intended to serve as a starting point only. If another one is more suitable, I will canvass the others to establish an alternative.

Very truly yours,

James R. Wood

Encl: 2

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Co uncil

Clarence D. Coleman, Southern Field Director
National Urban League

Wyatt tee Walker, Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Margaret Long, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council

Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Secretary
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Zenas Sears, Manager
Radio Station WAOK

Eliza Paschal, Executive Director
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

James Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Francis Pauley, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Rufus Lewis, Chariman Voter Registration Committee
Montgomery Improvement Association (Alabama)

James A. Moss, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

CITIZENS INFORMATION SERVICE INC.

THE CITIZENS CALL

NEWS SERVICE

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A T L A N T A - G E O R G I A

There is present and urgent need for communication within and between racial groups in the South. This communication must involve the dissemination of information and reporting of news and events.

The Southern complex of systems, practices and customs which are its mores, has produced an imperfect image of public information. The stereotyped opinion enjoys validity. Those media entrusted with public responsibility for reporting the news more often than not indulge in practices open to severe ethical criticizm.

The present movement toward social change has pointed up sharply inconsistencies in reporting the news. Matters of interest and information related to race are effected most by practices which slant, distort, omit or misrepresent fact and truth. This is not only common knowledge but also established by record.

The local Southern community, rural and urban, in its economic, social and industrial development will benefit by an informed populace. Civic, government and political programs will receive wider popular support or opposition, whichever is merited, by the circumstances.

The proposal presented here does not pose itself as the total solution to the problem. It suggests, with firm belief, that it will make effective steps toward that solution. In the areas of social and political awareness alone, it will justify its cost and effort.

It is to the reporting of news and events and dissemination of information at the community level that the following proposal addresses itself.

James R. Wood

RADIO

The past fifteen years have seen development of the independant radio chain or group. These stations program at the community level and to particular listening pools. A major division of listener pools is by race. Radio is a merchandising device and the number of stations increases with population density. The exception to this is the Southern Negro population. The frequency of stations in this instance cannot be measured by the same density indexes. The number of stations servicing the Negro market in the South is disproportionately smaller than in other sections of the nation.

The station programming the white listener pool reflects white interests in the South. However, many of these stations show large Negro audiences. The station programming the Negro listener pool caters to music tastes largely. Reporting the news and events which reflect Negro interests has not had a place of importance in planning and scheduling.

New interest is developing in this type of broadcasting and the way is being opened to use of the spoken word in the dissemination of information which reflects Negro interests. An inducement to station management to increase the use of newscasting would be the availability of prepared programs suitable for their use.

As the earning power of the Negro in the South increases his market potential rises. Other things being equal, the future offers increasing opportunity for use of this medium for educational and indoctrinal purposes.

TELEVISION

The television broadcasting industry is dominated by network control. Most programming for community interests is daytime, when large segments of

the population are employed. This severely limits the effectiveness of local community interest shows. Newscasting and current events opinion shows are geared to white audiences.

Network news and opinion programming is inter-national, national and regional and reflects these interests. When local stations tie-in for local news shows in the South, they reflect white interests. The audience divisions for programming are not along racial lines.

Network programs which are centered around Negro interests include both entertainment and news and education. However, agreements by local station affiliates permit blacking-out network shows not desired by local management. The exposure to the Southern Negro of programs reflecting his interests is at best minimal.

NEWSPAPERS

The printed word published in newspapers is by far the most effective means of mass communication. They are available in some form in every community in the nation at prices the public can afford to pay. They are a permanent record of information.

Newspapers are generally tied to profit-making and political positions.

White owned and operated newspapers generally serve white buying markets except in the larger Northern and Western cities where Negro populations justify their attention. In the South the white market commands absolute priority. Since Southern politics is built on segregation principles, newspaper policies controlling reporting the news, events and features clearly avoids indoctrinal effects which favor the Negro economically, socially or culturally. Many newspapers openly degrade him by placing emphasis on negative elements in the news.

When news of interest to the Negro community is reported it is placed on Negro pages or in Negro sections. The coverage may include births, deaths, marriages, sports and some social events. News and information relating to civil rights, educational advancement and achievement, labor union progress, increases in buying power, social protests, advancements in politics, etc. is omitted, slanted, misrepresented or buried by the many devices available to an editor to reduce or obscure the content of a report.

Negro owned and operated newspapers in general follow the patterns of white owned papers when operated at the local level. They depend on white advertising accounts for their profits and maintain lines of attachment to white political interests. Many of them "deliver" the Negro vote from their positions of "leadership" in the community. In reporting the news they "parrot" the white press and avoid controversy. They avoid educational or indoctrinal information which builds political or social awareness.

The Negro owned and operated national newspapers depend on national advertising and Negro accounts for their profits. They generally assume a completely positive position in regard to Negro political, social, economic, industrial and educational interests. Civil rights, race relations, race achievements, etc. are their stock in trade.

Circulation in Northern and Western cities is large and effective. It is good in the larger Southern cities. News and features reported are inter-national, national and regional, primarily. Spot news with regional or national interest is also reported. Sections and columns reporting by states and areas are also included by three of the larger papers.

A wide readership is sustained by these newspapers because the information they print is simply not available anywhere else in the mass reporting media. In the South they do not report at the community level nor do they reflect the interests of the community for the community.

THE PROBLEM

Information and experience combine to form attitudes, opinions and judgements for the individual citizen. When this information and experience is common to many individuals it becomes a base for group or mass attitude, opinion and judgment.

Adult public and private opinion are most largely shaped and formed by the mass communications media; newspapers, radio and television. They have the stamp of authority and reliability and are the more powerful because of it. The tendency to question the validity of information reported is almost totally confined to a small, articulate intellectual segment of the population. For the masses; if it is heard on radio, seen on television or read in the newspaper...then, it must be true.

The need is critical for racially undistorted social and political awareness in the Southern white and Negro communities. For the ordinary citizen, lack of information about race and change which will support reasonable judgment and intelligent opinion concerning the factors and forces affecting his community and himself, is a basic cause of social inaction toward higher goals. A means of communication within his ethnic group in the community and with other groups in the same community that is accurate, free from distortion and stereotypes, needs to be made available.

Conditioning of public thought in the community in preparation for social change is extremely urgent. The involvement of nearly total Negro communities in concerted protests and boycotts as the principle method to prod social change, is unavoidable. The dissemination of information which examines issues, educates in the mechanics of protest and negotiation, affords identity with causes and answers the multitude of questions asked repeatedly by the citizenry, must be initiated with the community level as its target.

Organizations working for social change need the communication afforded by mass media to implement their programs. Indoctrination in methods, techniques and ideas necessary for self-initiated community improvement and sustained civic, political and protest activity is urgently needed.

Distortions and slantings by the white press need to be straightened. News being made in the community needs to be accurately reported and made common knowledge. This is especially so in civil rights, racial, political and other matters withheld or "played down" by white press.

To be effective and meaningful this reporting must be done at the local community level and directly reflect the feelings and interests of that community.

The media used to accomplish this purpose must be free from profit-making motives and political controls in order that its voice can remain free and independant.

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A PROPOSAL

The

CITIZENS INFORMATION SERVICE

Inc.

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PURPOSE

To seek, search, find, locate, provide, create, prepare, compose and otherwise render suitable, information, facts, and knowledge for distribution, circulation and dissemination by the written and spoken word employing radio broadcasting, television broadcasting, newspapers, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets, releases, tapes, recordings, scripts and other methods and devices suitable for the purposes.

To measure, sense, estimate, understand, evaluate, define, analyze, project, reflect, review, examine, explore, anticipate, criticize, deliberate and otherwise treat individual and public opinion, feelings, interests, desires and needs for the purpose of communication within and between population groups.

To observe, experience, record, establish and otherwise treat events, occurrences, happenings, situations and developments for the purpose of accurately reporting, describing, relating, informing, educating and communicating.

To promote, encourage, stimulate, prepare, advise and otherwise influence the sophistication, advancement, development and improvement of public and private thought by indoctrination, education, suggestion and exposure to fact, truth and knowledge through communication.

To practice in these pursuits, conduct that is morally acceptable by ethical standards and patriotically in keeping with the Bill of Rights and Constitution of the United States of America.

CITIZENS INFORMATION SERVICE

CORPORATE BODY This organization will be a non-profit, non-stock enterprise incorporated under the laws of the state of Georgia. Its headquarters will be located in the city of Atlanta. It will license itself to publish in Georgia and to do business in the states in which it will operate.

OFFICERS Executive officers will function in the conventional manner. The details of elections, etc. will be established in the by-laws which will be prepared with legal assistance and will take place at the time of incorporation.

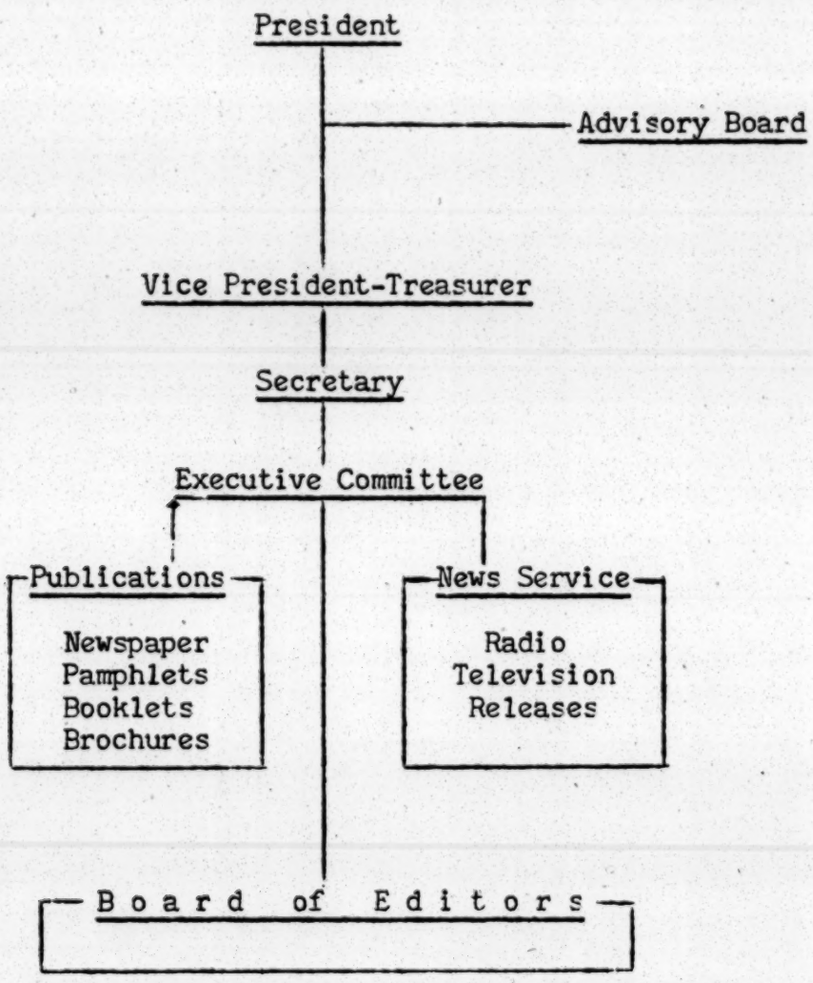
ADVISORY BOARD This board will consist of representatives of the principal organizations who assist with the founding of the CITIZENS INFORMATION SERVICE. This body will meet once or twice a year to advise and counsel on program and policy. Individual members may have constant contact with the president according to their desires. The services and facilities of the CITIZENS INFORMATION SERVICE will always be available to them with due consideration given to operational requirements and policy limitations. Additional members will be added by consent of the board.

BOARD OF EDITORS This board will be composed of edition or section editors who bear that responsibility in the cities in which the CITIZENS CALL is circulated. This board will meet once a year to consider recommendations of the Advisory Board and submit proposals to the Executive Committee which will then formulate policy and enact it by vote.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE This body will create policy. All executive officers, a member of the Advisory Board and representatives of the Board of Editors will comprise its membership.

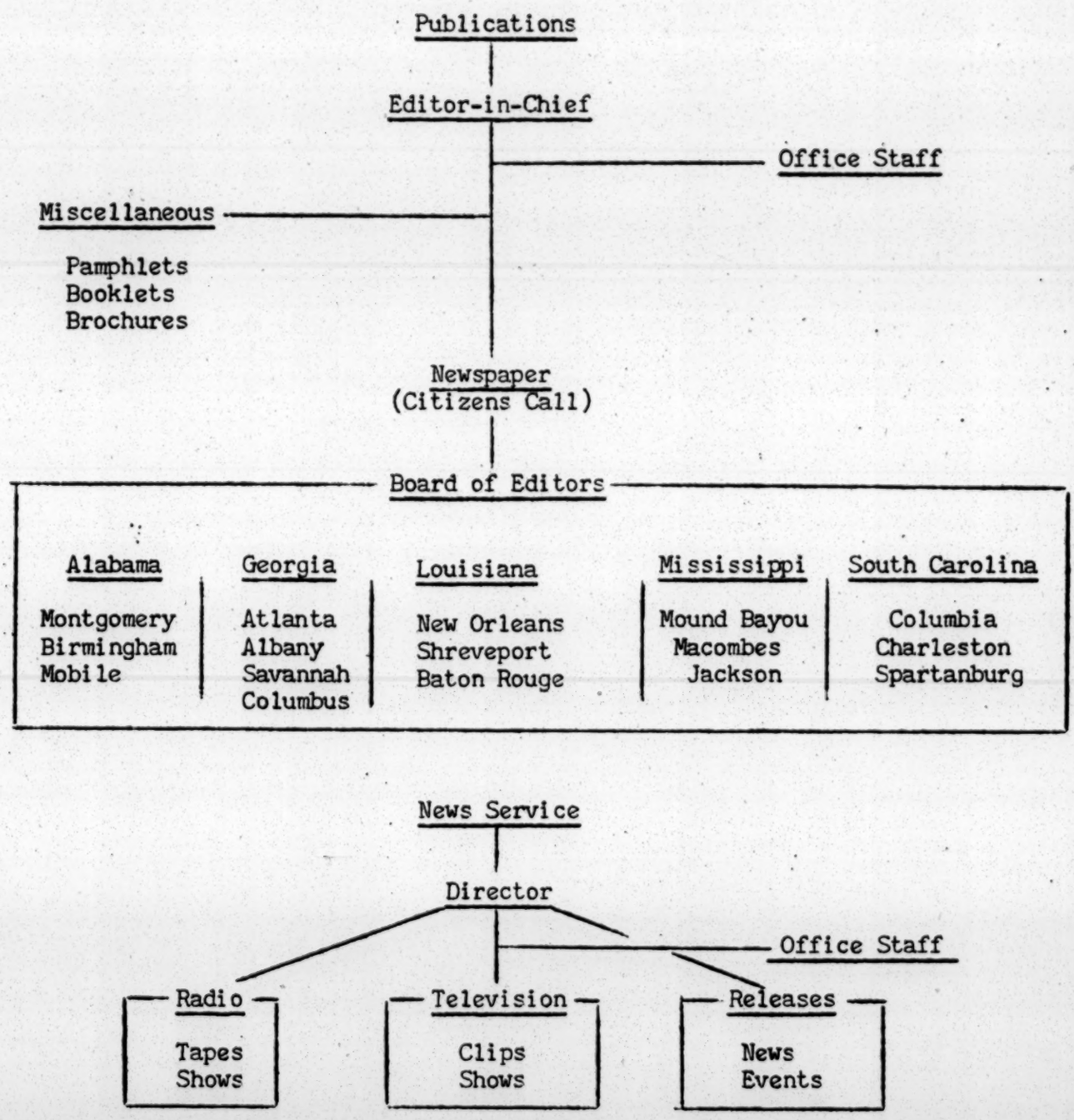
ORGANIZATION

Executive



ORGANIZATION

Administrative



OPERATION

NEWSPAPER - THE CITIZENS CALL Will be a tabloid printed by offset methods on coated newsprint. The front and several following pages will contain inter-national, national and regional news, opinion articles by contributing editors and writers, indoctrinal and other information. There will also be some national advertising.

LOCAL EDITIONS An editor will be selected for a city which serves as the focal point for news from surrounding counties. A section of the newspaper carrying a banner over the name of that city will report the news of the community. Advertising from the community will be solicited and published in that section. The number of pages devoted to a particular community will be determined by the amount of news and interest of the community.

REPORTERS Stringer or corresponding reporters located in the city and in the counties will supply the news.

CIRCULATION Section editors will manage circulation. Primary effort will be made to build subscription lists. The CALL will also be on sale in public places.

PUBLISHING The CITIZENS CALL will be published once every two weeks in Atlanta and circulated to subscriptions lists from there. Bundles will be shipped to communities on a regular schedule for circulation.

PRODUCTION Editors will submit collected news to headquarters by mail according to deadlines. Make-up and printing will be on a contract basis with a commercial firm in Atlanta.

NEWS SERVICES These will be purchased according to the funds available for that purpose.

ADVERTISING Except for national ads there will be limited use made of display layout. Effort will be directed to securing a maximum number of small, simply designed ads.

PROMOTION

REPORTING The news collecting system will consist of volunteer stringers. To establish maximum reliability with this type of structure it will be necessary to engage in constant promotional efforts to give status, dignity and social importance to their work. An organization of reporters by county and state will be formed. The esprit de corps of this group will be centered around the need for sentinels who man watching and listening posts in the community throughout the South. State-wide and regional meetings will be held once a year. County meetings will convene more frequently. Schools and workshops for training in reporting will be staged. Dances and other social functions will lend added interest to the program. Awards will be given for meritorius service each year.

SUBSCRIPTIONS Monetary awards, scholarships and other incentives will be used to promote subscription drives. Here again, the image of the newspaper serving the community without profit motivation can be used to advantage in building financial support. Northern readership will be built by placing copies on dealer newsstands in large Northern and Western cities. Mailings to "occupant" lists will be made in selected areas.

PUBLIC APPEARANCES Speaking engagements and other forms of public contact will be used to attract readers. Meetings between leaders and other persons of public stature and importance will be initiated by the CALL to examine issues, platforms (political), etc. as a service to the community.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS Promotional participation in local contests, cooking schools, fashion shows, talent shows, PTA programs, voter drives, Community Chest, March of Dimes and other fund raising efforts will be undertaken.

FREE CIRCULATION Free copies (regular cost per issue ten cents) of the newspaper will be distributed initially, to create familiarity in the public with content. This same technique will be used in selected areas where specific educational, indoctrinal or informational needs must be satisfied.

NEWS SERVICE

EDITORIAL POLICY

To seek the establishment of an image before the public which earns respect for reporting the truth and which inspires confidence because of its sincerety and value of purpose and intent.

It will avoid any tendency toward sensationalism and exaggeration.

It will practice moderation in the choice of formats, program, announcing, narrating and commenting styles.

It will hold in highest priority the value of public interest in writing and reporting and in building and sustaining listener and viewer interest.

It will seek to inform; not to impress.

It will be constructively critical when necessary and in the interest of public good.

It will work to relate public issues, events and information to the local community.

It will seek to serve the whole community.

It will lend its support and assistance to organizations working in the best interests of the general population.

It will work to raise standards in communities.

OPERATION

RADIO In the Atlanta office news and information will be collected and prepared for various types of programs which report and comment. These will be taped and offered to selected radio stations for their use on a fee basis or without cost, depending on feasibility.

News releases will be mailed to a selected lists of organizations and groups and to radio stations. Those prepared for radio will serve background needs in the industry for reporting the news in depth. Subscription rates will be charged these stations.

TELEVISION Program formats will be tried on an experimental basis and presented to television stations in an effort to make use of this medium.

ADMINISTRATION

The role of the president will be largely administrative. Writers and authors must be encouraged to contribute their work. Institutions of all kinds have valuable information they need to circulate. Organizations have messages and information they wish exposed. The government departments will cooperate with prepared copy in many areas of interest to the body politic. Collecting the news, preparing copy for makeup and related tasks are administrative also. Organizing and maintaining staff and structure belong properly with the administrative effort. With growth, specialization can be established. However, in the beginning, the whole of the effort will rest with the executive head who will also be the administrative head.

PILOT PROJECT

MONTGOMERY, ALA. This city has been chosen for the initial project. Some of the ground work has already been started. A staff of eleven reporters and an editor have been chosen and two training sessions in reporting have been held. The development of the CITIZENS CALL has been explained to local business men and their support is solid. Thirty-six have promised their continued support. The next step is to move into the counties.

Approximately five to six months will be required to firmly establish the pilot project and work out the major problems. Once this is accomplished expansion to Birmingham and Mobile will present a minimum of difficulty.

There are no programs presently active in Montgomery except voter registration, which involves a major part of the Negro population. Individual opinion indicates strong desire for program action. There is established leadership present. Effectiveness of the CITIZENS CALL can be measured against this background and will provide valuable experience for future development.

BUDGET

The establishment of CITIZENS CALL editions for Montgomery, Birmingham and Mobile will be necessary before solvency on a sound basis can be achieved. The six months Montgomery pilot program will be completed and the groundwork for Birmingham and Mobile editions prepared.

No allowance has been made to show net operating costs. Income from sales will be applied to starting operations in the other two cities.

The following figures represent minimum operating costs for the Montgomery, Alabama project for a six month period:

Incorporation costs and legal fees		250.
Georgia license fees		75.
Alabama license fees		75.
Salary (president full time) @ 150 wk		3900.
Clerk (part time) @ 20. wk)		520.
Travel 7. da for 180 da (rented auto)		1260.
Subsistence 5. da for 180 da		600.
Telephone 5. wk for 26 wks		130.
Supplies (stationery, printing, etc.)		150.
Postage (correspondence, subscriptions)		300.
Rent	(none)	
Light	(none)	
Heat	(none)	
Equipment:		
typewriter (used)		100.
Addressograph (manual plus cabinet, 500 stencils)		300.
file cabinet (used)		35.
desk and chair (used)		150.
Production:		
Printing and make-up 100. per 4 pages tabloid 3500 copies for 12 issues		1200.
		$9045.

CITIZENS CALL

Production detail:

Stock:	coated newsprint
Page size:	$11\frac{1}{2}$ x $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches
Number pages:	Four
Number of columns per page:	5 - 11 ms
Length of column:	14 inches
Number of inches per page:	70
Ratio news/ads:	60/40
Advertising rate:	$2.10 per column inch
Subscription rate:	$2.60 per year
Printing method:	Offset
Body type:	Ronaldson 8 pt

20 November 1962

Dear Hans:

Re: Woodrow Wilson Teaching Internship

The luck of the Irish! Last week I talked with Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, about your idea of a Wilson Teaching Internship, and he was able to set up a meeting for me last evening at dinner with the following persons who were in Atlanta for a meeting of the Board of the SRC:

President A. D. Beittel, Tougaloo Southern Christian (Mississippi)
Dean B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College (Georgia)
President James A. Colston, Knoxville College (Tennessee)
President Albert W. Dent, Dillard University (Louisiana)
President L. H. Foster, Tuskegee Institute (Alabama)
President Pitts, Miles College (Alabama)
President Stephen J. Wright, Fisk University (Tennessee)

Everyone favored the general idea of the plan, most were enthusiastic about it. President Dent was probably the most skeptical member of the group. He asked me to come to Dillard and discuss the plan with him and members of his faculty.

We spoke candidly about the racial aspect of the program. There were some (Colston and Pitts) who felt that the need in the predominantly Negro colleges is so great and the probable number of interns so small that the program should be limited to the predominantly Negro colleges; others (Brazeal and Wright) felt that it was wrong in principle to limit the program to Negro colleges. The group proposes that the program be limited to those private colleges in the South which would employ an Intern without regard to race. This proposal would virtually limit the program to the predominantly Negro colleges.

There was general agreement among these presidents of private colleges that the program should be limited to private colleges, both because the need of the private colleges is greater (the public colleges at least have access to more funds) and because the public Negro colleges are unable to employ white faculty members except in Texas, Kentucky, and North Carolina. (The accuracy of this latter statement is being checked out by Staige Blackford, Director of Research for the SRC.)

Most of the presidents were more than agreeable to the idea that these interns be given a reduced teaching load in order to work with the honors program, though one president (Dent) felt that the institution should be free to determine whether or not the intern could be used most effectively in that way.

As you would expect, there was agreement that the Foundation should provide a stipend, though we did not discuss whether this should be paid to the institution in recognition of the reduced teaching load or whether it should be paid to the fellow to supplement his salary. One person (Brazeal) suggested that the interns might be given a stipend to attend an annual conference of interns, somewhat like the meetings of the Danforth associates.

No one seems to think that it is necessary, or even desirable, to have teams of interns. It is everyone's impression that there is already at least one white person on the faculty of every private Negro college. (Staige Blackford is also checking this out.) Furthermore there was some feeling that a team of interns would tend to stick together and that this would detract from the value of the experience for the intern.

I am enclosing a proposed draft of a letter that is designed to be appropriate either for all private colleges in the South or for predominantly Negro colleges. In principle I favor sending the letter to the approximately 150 private colleges and let those that could not employ interns without regard to race eliminate themselves; I could not quarrel too much, however, if you should decide on practical grounds to send the letter only to the approximately 30 private Negro colleges since there would be only a small number of interns and since it might be more appealing to potential interns if the approach to them were clearly in terms of an opportunity to have a teaching experience in a Negro college. I am also enclosing a list of the member colleges of the Southern Association (a convenient way of defining "the South.") with a red check by the names of the Negro colleges and a blue check by the names of the private colleges.

Sincerely yours,

Charles D. Hounshell
National Representative

CDH:wb

Dr. Hans Rosenhaupt, National Director
Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation
Box 642
Princeton, New Jersey

PROPOSED DRAFT

(Letter to presidents of private and church-related liberal arts [Negro?] colleges in the South. CDH)

Dear President _____:

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation was established because of the nation-wide need for more college professors. Those of us associated with the Wilson Foundation have become acutely aware of the fact that the need is critical in the private and church-related liberal arts colleges of the South and especially in the predominantly Negro colleges.

We are considering the desirability of a small scale experiment which we are calling the Woodrow Wilson Teaching Internship Program. Briefly, the idea is to select from among those former Wilson Fellows who will have earned the Ph.D. degree a small number of especially able and promising persons who would be offered the opportunity of gaining experience as a Wilson Teaching Intern in a liberal arts college in the South, probably in one that is predominantly Negro. While the college would pay the salary of the intern in accordance with its regular scale, the Wilson Foundation would be prepared to offer a modest stipend if necessary in order to enable the college to give the intern a reduced teaching load so that he might have time and energy to devote to independent study and honors programs for superior students. We envisage the intern not just as someone who would fill a teaching gap but as someone who would add to the quality of the instruction.

I would appreciate having your reaction to this general idea. If you would be interested in participating in such a program, would you please let me know in what field(s) you would be especially interested in having an intern for the year 1963-64. Would you also let me know whether you would be able to employ an intern without regard to race.

Looking forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Hans Rosenhaupt
National Director

December 17, 1962

Mr. Jim Wood
News Director
Station WAOK
110 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

I have your letter of December 11 and want to congratulate you on becoming News Director of WAOK. Of course you may call on me. I am not the best informed person about local affairs, but occasionally I do have an opinion.

Best wishes for the Season.

Sincerely,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

The Capitol Stations

WAOK

5000 WATTS

110 EDGEWOOD AVENUE, N. E. • MURRAY 8-3773

Atlanta 3, Georgia

1380 KC

December 11, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Recently I have been given the added responsibility for directing the News Department. Mr. Paul Brown, formally, News Editor is now with the Coca Cola Company as an executive in the Marketing Division.

It is our purpose to present to the Atlanta Community a news program which keeps abreast of events of small and large interest which will be informative and interesting. This will not be possible without the feelings, opinions and comments of community leaders. You have been selected as one of a group of fifty persons serving our community in such a capacity.

May I request of you the privilege of contacting you in the future for opinion or comments in serving the news needs in our community?

Please be assured that confidences and off-the-record comments will be fully respected. Further, the use of personal names is not necessary unless specifically requested.

I look foward with pleasant anticipation to association with you in serving this community need.

Very truly yours,

Jim Wood

Jim Wood
News Director

JW/er

WAOK 1380

COUNCIL of WOMEN newsletter

Janice Johnson - Editor December 11, 1962 Number 2

FUN FAIR - SENSATIONAL

The WAOK Council of Women and the WAOK Youth Council sponsored this years FUN FAIR at the Rhythm Rink November 13th and 14th. This family type show headlined Sam Cooke and the Upsetters Band with an array of other talent including WAOK'S own Zilla Mays and Dr. Feelgood and the Interns. Jay Lewis, Atlanta's newest singing discovery, entranced the audience with his superb showmanship.

At the three shows daily, the members of the two councils acted as hosts and hostesses. During the five o'clock shows, the Youth Council was responsible for ushering and the overall comfort of the audience. Two representatives from each area of the WAOK Council of Women and the Hospitality group, official Council hostesses, worked during the evening performances.

Prizes were awarded to those in attendance.

CHRISTMAS PLANS

Members of the WAOK Council of Women have visited the Sarah Murphy Home for Children. They have found that there is dire need for many essential items, especially food.

Air appeals are now being made to the Atlanta public for such items as food, clothing, and toys in order that the children may have a joyous Christmas.

The Council will take all contributions to the Foster Home in Rockmount, Georgia on Sunday, December 23rd.

JOIN THE WAOK COUNCIL OF WOMEN...there is need for better service to humanity.

LAST MINUTE PLEA

A mother with ten children contacted the Executive Board of the WAOK Council of Women for food for her family on Thanksgiving. An air appeal was made over Radio Station WAOK to the Atlanta community. The response was remarkable. Enough canned foods, meats, vegetables, and fruit was received to feed the needy family of eleven. The plea was made the day before Thanksgiving and the members of the Council are deeply appreciative for the immediate response. Much thanks goes to the WAOK Youth Council for the donation of many items that filled the basket.

THE WAOK YOUTH COUNCIL

The objective of the Youth Council is to develop qualities desirable in the future leaders of tomorrow.

The members of the WAOK Youth Council visited the Grady Memorial Hospital recently and also the Hugh Spaldin Pavillion. They carried toys, games, coloring books, and stuffed toys to the young people in the children's ward. In the weeks to follow, the Youth Council plans to visit the following hospitals:

McLendon Hospital
Veterans Hospital
Happy Haven Home
The Blind Center

This is all for now.

LEON ROSS

COUNCIL OF WAOK WOMEN

Plan to go with the WAOK COUNCIL OF WOMEN on Sunday, December 23rd when they carol and visit hospitals in this area.

COUNCIL ACTIVITY....

ANGELS CLUB: Much is being done toward the helping of the needy in this area by the Angels Club. During the months of November and December, they have been conducting Sunday School classes at the old Fulton County Home where our senior citizens are placed, and often neglected in terms of contact with the outside community. They are now planning a Christmas Party for the residents there, which will include aprons for the ladies and hankerchiefs for the men. Mrs. Fannie Smith is President of the Angels Club of the WAOK Council of Women.

GOLDEN AGE CLUB: Twelve needy families have the Golden Age Club of the WAOK Council of Women to thank for their Thanksgiving Dinners. This group, under the leadership of Mrs. Mary Rowe and Mrs. Zeffre Wynn combined their efforts and filled Thanksgiving baskets with items for a delicious meal.

EAST POINT: Wholesome recreation is provided the teenagers in East Point, Georgia by this area of the Council. Every Wednesday night between the hours of seven and ten o'clock, the youth in East Point gather at the Elks Home for supervised recreation.

HOSPITALITY LADIES: This area continues to work untiringly servicing humanity. Much of their efforts go towards their special project; the persons at the Metropolitan Association for the Colored Blind. Last month these gracious ladies prepared and served a delicious meal for the Executive Board of the Blind Association. Mrs. Ora Sherman and Mrs. Thelma Wilkerson act as Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Hospitality Ladies.

The 1962 United Fund Drive topped it's goal 103% with the combined efforts of the WAOK COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

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BREAKFAST AT BEAMON'S

The live broadcast of the Around Town Program at the B. B. Beamon's Restaurant has been very successful. For the past two months, special recognition has been given to individual area groups, clubs, and organizations within the WAOK COUNCIL OF WOMEN. Citations are presented to each club commending them for outstanding community participation, good citizenship, and service to humanity. Among the areas that have already been honored at the breakfast sessions are:

Angels Club
Fashions Club
Golden Age Club
Hospitality Ladies
Lincoln Homes Area
Perry Homes Area
East Point Area

The Saturday morning gathering of the Council of Women is both entertaining and educational. Having educators, persons from the Department of Health, representatives from the Department of Welfare, and other professional persons visit with them helps the ladies to see where further work by organizations such as theirs is needed to further the cause towards the betterment of humanity.

TOYS FOR TOTS

The members of the Council will help the U. S. Marine Corps with the distribution of toys for underprivileged children.

Representatives from the following areas and clubs will make doll dresses:

The Hospitality Ladies
The Fashion Committee
The Dixie Hill Area
The East Point Area

The toys will be given away at the Butler Street YMCA, December 20th and 21st.

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File L. W. Gen. Corresp.

Sears, Roebuck and Co.

Southern Territory

Atlanta, Ga.

R. M. Wood
General Attorney

May 29, 1964

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les,

I am grateful for your invitation, but cannot attend the session on June 3 because of a previous commitment. It should be an interesting meeting!

Best regards,

Bob

Bob Wood

January 5, 1966

Mrs. James W. Wood, Jr.
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile 8, Alabama

Dear Kathie:

If convenient with you, I will arrive at 12:03 p.m. - EAL Flight #563 - on the 18th and return that evening at 11:35 p.m.

There is no one I am anxious to see other than perhaps the Wisemans who have invited me to visit whenever I am in town. Anything you arrange will be fine.

Looking forward to seeing you and Jim.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Mrs. James N. Wood Jr.
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile 8, Alabama

January 3, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

We are all looking foreward to hearing you at our Council meeting Tuesday, January 18th. You said on the phone that you would like to fly back right after the meeting: if you will let us know your schedule we will try to time things accordingly. It is to be a dinner meeting at Jack Thompson's church and, allowing time for people to get home from work etc., seven is probably the earliest that we can hope to start.

If there is time before the meeting we would like to have a few people in for drinks and a chance to visit with you, but this is entirely up to you. If there is anyone here you want to see I'll be glad to invite them or to provide you with a car so that you can go and visit them. In any event, I'll meet you at the airport if you will let me know when.

You're being very nice to give us this time, busy as you are, and we do appreciate it and are trying hard to forgive you for taking Ed Stanfield away from us.

Looking foreward to seeing you on the 18th,

Sincerely,

Kathie

#563
11:55 - 12:03

#564 - 11:35 - 2:24

file

file two "gen"

WORLD PRESS INSTITUTE
Macalester College
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101

March 20, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have received your publications and thank you for forwarding them to me. I have scheduled our visit with you for 2:30 p.m. on April 16.

We look forward to meeting with the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Ted Miller

C. Theodore Miller
Program Director

CTM:sk

World Press Institute

December 11, 1969

The Honorable Julian Bond
State Senator
c/o Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bond:

I should like to have you meet with the ninth group of international journalists of the World Press Institute on Friday afternoon, January 30. You have met our last five groups, and I am hoping you will extend the same courtesy to our present participants. We will have cars and can meet at a place convenient for you.

As you know, each year the World Press Institute selects 15 bright young journalists from as many different countries to participate in a nine-month program of intensive and extensive exposure to American society at every level. We now have 114 alumni in 46 countries.

Enclosed for your information in our brochure on the current Institute Fellows.

Since the newsmen and I will leave St. Paul January 4, I am hoping I might hear from you soon.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ted Miller

C. T. Miller
Program Director

CTM:sk

Enclosure

Macalester College Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101 Telephone (612) 647-6310 Cable: WORLDPRESS

Set up file on this guy + put this in it.

EFV
JC
FBR
HCF

Return to —

For the 41st Annual Convocation of the
HOWARD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF RELIGION

November 7, 1957

NON-VIOLENCE AND THE LAW: THE LAW NEEDS HELP

By Harris Wofford, Jr.

701 Union Trust Bldg.
Washington, D.C.

Today is the 40th Anniversary of the Communist Revolution in Russia. This 41st annual convocation of the Howard University School of Religion may not seem like much competition to the massive parade of troops and tanks moving this day through Red Square. But your subject -- Non-Violence and Social Change -- ought to be bothering the men, whoever they may today be, who are now reviewing the physical marks of Soviet power from the Kremlin stand. For let me venture a prediction: it will be through the non-violent resistance of the people suffering under Communism, not through any Western policy of massive retaliation, that Communism will be finally transformed.

Hungary demonstrated that the Red Army can crush even the bravest armed rebellion, but events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself suggest that beneath the surface non-violent resistance to Stalinism has already been of some effect in changing Communism. Poland is already a long way toward freedom, thanks in large part to the courageous and peaceful resistance, and jail-going, of two very different men, Cardinal Wszynski of the Church and Wladaslav Gomulka of the Party. "Nonviolence," Gandhi said, "means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant." "Working under this law of our being," he said, "it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honor, his religion, his soul, and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration." Djilas is trying to do this in Yugoslavia, from his jail cell, and Dudintsev, the author of Not By Bread Alone, is doing it by his civil defiance in Moscow.

So Non-Violence is a worldwide question, just as is integration of different racial or cultural or national groups. Any light which we in this country can throw on the problem of democratic and peaceful integration will be valuable in other lands plagued by the same stubborn problem -- in India, where untouchability and caste is as ingrained as are any prejudices in this country; in Israel, the pressure-cooker of a hundred cultures, in all of Africa. And any new demonstration here that non-violent change is possible will encourage and strengthen the forces of peaceful change everywhere.

But Dean Hill asked me to talk as a lawyer about how the law comes into this big question you are considering. Let me start by saying that a School of Religion is a good place for this question to be asked. As a lawyer I am convinced that the leadership in social change -- particularly in bringing about the change in racial relationships now underway in this country -- must not be left to lawyers.

We lawyers have our function. We can draft laws and interpret them, we can try cases in court and win legal decisions, we can

advise clients about their rights and defend their rights with every clause of the Constitution and every legal trick at our command. But social change is not ordinarily one of our skills. For the most part we are trained to win cases or at least to keep our clients out of jail, not to reconstruct the relationships of a community, not to change the minds and hearts of people.

Yet unless people's minds and hearts are changed, what can the law do? "In this and like communities," Lincoln said, "public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

Lincoln was not one to sell his profession short. The law has a big role to play, and not the least of that role is its own part in moulding public sentiment. The Constitution must be enforced, said Lincoln, knowing that enforcement of the law is itself a form of persuasion.

The law is a teacher. People learn to drive on the right side of the street by obeying the law requiring them to drive on that side. Citizens of the thirteen original states came to consider themselves citizens of the United States because the Constitution of the United States was ratified, established and enforced. Without the working of the Constitution no amount of talk would have convinced Americans to abandon their parochial loyalties for a higher allegiance.

Today compliance with the Constitution is still the best instruction in our constitutional duties. Negroes voting will do more to change the habits and opinions of those who oppose such voting than any amount of talk. Children of all races going to school with each other will do more than anything else to persuade young people and their parents that integration can work.

Thus the decisions of the Supreme Court fulfilling the Constitution's promise of equal protection of the laws are great and necessary milestones. But they do not mark the end of the road. They only point the way. And in fact, despite the impressive unanimity of the Court and the determination of the President to enforce the law, they seem to leave us at an impasse. For racial segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional and must be ended with all deliberate speed. But a substantial and dominant part of the public in a number of states is opposed to compliance with this and other applications of the constitutional guarantee of equal rights.

It will not be enough to get more court orders. Nor can bayonets be relied upon to do the trick. The law needs help. The courts and the Department of Justice and Federal policing powers cannot by themselves overcome the popular emotional psychological obstacles to integration in some of the states. The law cannot act as teacher where the conditions necessary for the educational process do

not exist. Where opposition to the law is violent and widespread the law may not be obeyed at all, or may be obeyed only in form while the spirit is submerged in a wave of irrationality.

This does not mean that the situation in Little Rock or elsewhere is hopeless. In fact, Little Rock may be a case where straight enforcement will suffice. The local school board had decided to comply with the Supreme Court, it had devised a gradual plan for integration that had substantial support in the community, and the city authorities were themselves willing to enforce it. A spark of demagoguery enflamed the situation, but there is reason to hope that Federal authority plus local common sense will put out the fire and give the plan for integration a chance to succeed. The example of Little Rock may help prevent other such outbreaks in areas where the Negro population is small and integration not in reality a very big problem.

But in the deep South, particularly in the black belt counties containing a majority of disfranchised Negroes, no simple solution is open. Local school boards in many cases will refuse to adopt even the most gradual integration plan and if pressed by litigation the public school system may itself be abandoned. Or the public schools in these black belt counties may be preserved for Negro children, with the whites establishing private schools. How can the courts compel state legislatures to appropriate funds for integrated schools?

The question then is what else can be done to mould public sentiment. How can we help the law? What can we do to break up the concentration of emotions on this issue, to disperse the hatred, violence and irrationality gathered around public school integration, to take the initiative out of the hands of racial demagogues, to release the forces of moderation, of ethics and sanity and Christianity, of respect for law?

This is where non-violence and Gandhi and Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy and the Montgomery Improvement Association come in. It is time for Thurgood Marshall, a master craftsman whose legal victories have contributed greatly to the reconstruction of racial relationships in this country, to reconsider Thoreau's Essay on Civil Disobedience. For there must be further actions, in and out of court, that go deeper in moulding public sentiment. And for this the ministers of the gospel of the New Law, the law of Love, should step forward. It is time for you to light new paths for your legal brethren who too often take a too narrow litigious view of the law.

The Supreme Court, thanks to the civil rights lawyers in our midst, has ordained justice. But human nature is recalcitrant stuff and once again, albeit in pale and distant imitation, it seems that in the agonizing way of the New Testament it is necessary for the word to become flesh. You will call this the way of Love. Gandhi called it Non-Violence, or as he put it, living the Sermon on the Mount. As a lawyer I see it as a form of persuasion. And as a lawyer I would rather define what I mean by citing cases.

In 1935 Dr. and Mrs. Thurman, while visiting Gandhi, asked him to come to America, not for White America but to help the Negro in his fight for civil rights. Gandhi said he had to make good the message of non-violence in India first, but added that "it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world."

In 1951 a former associate of Gandhi, Rammanohar Lohia, visited this country and to American Negroes and whites who wanted to advance civil rights he prescribed jail-going and non-violent struggle against unjust racial laws and practices. No, said President Johnson of Fisk, we are too weak a minority and here we have the law and Constitution on our side, unlike the situation you faced in India. There are only a handful of Negroes in Montgomery who would stand together in any Gandhian struggle, sadly said that courageous Alabama NAACP leader, Mr. E. C. Nixon, himself a veteran of many struggles. When at Hampton Institute in November 1955 I happened to propose that the Negro and white of the South try the Gandhian way a respected Negro leader who had known and loved Gandhi and who had tried to spread his message in America told me that he had about given up hope. The American Negro, everyone seemed to say, does not have the Gandhian dimension in him.

Then came the Montgomery bus boycott. And by Christmas 1955 the world knew that the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, were talking with God, praying for those that oppose them, and regularly rededicating themselves to the methods of non-violence. Mrs. Rosa Parks says that she had been forced to move many times before but that for some reason "this time I just didn't move." When the driver threatened to call the police she said: "Then just call them." With her arrest, the spark was struck that started the first great Gandhian fire in our midst.

A year later the world knew that the Negro of Montgomery had it in him. Under the inspired leadership of Martin Luther King and his brother ministers the Gandhian alchemy, as in India and South Africa, made heroes out of common clay. In passing I note that the ratio of ministers to lawyers in the Montgomery struggle, judging from those arrested, was 24 to 1.

A year later the Supreme Court struck down bus segregation in Montgomery as unconstitutional. "All that walking for nothing," said a lawyer friend of mine. "They could just as well have waited while the bus case went up through the courts, without all the work and worry of the boycott."

Would that have been better? Would it have been better if 40,000 Negroes had not spoken up against segregation with their prayers and their feet? Would it have been better if the ministers had never been arrested, if the bombs had not been exploded, if there had been a court victory without a popular struggle?

That is a rhetorical question because you know and I know that the Montgomery bus boycott was the most exciting and most significant thing that has happened in this country for a long time. Of course we are glad it happened. A new element came into our national life. New dignity was added to the fight for civil rights. The words of the court took on substance and life, they had no hollow ring from on high, because they were part of a human dialogue, because in Montgomery there was a deep human response, because through the boycott public sentiment was moulded so that it became possible to establish the law.

We know this instinctively but we would do well to examine the nature of this new element and understand its implications. What Martin Luther King has given us is the unadulterated message of non-violence which Gandhi wanted the Negroes finally to deliver to the world. That message can be summarized in these terms: We accept personal responsibility for injustice. We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for the Government to act or a majority to agree with us or a court to rule in our favor. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully, because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of non-violence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be ready to talk and to seek fair compromise but we are also ready to suffer when necessary, to go to jail or risk our lives, to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.

At first this may sound un-American, for lately we have been committed to wait upon Congress and the courts -- or the next election -- for the resolution of all our troubles. But Gandhi got his theory of civil disobedience from Thoreau, and at least once before in our history when the law was at another impasse, with the Dred Scott decision and the Fugitive Slave Law, there was a fruitful era of non-violent action. The abolitionists awakened the conscience of the nation and set the stage for Lincoln by refusing to acquiesce in slavery. When Emerson came to ask Thoreau why he was in jail, the Concord prisoner asked, "Why are you outside?" Prison, he said, was apparently the place for fugitive slaves, Mexican prisoners, Indians, and honest men. "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly," he wrote, "the true place for a just man is also a prison." Thoreau advised the abolitionists not to "wait till they constitute a majority of one." It is enough, he said, "if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one." "Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" Thoreau asked. His answer was this: "If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth . . . but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. * * * Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence."

In Western law and philosophy there is ample theoretical justification for this approach. "An unjust law is not a law," argued Aristotle, quoting Antigone. Aquinas, quoting Augustine, agreed, and added that human laws unjust because contrary to Divine law or good ought nowise to be obeyed. St. Thomas was less sure of what to do about laws contrary to human good, such as laws imposing unequal burdens on the community. He held that such laws were not binding "in conscience" except perhaps to avoid "scandal or disturbance."

It is here that Gandhi, a British trained lawyer, comes in, adding non-violence as the method of resisting injustice. Civil disobedience, he demonstrated, is not subversive of the law, does not lead to the kind of scandal and disturbance St. Thomas feared. On the contrary it involves the highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violated the law, or tried to evade it, or violently tried to overthrow it, that would be undermining the idea of law, Gandhi argued. But by openly and peacefully disobeying an unjust law and asking for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that when we think it is so unjust that in conscience we cannot obey, then we belong in jail until that law is changed.

It seems to me this is good legal theory. Justice Holmes once argued even that a party to a private contract has a right to refuse to comply with the contract if he is ready to pay the penalty. I am not going that far. I do not say we have a right to break the social contract which is our legal system, except through constitutional amendments. But I am arguing that under our social contract man is to be free, and that a free man should look on each law not as a command but as a question, for implicit in each law is the alternative of obedience or of respectful civil disobedience and full acceptance of the consequences.

Once men no longer believe that they as good citizens must obey any law passed by the legislature, no matter how bad, then they must ask themselves of each law, Is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from the very inception, and cannot wait the slow process of parliamentary reform? This choice we always have to make. It is the choice which makes us free.

I am talking about the freedom which Socrates felt on that morning when, having refused to obey the law abridging his freedom of speech but also refusing to evade the law by escaping from Athens, he peacefully drank the hemlock.

Perhaps I have reached a realm beyond the law. But this I think is the spirit of our laws. The principle of an aristocracy is honor, says Montesquieu; of a tyranny, it is fear; of a democracy, it is learning. The law will play its full role as a teacher only when we look upon it as a question. The law is not some final arbiter. It is the voice of our body politic with which we must remain in dialogue. For the proposition to which we are dedicated is self-government. We must respond to the law, resist it, change it, and fulfill it, eve

it, even as it challenges, changes and educates us.

Now there is at least one other vital argument which Gandhi and Martin Luther King would make, which is beyond the legal pale but I will try to make it. "Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering," said Gandhi. "Rivers of blood may have to flow before we gain our freedom but it must be our blood," he said to his countrymen. And hundreds of thousands of Indians did withstand the blows of British clubs, about half a million courted jail, and not a few gave their lives without striking back.

What was Gandhi's justification for this ordeal to which he invited his countrymen, for this mass political application of the ancient doctrine of turning the other cheek? As ministers of a Church nourished by the blood of martyrs, dedicated to the imitation of Him who chose the Cross, there should be little that a lawyer need say to convince you of the educational potentialities of suffering.

"Things of fundamental importance to people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering," said Gandhi. "Suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason." "The appeal of reason is more to the head," he said, "but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man."

Does it? In practice does non-violent action change the minds and hearts of people? Is it practical in a democratic system of law where there is a Constitution with a bill of rights to which one can appeal through regular legal channels?

Is it advisable, when the spirit of violent disobedience is afoot, to adopt any methods other than strict reliance on law and order?

These questions answer themselves. For the very use of violence by the opponents of integration invites a non-violent response. At least it presents the alternative of acquiescence to intimidation or of the use of violence in return or of non-violent resistance. Gandhi often said he would prefer violence to cowardice, but he and you and I would prefer the courageous non-violence of Rosa Parks or of Elizabeth Eckford to the use of shotguns and switchblades. The old law of an eye-for-an-eye-for-an-eye leaves everyone blind.

Nor is violent, lawless intimidation the only kind of injustice facing the Negro -- there are still many unconstitutional discriminatory laws on the books and state and local governments can add new ones faster than the Supreme Court can strike them down.

Nor does the existence of the Constitution at the top of our federal system mean that the majority in Congress or in a state legislature or in a city council may not enact an

state legislature or in a city council may not enact an unjust law that is, at least for some time, upheld by the Court. Let us not forget the fugitive slave law. Civil disobedience of laws or local ordinances which we believe violate the bill of rights is the quickest and surest way of testing their constitutionality. In this sense, as Thoreau wrote, "They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."

Also in this age of great centralized nation-states and monster bureaucracies we need some practical new Socratic technique to register popular dissent and to stir society from its dogmatic slumbers. Civil disobedience is an antidote to the centralization and standardization of our life, to the sense of fatality of the multitude as well as to the tyranny of the majority. The leviathans, our governments, if they give a minimum of good government, need have no fear of being stung too often, for the gadflies who will willingly go to jail to make their point are normally not so numerous.

Thus civil disobedience is a new answer to the question of how to divide our duties to Caesar and God. As the claims of Caesar have grown louder, our answer too often has been: we render unto Caesar that which Caesar says is Caesar's and go to Church on Sunday. With Non-Violence we can make real decisions -- effective moral choices -- in this apportionment between God and Caesar, between our conscience and the state. That is what happened in Montgomery when churches filled on days other than Sunday and people started walking with God on their work days.

Was the Montgomery bus boycott effective in registering the convictions of the Negroes and in stirring the white conscience from its complacency?

How can we measure the effect of the boycott -- or of the courageous suffering of the children who have gone through jeering mobs and faced a line of guns in order to establish the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution? The heart has its reasons, and the doctors of the mind recognize the occasional need for shock treatment. I would guess that the boycott had the effect of an electric shock on both the white and Negro people of Montgomery, shaking and to some extent changing the racial thought patterns of that community. Montgomery whites could no longer be so sure they knew their Negroes, and the Negroes could begin to be sure that they were not the docile children that they had been pictured.

This is not to suggest that men are easily moved out of their mental ruts or that prejudice and irrationality can be cured by non-violent words or a year's walking. Nehru once remarked that the British were never so angry as when the Indians resisted them with non-violence, that he never saw eyes so full of hate as those of the British troops to whom he turned the other cheek when they beat him with lathis. But non-violent resistance at least changed the minds and hearts of the Indians, however impervious the British may have been. We cast away our fear, says Nehru. And in the end the British not only granted India freedom but came to have a new respect for

Indians. Today a mutual friendship based on complete equality exists between these two peoples within the Commonwealth.

I do not predict the same happy ending for Montgomery because integration is more complicated than independence. But I am sure that the Negro of Montgomery is already walking straighter because of the boycott. And I expect that this generation of Negro children will grow up stronger and better because of the courage, the dignity and the suffering of the nine children of Little Rock and their counterparts in Nashville and Clinton and Sturgis. And I like to believe that the white people of this country are being affected too, that beneath the surface this nation's conscience is being stirred.

I hope this is the case not just because the Gandhian theory seems right to me but because it is becoming clear that we are in for a season of suffering. The Constitution stands and it is color-blind, but the 14th Amendment will not become the living law of this land until it is understood as well as enforced. And we are a long way from that understanding. Angry passions and deep prejudices are being aroused, and even as victories for civil rights mount in the federal courts, the mountain of state and local laws and practices remains unmoved. Negro leaders continue to be arrested and persecuted under city ordinances, state laws continue to be enacted to circumvent integration, and powerful community pressures are organized to support the whole web of racial injustice. What I hope is that recognizing the necessity of struggle and suffering we will make of it a virtue. If only to save itself from bitterness this generation of Negroes needs the vision to see its ordeal as the opportunity to transfigure itself and American society. If the jails must be filled, let them be entered, as Gandhi urged his countrymen, "as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber." That is, with some trepidation but with great expectation.

It is a privilege that history gives only occasionally for men to become the instruments of a great idea. And one thing more about the idea of integration through non-violent action. Non-violence is not a negative concept. Its corollary must always be growth. Gandhi always insisted that the other side of the coin of civil disobedience against injustice was constructive service to establish justice. And in the Indian struggle there was a rhythm of alternation between dramatic boycotts and jail-going campaigns and periods of steady, hard, construction of a better India.

In South Africa, where Gandhi first experimented with his methods with an Indian community that was outnumbered ten to one by the whites, he began by listing all the grievances against the Indians by the whites, and by asking his fellow Indians to consider which of these grievances were justified and then to do something about remedying them. To the Indian merchants before him, known for slick dealings and sharp bargaining, he proposed more responsibility to the community. He thought all Indians could do something to improve the unsanitary conditions in the Indian sections of town. Why

wait for legal victories against discrimination for the necessary drain-cleaning? he asked. He organized constructive institutions to teach the impoverished Indians to read and write, to erase caste discriminations among the Indians themselves, to help end the demoralization of much of the Indian community.

I gather that it was in this spirit that the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed on the occasion of the bus boycott. As Martin Luther King said, "We are seeking to improve not the Negro of Montgomery but the whole of Montgomery." It was not an association to improve bus service by ending segregation, but an association to improve Montgomery. And, as could be said of every city in this country, that leaves a lot of improving to do.

This then is the rhythm beyond the law which I as a lawyer commend to your ears. Non-violent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means a term in jail; and imaginative, bold, constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation, inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship. The non-violent struggle, if conducted with the dignity and courage already shown in Montgomery and Little Rock, will itself help end the demoralization, but a new frontal assault on the poverty, disease and ignorance of people too long behind God's back will make victory in the struggle more certain.

This is the way, it seems to me, for public sentiment to be moulded. In taking the leadership in this great educational venture you will be going, as Lincoln said, deeper than those who make and interpret the laws. "The law will never make men free," Thoreau said; "it is men who have got to make the law free." That is only half true, for the law can help. But through non-violent action men, by becoming free themselves, in turn help our law at last to be free.

Mailed separately: Wall Street Journal Reprint - "Segregation Costs..." Dec. 17, 1957
N. Y. Times Reprint - "Leaders in South..." 12/25/57
N. Y. Times Reprint - "The Southern Negro..." John Popham - dtd. 12/1/57
Board List (SRC)
SRC Annual Report, 1957
Congressional Record Reprint - dtd. July 26, 1957
See additional encls attached

VIA AIR MAIL

April 11, 1958

Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr.
c/o Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N. W., - 6th Floor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wofford:

I am delighted to know that you will be associated with the work of the Civil Rights Commission, and I hope you will call on us for every possible assistance we can render.

There are many things which I would like to discuss with you, and if I have an opportunity to come to Washington anytime soon, I will hope to see you.

Meanwhile, I am sending separately some of our materials which may be pertinent. I must confess that I don't recall what materials, if any, we may have supplied you with when you were here, so I will run the risk of duplication.

I might mention that the Southern Regional Council and other agencies are engaged in a fact-finding effort which may produce results of interest to the Civil Rights Commission. I will see that you are kept informed of the progress of these efforts.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I am changing your address on our mailing list to that shown above. I trust this is proper.

H.C.F.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

Additional encls. to Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr.

4/15/58

Harry Ashmore editorials
Sept. 1 - Oct. 25, 1957

Thermo-faxed copy of Wall St. Journal article on "Sports Segregation..." 3/18/58

Summary of Ga. Laws designed to assure segregated schools

Dec./1957 New South - Harry S. Ashmore's speech "The Race Dilemma"

Wall St. Journal article - 2/14/58 "Religion and Race"

HMF's article for Progressive - "The South and Segregation..." 2/57

Population Distribution Map

Special Reports:
"Pro-Segregation Groups in the South"
"Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision"

"Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities..."

Bibliography - 14th annual Inst. on Race Relations Fisk Inst.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

For Woolford

✓ Wall St. Jnl on religious ldrs

✓ " " " Sports piece thermofaxed

✓ Progressive piece thermofaxed

✓ HSA editorials —

✓ " speech ⇔ —

? ~~S. Carolinas Speak~~

✓ Directory (corrected)

✓ Special Repts. Pro. Seg — ✓ So. Legis.

✓ Pop. distrib. mag. ✓

Bibliography + references —

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

Fisk
Bibliog.

to Mildred —

From CHP —

COVINGTON & BURLING

UNION TRUST BUILDING

WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

March 31, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have not thanked you for the time you spent educating me when I came through Atlanta in December. I hope that you will continue the education because I am just now going to work for the Civil Rights Commission as legal assistant to one of its members, Father Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame.

If you are in Washington at any time, I should very much like to talk with you again. Also any other written materials that you think I should read, please either send along to me or drop me a note giving me the reference.

Sincerely,

Harris

Harris L. Wofford, Jr.

c/o Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N.W., 6th Floor
Washington, D. C.

HLW,Jr./k

Encls: V. Study
[illegible] - 12/1/57 (Pottsburg) + 12/25/57
W. V. [illegible] - 12/17/57 - Seg. Courts
[illegible]
[illegible]
C. [illegible]

4b

Do 4-29-58

MEMORANDUM April 25, 1958

To: John Constable

From: H. C. Fleming

John, will you please compile as complete a back file of New South as possible and send to:

Harris Wofford
1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

If there are many lapses, you might want to wait and check with me again week after next. I might be able to turn up a few of the needed old copies at home.

HCF

J.C. Please let me know what is done on this for my records
W.F.

Mailed 5-1-58. All copies except Dec '47-Jan '48 (one issue) OK

MEMORANDUM April 25, 1958

To: John Constable

From: H. C. Fleming

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April 25, 1958

Mr. Harris Wofford
1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Harris:

I am glad you found our materials useful as "educational" background, and I am sending you separately six (6) copies of each of the items you mention.

We will also be happy to supply as complete a back-file as possible of New South for the Commission Library. It should be mailed to you sometime next week. I am about to leave town for a week, but as soon as I return, I will follow your suggestion of others who might suitably receive a batch of our materials and a complimentary subscription to New South. This is something we have been intending to do for some time, so that it will validly appear to be on our own initiative.

I hope to work out a Washington trip in the near future and will certainly consult you in advance as to your availability. Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Va.

April 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of April 11 and the various materials which were interesting, relevant and valuable. I'm using my home address because at least so far we have no messenger to pick up the mail, which does not come to 726 Jackson Place directly, and the delays sometimes have taken a week, as with your letter.

I would like a number of copies - say 6 ? -- of several of the pieces, e.g. the map of Negro population by counties, the list of organizations active in the field of human relations, the list of your own officers, the report on pro-segregation groups in the South, the compilation on religious bodies and their statements on the Supreme Court decision, the summary of Georgia laws, the current issue of New South, your piece on The South and Segregation, and your Annual Report. Also. "Move to Disenfranchise Negro Voters" + "Summary of Recent Segregat. laws."

Mailed 4/28/58 wf

I would also like to have as complete a back file as you could send us of the New South magazine. If you send it to me I will put it in the Commission library. Also I will circulate among the staff all the above requested material.

Here is a suggestion. We are all relatively uneducated in this problem. We are all at a stage where we are receptive to education. I think it might be useful if you sent your best material and a subscription to the New South to each of the Commissioners and to the staff director. Do not mention my name in this connection as I do not want to loom as a self-appointed educator. I am in need of the education as much as anyone else.

Be sure to let me know when you come to Washington. At an early stage I want some of the people here to consult with you. At any point now I would benefit from that. So send along any of your other or new material that seems relevant to our work and education.

Sincerely,

Harris Wofford

Harris Wofford

circulate + e 1 hf

VIA AIR MAIL

June 26, 1958

Mr. Harris Wofford
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Harris:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Dean Johnson forwarding him information about the Commission on Race and Housing. Since I only had one copy of the enclosure, I sent it to him, assuming that it would be readily available to you as well. I am placing Tiffany, Shine, Johnson and Jackson on our mailing list along with you. If there are other staff members who should receive New South directly, please let me know.

see Civil Rights Comm. folder

In your Capahosic note, you referred to some recent report of ours which you had not seen. I assume that it is our rather light weight special report. I am sending you a copy of that one as well as the other additional materials you wanted. Gordon Tiffany has written to ask that we send him everything the Council has on the status of voter registration. I will do so as soon as we can pull it together with the promise of more current information as soon as our new survey bears fruit.

It was good to be with you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Copy of HCF's ltr. to Dean Geo. M. Johnson)

June 26, 1958

Separate mailing to Harris Wofford:

1 copy - Special Report: "The Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter"

10 copies - Population Distr. Map

30 copies - "In the Hearts of Men" or its substitute - NEW SOUTH which carried Atlanta Ministers Statement

10 copies - "The Negro Voter in the South"

JC —
All of these are at Commission on Civil Rights, Washn 25, DC
Should receive New South and Special Reports.
HCF

1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Virginia
July 14, 1958

JC
Please return for files
wf

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
SouthernRegional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for all your material. The other people here who might like to receive your reports directly, in addition to those you listed, are: Mrs. Elizabeth Cole, Mr. Charles Ed. Clark, Mr. Howard W. Rogerson, Col. A. H. Rosenfeld, Mr. Malcolm Smith, and Mr. Burton Stevenson.

Sincerely,

Harris

Harris Wofford, Jr.

HW/lm

Cards made + put on stencil list - 7/23/58
BCC.

File CR Comm.

Harold

Thought you'd like to mull over proposals in memo. Please keep confidential that I sent it.

Hans

Confidential

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 22, 1958

For Forwarding to Africa.

Rev. Theodore Hesburgh
Office of the President
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Father Ted:

The attached memorandum "On the Role of the Executive in School Integration" was prompted by the President's statement yesterday in which he made it clear that the law will be enforced in Little Rock, with force again if necessary, but that he would say nothing more about school integration than that the law must be enforced. In fact he did say more and what he said has been generally taken to mean that personally he does not favor integration. He said that "for me to weaken public opinion by discussion (of the school cases), where I might agree or might disagree, seems to me to be completely unwise," and then he added: "I have an oath; I expect to carry it out. And the mere fact that I could disagree very violently with a decision, and would so express myself, then my own duty would be much more difficult to carry out" (emphasis added).

This proposition that saying anything more than he has said would weaken public opinion is, I think, a great mistake. I realize that the position is no doubt taken after much thought and consultation. I do not know whether these thoughts I have put on paper in this memorandum add any points that have not been considered. I do not know whether Gordon would want to pass on this memorandum to Mr. Siciliano or any of his friends in the White House who are thinking about this problem. In any case I thought you and Gordon might want to see these points for what they are worth. Gene Jackson, who has talked this out with me, wants to show a copy to his Commissioner, Secretary Wilkins.

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It is probably too late to hope for a speech such as I suggest in point 1 in time for the opening of school. But the Little Rock case itself may be suspended for some weeks pending Supreme Court appeal and in any event there will be many later opportunities for such a speech.

Points 2 and 3, proposing a White House Conference of the state advisory committees of the Commission on Civil Rights and an off-the-record mediation session with a small group of top Negro and white leaders are proposals which I wish the Commission would itself consider. So these points are not limited to the immediate emergency and we can talk about them when you return.

If you were here I would suggest that you consider talking to your friend Mr. Nixon, particularly about the third proposal for a serious effort at mediation. In fact, Nixon seems to me the likeliest person to be able to bring it off. There may yet be time for you to make that proposal, for the crisis of school integration is just beginning.

Maybe your other friend Robert Murphy should try his hand at this mediation when he comes back from Lebanon!

As ever,

Harris Wofford

P. S. Just now I see in the morning New York Times that James Reston makes some of the points in my memorandum and cites some powerful comments of Woodrow Wilson on the nature of the Presidency. The President, according to Wilson, is the "spokesman for the real sentiment and purpose of the country," whose task is to give "direction to opinion."

> "His is the only national voice in affairs. Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the country, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him. His position takes the imagination of the country. . . His office is anything he has the sagacity and force to make it. *** His is the vital place of action in the system, whether he accept it as such or not, and the office is the measure of the man — of his wisdom as well as of his force."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Confidential

4

August 20, 1958

ON THE ROLE OF THE EXECUTIVE IN SCHOOL INTEGRATION

The President has often stressed that school desegregation is a problem of changing the minds and hearts of people. In his news conference on August 6 he again stated his belief "that mere law will never solve this problem."

Yet under the Constitution the President has a clear duty: "he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed."*/ The Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is the "supreme Law of the Land; . . . any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding."**/ It is therefore the duty of the President to see that all necessary and proper executive action is taken to assure the desegregation of public schools "with all deliberate speed" as required by the Supreme Court.***/

In his statement today the President left no doubt that he will use his power to enforce the law. He declared "the solemn duty that all Americans have to comply with the final orders of the court", and he reaffirmed his conviction that, "The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms rests upon the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of the Government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the Federal courts." This firm statement of renewed resolution was an important step at this time.

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*/ Art. II, Sec. 3.
**/ Art. VI.
***/ Brown v. Board of Education et al., 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

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But because the problem does involve changing the minds and hearts of people, mere enforcement of the law is not enough. The law is a great teacher, but there are occasions when other methods of persuasion are necessary to create a sufficient public attitude of willing compliance.

Court decisions can play a part in such persuasion. But it is dangerous to leave the primary burden of persuasion on the judiciary. The judicial power is designed to decide cases and controversies. "The executive Power," according to the Constitution, "shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."*/ To leave the heavy problem of creating the conditions for compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal courts is to imperil the judiciary and to postpone a solution of the problem. Recent bills to curtail the judiciary are in part the result of the undue burden the Supreme Court and other federal courts have had to carry in this field.

President Eisenhower says that "if I could think of anything I thought would be effective in August or in the few weeks before . . . the schools start, why, I certainly shouldn't hesitate to do it."**/

The following additional steps are respectfully suggested for consideration:

1. The President should address the American people by television and radio before the end of the Labor Day weekend on the subject of the

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*/ Art. II, Sec. 1.
**/ President's news conference, Aug. 6, 1958.

public schools and the Constitution. He should take that opportunity to explain the fundamental principle of the Fourteenth Amendment that requires the orderly desegregation of all public schools. He should explain the school decisions of the Supreme Court, stressing the Court's unanimity and its recognition of "the great variety of local conditions" requiring a gradual "transition to school systems operated in accordance with constitutional principles" */ He should describe the flexibility that the courts have shown in approving various local plans for such gradual integration. He should announce that in any case where the process of orderly compliance is jeopardized the Department of Justice will actively participate as a friend of the court, seeking all injunctions necessary to carry out the court's decision. And he should call upon local and state officials and the American public to proceed with good faith compliance with all deliberate speed.

Such an appeal can be made with sympathy for those to whom the changes involved are difficult, but it should not rest solely on respect for law and order. No law of real importance is ever obeyed merely because it is the law. People consent to a law when they believe that it is right. To convince the American people that racial discrimination must cease in public schools is thus one of the responsibilities of the President if he is to see that this law is "faithfully executed." The corollary to the President's proposition that "mere law will never solve the problem" is that to uphold the law more is required than mere talk of obedience to law.

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*/ Brown v. Board of Education, et al., 347 U.S. 483 (1954) 349 U.S.294(1955).

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The policeman on the beat may say, "I didn't make the law, I just enforce it," wave his billy or use his gun, give a ticket or make an arrest. But far more is demanded of the President of the United States in fulfilling his oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." No one is in a better position than the President to present to the people the reasons for good faith compliance with the Court's decision. Such public reasoning is required.

This is not a matter of the President stating his personal opinions or predilections. What is required is a full and eloquent statement of the fundamental constitutional principles supporting the Court's decision. These principles were declared to be self-evident truths in the Declaration of Independence, and are embodied in the commandments of Christianity and all the great religions. They constitute the public policy of the United States. It is the duty of the President of the United States to uphold and defend them, not only with bayonets but with words. In the beginning — and before a last resort to bayonets — should be the word of the President, designed to arouse in the people the "common sense" and "civic responsibility" which, as the President said today, "must eventually come into play if we are to solve this problem."

Religious, educational, business, labor and other civic leaders may play an important part in educating the public, but the primary leadership in promoting the better understanding of the Constitution which compliance with the Court's decision requires must come from the Executive Branch, and first of all from the President. He alone is in

a position to tell the people what failure to comply would mean to this country's standing in the world, and to the cause of freedom and peace on every continent.

No one speech will suffice. A steady effort to show the way of "common sense" and "civic responsibility" will be required for many months and years. Talks to the people, consultation with state officials, conferences with leaders of public opinion, constructive proposals to facilitate the transition, public reports of progress — all this and more seem necessary. Two other possible steps along this line are here proposed:

2. The President should convene a White House Conference on Civil Rights to be comprised of the members of the state advisory committees now being established by the Commission on Civil Rights. At such a conference leaders of national life, including the President and Vice President, could begin to chart the course of progress toward the attainment of full civil rights for all Americans. A goal might be set for the end of all racial discrimination in our public life by 1963 — the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. A hundred years is about time enough to fulfill this task set by the Constitution. Point One on the agenda should be the problem of school integration. Negro and white leaders, North and South, of varied opinions, should be heard. Recriminations about the past should be out of order; proposals to contribute to the solution of the problem should be invited. From men such as Martin Luther King or Governor Collins a fresh and understanding approach could be expected. No specific decisions about school desegregation

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would need to be made at such a conference. The state advisory committees would be expected to study and discuss the matter further in their states and to report their opinions to the Commission on Civil Rights in time to be considered before its report is made to the President and Congress on or before September 9, 1959.

Since the formation of advisory committees in all 49 states will take another one or two months, such a conference could not take place immediately, and perhaps it should not take place until after the November election. But its announcement now could signify the seriousness of the President's purpose and give some assurance that constructive thinking and action is underway. It could give impetus and weight to the work of the Commission on Civil Rights. It could help raise the public's focus from immediate crises of enforcement to the long-range creative tasks ahead.

The Commission on Civil Rights should be now in a position to help arrange for and to preside over such a conference.

3. The President should invite a small group of representative Negro and white leaders to meet with him, or after the initial session with a deputy appointed by him, for serious face-to-face, off-the-record negotiation of possible agreement on a course of desegregation that would be acceptable to the courts and to reasonable men on both sides. Recently the President met with four Negro leaders, Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Lester Granger and A. Phillip Randolph. Previously he has met with Governors Collins, Hodges, Clement and McKeldin of the Southern Governors' Conference and with Congressman Brooks Hays, head of the Southern Baptists.

It is time that he bring men such as these together, and, with all the moral authority of the office that he holds, try to bring about conciliation consistent with the requirements of the Constitution. In his place as mediator for the many hours or days of discussion and negotiation that should take place he would need to appoint a man of high stature with great patience and mediatory skill. In selecting the parties to invite at least one other Southern Negro leader, such as Dr. Benjamin Mays of Atlanta, should be included in addition to the four who saw the President before. And the Southern white leaders should include recognized opponents of integration such as Governor Almond. Possibly the President would invite the Commission on Civil Rights to serve as the mediator and to report to him its conclusions about federal policies as a result of the talks. The Commission could meet with these men in a series of off-the-record sessions and in case of any minimum understanding reached, be the forum for the presentation of the results to the President and the public.

* * *

Whether these or better measures are adopted, it is imperative for the Executive Branch of the Government of the United States to carry out a wise and imaginative program to bring into play the "common sense" and "civic responsibility" so sorely missing today and so clearly necessary for any good solution to the problem.

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January 30, 1959

Mr. Harris Wofford
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wofford:

Following my phone conversation of the 29th with you, Harold attempted to get in touch with Sylvan Meyer to secure from him the letter you requested. Regrettably, Sylvan could not be reached and we were therefore unable to send a copy of the letter to New Orleans. We will see that a copy of the letter is sent to you as soon as possible.

Under separate cover we are sending you twenty copies of the population distribution map. The voting material will be mailed within several days.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

MARKED: "PERSONAL"

February 4, 1959

Mr. Harris Wofford
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Harris:

Sorry I missed your call the other day. As you will have heard from Paul Anthony, Sylvan Meyer hasn't sent out his letter yet, and we were unable to reach him in time to get the draft sent to New Orleans.

I am writing Acheson as you suggested, and am glad to have this chance to acquaint him with some of our work.

Enclosed is a (wretchedly) thermofaxed copy of the report on Ouachita Parish done for us by Dr. Kenneth Vines of Tulane. For the time being, it should be considered confidential, since we haven't yet decided or cleared with Vines when and in what form it may be published.

We've also recently acquired Negro registration figures, by county, for Virginia, Louisiana, and Texas. Since the first two are from official state records, I assume the Commission has them. The Texas figures are estimates compiled for us by the Long News Agency; as you know, official county figures are unobtainable.

If any or all of these figures would be helpful, let me know. Copying them is something of a

problem, so I'd rather not have it done unless it is really worthwhile.

The very best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Kenneth Vines' report on ....Purge of Negro Voters in Ouachita Parish, 1956-58)

Encls: Texas Registration Figures (Negro)
Stuart Long's ltr of 1/20/59

February 23, 1959

Mr. Harris Wofford
Commission on Civil Rights
1126 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

Here are the county-by-county Negro registration figures for Texas compiled for us by the Long News Service. The letter from Stuart Long, also enclosed, explains the method by which the figures were derived and the meaning of the symbols in the table.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 6, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter and the copy of the report on Ouachita Parish, which was most interesting and timely. Please send me anything you have on Louisiana.

While we have Virginia and Louisiana figures we are anxious to have the figures on Texas that you mentioned. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Harris

Harris Wofford, Jr.
Legal Assistant to Father Hesburgh

HW:ch

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 27, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for the Texas information.

I will probably be doing a survey on the housing situation in Atlanta sometime in the next couple of months. I will want your ideas on just what to do. Did I send you the opening statement of Father Hesburgh at the New York Housing Hearing?

Sincerely,

Harris Wofford, Jr.

Harris Wofford, Jr.

HW:ch
Encl.

Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Hearing on Housing
Commodore Hotel, New York

OPENING STATEMENT OF FATHER HESBURGH

February 2, 1959

As Dr. Hannah has just said, this is a very different proceeding from a hearing on particular complaints of the denial of the right to vote. Congress required us to investigate all such duly sworn complaints and established various procedural safeguards. But we shall proceed more informally here today and tomorrow for this is an effort to hear a variety of views, not to adjudicate any specific situation. No complaints have been submitted to us about housing conditions in New York. We are here instead to try to gain some understanding of a problem that involves and vexes the whole country.

Housing is clearly central to the problem of achieving the goal of our Constitution. For we might well say that the justice involved in equal protection of the laws under the Constitution, like charity, must begin at home and in homes. If certain Americans, because of their color, race, religion or national orign, grow up and live in conditions of squalor, closed off from equal opportunities to have good homes and good neighborhoods, then all of America is the poorer, and the promise of the Constitution, the promise of the American dream, is not really being fulfilled.

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," says the inscription on the

Statute of Liberty. "Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me - I lift my lamp beside the golden door." That is what we have said to the world, and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution is one guarantee that we mean what we say. And one meaning of the constitutional rule of equal protection must be that the homeless shall have homes - and equal opportunity to good homes.

To the extent that racial discrimination in housing exists in our midst, the progress that is made on other problems such as the protection of voting rights or the desegregation of public schools will be in jeopardy, may indeed even create greater problems. For crowded racial slums threaten to turn our schools into blackboard jungles and to form a breeding ground for political demagoguery that can make a mockery of the right to vote.

The exploding metropolis is, therefore, a great challenge that this country and this Commission cannot ignore. Already about 100 million Americans, or 60 percent of our population, live within the 168 standard metropolitan areas, and it is estimated that by 1975 over two thirds of our people will live in metropolitan areas. So we are talking about the face of America, now and in the future. That face must have the beauty and dignity and harmony of the Constitution, not the face of slums and discrimination and chaos.

We will, I am sure, meet this challenge as we have met others before. We have the resources, we have the tradition of the world's most successful melting pot, and we have the intelligence to find a good way forward. We now need only the will.

I am only stating some obvious starting propositions that explain in part our coming here. The questions involved in solving the problem of discrimination in housing are many and complicated. We come here with no preconceived solutions. We are here to learn.

Congress has declared in the Housing Act of 1949 that "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" is the goal of national policy. Through its various housing programs - assistance for slum clearance and urban renewal, public housing, and mortgage insurance - the Federal Government is playing a major role in housing. In studying housing we are trying to collect information as to whether equal opportunity in housing is denied to some Americans by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin. We need to know the causes and the effects of any such discrimination. We need to know this in order to appraise Federal housing laws and policies and to make constructive recommendations to the President and the Congress concerning the achievement in the field of housing of the national goal of equal protection of the laws. For before we can

make such an appraisal, we must understand the problems with which these laws and policies are designed to cope.

To help us gain this understanding, members of our legal staff have been conducting field surveys and consultations in a number of cities. They have also been working closely with appropriate officials in the pertinent Federal agencies - The Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration, and the Urban Renewal Administration. We have also asked the State Advisory Committees now organized in 47 states to assist us in finding the facts about the housing situation in their states.

In addition, in order to get the most accurate picture of the housing problems of minority groups, and to get the views of housing experts and persons concerned with discrimination in housing, we have decided to hear first-hand testimony through public hearings.

We have come to New York City not only because it is the largest city in the country, but also because, with the city and state legislation in effect, it has the most far-reaching laws of any city in the country concerning discrimination in housing. We want to find out whether these housing laws and policies of the Federal, State and local governments are in fact accomplishing here the equal protection of the law for all Americans.

We have invited testimony on a number of specific questions which are available here for any observer.

We do not necessarily expect each witness to touch on all of them. We are grateful to the public officials, religious, business and civic leaders, and to the private organizations who are cooperating in this hearing. We know that there are many other experts, leaders and organizations concerned with this question whom time does not permit us to hear through oral testimony. We have invited many of these to submit to us written statements with their views and we hereby invite any others who believe they have pertinent views on the questions raised in this hearing to submit these views to us in writing.

As Dr. Hannah has said, this is a step in our study in housing. We know that the situation in New York is not by any means identical with that in some other areas. Some of us come from states where very different conditions and policies exist. We intend, to the best of our ability and the extent of our time, to inquire into the problem in these other areas too.

Toward the end of this study, we should be ready to discuss the problem with the top Federal housing officials themselves. Mr. Mason, the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the heads of the other constituent bodies of his agency, have had preliminary talks with members of our staff. They have informed us that they will be happy to meet with the Commission at a later point in our study.

One final word. Our procedure here will be quite simple. Mr. Tiffany, the Staff Director of the Commission, will present the witnesses. Following the oral statement of the witnesses, members of the Commission, to the extent of time available, will be able to question them. To hear everyone we will need to keep to the time schedule given to each witness.

First, let me introduce the Mayor of the City of New York, who has been good enough to come here this morning to open this hearing. Mayor Wagner.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 5, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am returning to you your letter and materials to Acheson. Your secretary, I see, is not interested in foreign affairs. I think your initial approach to him should be properly addressed, namely, to Dean Acheson, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.

Sincerely,

Harris Wofford Jr.

Harris Wofford, Jr.
Legal Assistant to Father Hesburgh

HW:ch
Encls.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Referred to Commission on Civil Rights
By THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
The writer has [redacted] been so advised

February 24, 1959

The Honorable Dean G. Acheson
Executive Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

2/27/59 RHG

My dear Mr. Acheson:

At the suggestion of Harris Wofford, I am sending you the enclosed materials on Negro registration and voting in the South. These are materials prepared by the Southern Regional Council for general circulation. A pamphlet updating the enclosed 1957 report is in preparation and will be published in the near future.

We also have the rough data from which these reports were prepared; registration figures by county and state, case studies of selected counties, and other background information. Do call on us if we can be of help to you at any time.

[redacted]

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

9 0680

HCF/mf
Enclosures

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
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			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MARCH 9, 1959

MR. HARRIS WOFFORD
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
726 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHANGE OF VENUE. YOU HAVE RESERVATION AT THE GEORGIA HOTEL, 114 LUCKIE STREET, N.W.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

VIA AIR MAIL

March 30, 1959

Mr. Harris Wofford
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

My memory was defective. As you see, the story was by Al Riley, The Constitution's Washington man. I assume that it is based on the background memorandum which you mentioned.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

July 21, 1959

Mr. Harris Wofford
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harris:

Since you probably have Louisiana on your mind these days, I thought you might like to have a copy of the enclosed draft of an office document. We are preparing, for our own internal purposes, a roundup of significant civil rights developments in each of the Southern states. Though they are not for general distribution and could do with some refinement, we are in most cases sending a copy of the pertinent state report to the chairman of the state advisory committee to the Commission.

I hope this will still find you at your post. If so, all good wishes for the impending change.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl
Encls.

July 28, 1959

Mr. Harris Wofford
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

Glad you found the Louisiana background material helpful. We have a similar compilation done for only four additional states -- copies enclosed.

I'll be writing you later today about the registration figures we discussed by telephone.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl
Enclosures - 4.
N. C. Status Report
Ala. " "
Fla. " "
Ga. " "

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

to Harris Wofford, Commission on Civil Rights

July 28, 1959

Dear Harris:

This is a hasty after-hours note to transmit to you the county-by-county figures on Negro registration as we plan to print them in our next voting report. The figures are from official sources except where otherwise noted.

A photostat of the newsclip reporting the S. C. Secretary of State's figures is enclosed. Also, the only clippings (1955 and 1956) we have reporting selected county figures in Mississippi. Also, a copyrighted county-by-county report from the Birmingham News, which they refused us permission to reprint.

The percentage computations are ours; if by any chance you should want to use them, I assume you would want to do your own check for accuracy. We are satisfied on this score reasonably enough, but would be happy to have you double check them.

If there are further questions -- as there may well be -- give me a call.

Regards,

Harold

HCF

Ofcl figs for Ga., Fla., La., S.C., Ark. + Va.
News reports on Ala., Miss.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 23, 1959

LWD — Can we? HCF

RECEIVED JUL 27 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for sending me the report on Louisiana which looks excellent. I am writing immediately to beg from you similar reports on your other states. They would be most handy for my writing on these problems at Notre Dame, and I know that Father Hesburgh would be interested.

As ever,

Harris

Harris L. Wofford, Jr.
Legal Assistant to
Father Hesburgh

Fla
Ga.
La
Ala
NC
Tex to come

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

March 23, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I trust you got a check from us for your air ticket. It was good seeing you.

Asked me to send 4/1/60

Your confidential memorandum of March 10th was interesting, but leads me to ask for a copy of the special report mentioned "The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960." If you sent it to me it got lost in the shuffle.

I enclose my pitch on Kennedy, which you have heard, in written form. I hope I am right because I have a feeling he will be the next President of the United States.

As ever,

Harris

Harris Wofford
Asso~~ciate Professor~~

HW:mh

REMARKS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN LAW SCHOOL
Madison, March 8, 1960

by Harris Wofford, Jr.

You are familiar with the question a procedure-minded Supreme Court Justice interrupted the argument of a young attorney to ask: How did you get here? And with the classic answer: by train. I think I can say all I have to say by trying to answer that question, which you could justly ask me tonight. In this case, I came by plane.

Probably one reason I am here is that earlier this winter I heard Sarge Shriver give a talk as head of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago and he heard me give a talk on the work of the Civil Rights Commission. Ever since then I have been inviting him to various meetings on civil rights, and he is now reciprocating here in Wisconsin. Senator Kennedy seems to have political luck even with brothers-in law. My brother-in-law is a Taft Republican from Ohio.

I trust this brief intervention by a teacher at Notre Dame will not affect Kennedy's luck. The last candidate I took the stump for was a Labour Member of Parliament from Yardley, England, who ran his campaign on international issues and brought in speakers from India, France and the United States -- and who won, running ahead of his ticket, despite the foreign intervention. I am a little sensitive about intervention from Notre Dame because I understand one of the problems in this election is the myth of a Catholic monolith. To see how false this notion is you should join me for a few days talking politics with the faculty and priests at Notre Dame. As a Protestant who is strong for Kennedy I was interested in the strong resistance to him by some of the strong churchmen around

there. One priest, who had disapproved of Kennedy's sweeping declaration in favor of the separation of church and state and with some of Kennedy's other positions, particularly his championship of public education and his opposition to sending an Ambassador to the Vatican, argued with me that while Kennedy was no doubt a good Catholic he was essentially a secularist in politics. I told him that he could make a good speech for Kennedy in a lot of quarters.

Don't mistake me. I am convinced that Kennedy will get the votes of the majority of Catholics in South Bend as he will get the votes of a majority of the Protestants. Or, more importantly, that he and only he will bring back into the Democratic column the greater part of those who shifted out of it to vote for Eisenhower. This strong conviction is based on my own unscientific sampling of neighbors, parties and meetings all around South Bend -- a rather typical swing district in Indiana. Those who did not consider themselves Republicans but had voted for Ike twice would -- it was overwhelmingly clear to me -- vote for Kennedy, but with any other Democratic candidate they would at present vote for Nixon.

But let me get to the heart of what makes me want to answer the question: How did I get here? Not only do I consider myself a Stevenson Democrat, but I consider myself a Humphrey Democrat. My wife is from South St. Paul, Minnesota, and we have known and liked and admired Hubert Humphrey since he was Mayor of Minneapolis. I would love to see him President of the United States. I think he would make a good President. He would put the United States on the right track because in my opinion his view of the world is right.

There is only one other candidate whom I would prefer, whom I think could do that same job more effectively: Kennedy. And Kennedy has

the other advantage of being the one who can win -- the only Democrat, I believe, who has a good chance of being elected President in 1960.

I am here campaigning for Kennedy because I know that he has approximately the same view of the world as Humphrey, Stevenson and Chester Bowles -- the view of the world that I share. It is the vision of a world community, of a world in revolution, of a world in unprecedented economic development, of a world waiting for full American participation, waiting for American leadership to end the cold war and establish and strengthen the institutions of peace and law. Bowles, Stevenson, Humphrey, and others in the Party share this common view, but no one has held it more steadily or expressed it more intelligently than Kennedy, and no one seems to have the ability to convey it to the American people and to carry the majority of the people along with him like Kennedy.

Perhaps I should say that I got here by way of New Delhi, Karachi, Kabul, Moscow, Warsaw and Belgrade. My visit to those capitals with Mr. and Mrs. Chester Bowles in early 1957 left me especially dissatisfied with most American discussion of world affairs -- so few politicians seemed to be talking about the new world coming into being before our eyes. Then after returning to Washington I read carefully two major talks that Kennedy gave in the Senate that summer of 1957 on the two-fold problem of imperialism -- first on the chief remaining problem in our own Western house, Algeria; and, second, on the Communist world's dilemma, and particularly its test case in Poland. Contrary to the views of a senior member of the law firm in which I was working, Dean Acheson, whom I also like and respect, I considered Kennedy's Algeria speech a masterpiece, in detail and in principle. The speech analyzing the events in Poland, showing that there are many shades of gray in the Communist world and not a

black-or-white monolith, calling for full American aid for Gomulka's Poland and for an amendment to the Battle Act to permit a more flexible American policy toward other Communist countries -- this speech seemed to me even more significant.

I remembered vaguely newspaper reports of other Kennedy foreign policy speeches that I had never bothered to read, so I looked these up, going back to his prophetic talks on Indo-China in 1953 and 1954. The consistency and the high quality of all of these talks greatly impressed me. Even before Kennedy had come into close association with Chester Bowles, who is now serving as you probably know as Kennedy's foreign policy advisor in this campaign, Kennedy was taking his stand on the same issues -- and taking the same stand -- as Bowles. In fact, no matter how much one admires Stevenson, Bowles or Humphrey, I do not think a fair reader of their various talks and writings would rate Kennedy second-best. On one issue one of these men has been first to speak, on another, another has been first, but basically they have been together -- on aid to India, on a new policy for Africa, on a great expansion of economic aid -- and no one has been more thorough or articulate than Kennedy.

Against these men, against their view of the world is ranged a strong opposition in the Party. I do not mean that foreign policy views are the primary demarcation. But they are clearly important. There is a wing of the party wedded, by sentiment, habit or continuing conviction, to the cold war foreign policies of the past -- to the policies designed for the very different Stalin era. I do not need to name the men who oppose the Kennedy-Bowles-Stevenson-Humphrey view of the world. But the choice in the Democratic Convention, I feel sure, is going to be between one of these other men and Kennedy. That is why this Wisconsin primary is so important and so full of danger for people who share this Kennedy-Bowles-Stevenson-

Humphrey view of the world.

If Kennedy should be slowed down or stopped in Wisconsin, Humphrey is not going to be helped -- in any real sense. At most he might be offered a Vice-Presidential spot on a Lyndon Johnson or Symington ticket, to help keep the liberals in line. Can you really imagine him winning the nomination or the election? I wish I could imagine that America was ready for this. If you can, you live in a different America -- or you think you do.

So the issue in this primary as I see it is not Kennedy versus Humphrey. It is not even Kennedy versus Hoffa, as I have heard suggested. It is Kennedy versus the forces in the Party trying to stop Kennedy. And whoever finally emerges as the favorite candidate of the stop-Kennedy forces he is not likely to share the Kennedy-Bowles-Stevenson-Humphrey view of the world. For that view of the world is part of what the stop-Kennedy forces are trying to stop.

So a vote for Humphrey is not going to help Adlai Stevenson, either. If you examine the major forces seeking to stop Kennedy you will see that they are just as anxious to stop Stevenson, perhaps more so. The last thing anyone who supports Stevenson's approach to world policies should want is a convention in which the stop-Kennedy forces are successful.

The most that a vote for Humphrey can do in Wisconsin is to hurt Kennedy and to help the wing of the Party ranged against him -- the very wing that at bottom opposes Humphrey's -- and Stevenson's -- view of the world.

A strong vote for Humphrey in Wisconsin might do one other thing. It might set back the prospects for Democratic victory in November. Even if Kennedy should be slowed down in Wisconsin, I believe he is going to get the Democratic nomination in July. But he would get it on better terms and with far more momentum behind it if Wisconsin started the snowball. That isn't fair to New Hampshire, I guess, which will claim to have started the snowball. But a sweeping victory in Wisconsin would give a big, probably decisive push. And it would be a push contributed by a progressive section of the Party.

If it led to Kennedy's unquestioned emergence as the liberal candidate, if it led to an earlier unification around Kennedy's candidacy, then the convention in July would become an occasion to add another, greater push to a campaign that would already have gathered great momentum. To win in November we need just such momentum from now on -- rather than a thick fog of uncertainty holding us back until a long-drawn-out fight is held in Los Angeles. How much better for the people of Wisconsin to settle this question decisively now with their votes than to leave the result to last-minute hard-bargaining, in which liberal forces would necessarily be only one of several factors.

If what interests you is what interests me most: the bringing-into-power of the Kennedy-Bowles-Stevenson-Humphrey world view, then the way to do it is to nominate Kennedy and to bring into office a Kennedy Administration that will, from top to bottom, represent this view. That, I assume, is why Bowles has joined the Kennedy campaign. In such an Administration all these men will be of great influence, not because of any political obligations, but because they understand things alike. In any other Administration I can imagine, there would be at best a question about which direction our foreign policy will take.

I see the same demarcation on the domestic issues that concern me most: civil rights and civil liberties. There are plenty of people in the Democratic Party, and more, I think, in the Republican Party, who just play football with these issues. But Kennedy, Bowles, Humphrey and Stevenson all, in my opinion, have demonstrated their genuine, intelligent concern for and dedication to constitutional rights, and I mean the right to vote and the right to equal protection in all parts of our public life,

including desegregation of schools, and the right to free speech, or, perhaps more important, the public need for free speech, and the maintenance of due process of law throughout our public life. I have talked with all of these men at some length about civil rights and the work of the Civil Rights Commission, and Kennedy is not second to any one, in my opinion, in understanding the principles and problems involved and in being ready and able to give the needed leadership.

Kennedy has a solid voting record in support of civil rights legislation. During the 1958 election Roy Wilkins of the NAACP stated that "Senator Kennedy has one of the best voting records on civil rights and related issues of any Senator in Congress." Only one important vote of his has been questioned by civil rights workers: his support of the jury trial amendment in the 1957 Act. That amendment provides that if a person being punished for contempt of court is to be sentenced to more than 45 days in jail he should have a jury trial. In any other field, most liberals would say that no one should go to jail without a jury trial. Even before going to work for the Civil Rights Commission I have worked with Negroes in the Deep South to secure civil rights -- I have worked with Martin Luther King in Montgomery -- and I know the obstacles. But I think it would have been a mistake to try to overcome those obstacles by putting anyone in jail for more than 45 days without a jury trial. In fact, as you can guess, no one has gone to jail even for 45 days -- so the whole question so far has been academic. But in 1957 I thought Kennedy was right -- and then I was not supporting him at all for anything --and in retrospect his vote seems to me clearly correct -- and representative of the kind of conscientiousness and respect for constitutional principles and procedures that runs through his whole record.

As President, I think Kennedy would give the firm and imaginative leadership in moulding public opinion and in using the full powers of persuasion of the Federal Government that has been so missing in these last eight gray years. He will, better than any candidate, in my opinion, fill the gap between platitudes and bayonets. If you have any doubt of this I wish you could have heard the extemporaneous talk on civil rights that I heard him give last spring, on about 20 minutes notice. The strong case he gave for the adoption of the Part III provision that was stricken from the 1957 Civil Rights Act -- the provision empowering the Attorney General to bring civil rights injunction suits, including suits for desegregation of schools -- was as impressive and convincing as any that I have ever heard. He, of course, voted for Part III in the crucial showdown in the 1957 debate, as he has voted for all major civil rights measures, includingF.E.P.C. and amendments to the Senate rules, since he first went to Congress 13 years ago.

May I also say a word about something close to your home, the so-called McCarthy issue. I have been dissatisfied with most of what I have heard about this issue. It seems to me that the main point is not what someone said or did about McCarthy-the-person but what he said or did in regard to the constitutional issues of freedom of speech and due process involved during that whole unhappy era. In this respect President Eisenhower's response seems to me to have been upside down. He never sharply opposed McCarthy's principles and in fact permitted his Administration to play a misleading numbers game on the facts about the actual number of security risks found in the government. And he not only continued in force but expanded security procedures that now, belatedly, with the help of the Supreme Court, are recognized as violations of our fundamental concepts of fairness.

But Eisenhower refused to break bread with McCarthy -- to invite him to the White House for breakfast, as he did other Members of Congress. This seems to me to be the reverse of what is wanted. The Happy Warrior of my political dreams will break bread with those he opposes but oppose them nonetheless -- and more important oppose on principle and in practice, not on personality. I do not know if Senator Kennedy ever had breakfast with McCarthy. I do know that after Kennedy voted against the confirmation of McCarthy's friend Lee to the FCC McCarthy never talked with Kennedy again. That was the last straw for McCarthy, added to Kennedy's support for McCarthy's enemies Charles Bohlen and James Conant and Harvard University and Kennedy's recurring opposition to McCarthy's ally Scott Mcleod while he was in the State Department and when appointed Ambassador to Ireland.

But the main point is not the personal relation of the men but Kennedy's position on the essential principles at stake. And Kennedy's response to the whole McCarthy era -- never to indulge in what is called McCarthyism in any form -- never to sacrifice fundamental constitutional principles out of fear of internal or external dangers, or out of fear of McCarthy -- this seems to me to be the real test -- and far more important than anything he might have said about McCarthy-the-person. Kennedy's whole political life, from his refusal -- the only Democratic Congressman from Massachusetts to so refuse -- to sign a petition to President Truman seeking clemency for former Mayor Curley before Curley's prison term had hardly got underway, to his stand in 1956 -- the first Senator to take such a stand -- in support of aid to Yugoslavia, to his at times almost singlehanded fight these last years to repeal the loyalty oath in the National Defense Education Act -- his whole political life is the antithesis of what is called "McCarthyism."

Personally, I would have liked a lot of people in public life, including Kennedy and Humphrey, to have said a little more than they did. But to

me the worst response in the whole period was Hubert Humphrey's amendment to outlaw the Communist Party, adopted in the Communist Control Act of 1954. For that brief, significant moment Humphrey out-McCarthied McCarthy in my book. Once it was proposed practically everyone went along with it, but it hurt more to have a Democrat and a liberal taking the initiative in it. I am ready to forget that aberration, but not if Humphrey's record on McCarthyism is supposed by anyone to be better than Kennedy's.

As to the specific censure vote on McCarthy, Kennedy was then on a hospital bed wholly out of communication, and I can understand why he would be reluctant much later to rush into a post-mortem. In fact on several later occasions he expressed approval of the Senate's action. The important thing to me is that throughout his career, and never more clearly than in this presidential campaign, Kennedy has demonstrated intelligence and a respect for intelligence and a determination to bring a lot more intelligence to bear in our public life. This, in fact, is the principle of his politics, as I see it, and never was there a time when this principle was more important. It is this principle that gives real meaning to free speech and civil liberty.

Let me close with one request and one story. I urge you to read the collection of Kennedy speeches on world affairs that Harper is publishing this month. It is entitled The Strategy of Peace. I suspect that many of you, like me, have read only newspaper snatches of his talks. I think you will find in this collection of talks over the last six years a mind and a heart and man that you have been waiting for. My Lutheran, Minnesota wife, who in the 1952 campaign woke up sleep-walking, saying she wanted to campaign for Adlai Stevenson, who has abiding loyalty and affection for Hubert Humphrey, read an early copy of this book and confessed that she was over the brink for Kennedy.

And here is the story, that in a strange Hindu way may have helped push me over the brink for Kennedy. Last spring, a member of the Indian Parliament, a leader of the democratic opposition there, a former follower of Gandhi, a man whose insights I respect, was here on a mission. He spoke to Nixon and Rockefeller and, I believe, to all the likely Democratic candidates. He found both of the Republicans impressive, in their different ways, and he considered Johnson a masterful politician -- as a technician. He enjoyed Stevenson. He discounted and was repelled by Symington. The two he found most appealing were Humphrey and Kennedy.

Humphrey, he said, would make a fine President and America would be the better for it. But he felt he could predict most of what Humphrey would do. "Humphrey's spring has sprung," this Indian leader said. "He is uncoiled. What he has to offer is good but it is already all spread out to see."

But after he had talked with Kennedy -- he had a good talk with him, and came out of it as most people do -- he had found his candidate. "An America led by this strong young man with new men around him, with new ideas -- this would be the most exciting thing that could happen," he said. "Kennedy'd spring has not sprung," he said. He sensed in him great promise and potential. "Kennedy will be a great President and give the great leadership that America and the rest of the world needs," he predicted.

And that is my prediction, too.

Commission Probe of

CIVIL RIGHTS...

by Harris L. Wofford, Jr.

WHETHER or not the far-reaching recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights ever become the law of the land, the two-year report of the Commission (submitted in September covering the first phase of the Commission's studies which concentrated principally on public education, housing and voting) has provided grist for the congressional mill in the present session. It will undoubtedly figure importantly in civil rights considerations of both parties at their political conventions and in the coming national election.

The Commission's recommendation for a temporary Federal registrar to be appointed by the President in cases of discriminatory denials of the right to vote, and the proposal by the three northern members of the Commission for a Constitutional Amendment establishing universal suffrage and doing away with literacy and "interpretation" tests and the poll tax, promise to become major political issues for some time to come.

Instructive Process

But aside from these and other specific recommendations, the process by which this six-man Commission reached and registered its agreements and disagreements is instructive and perhaps encouraging. For behind the mountain of research material in the form of hearings on voting, education and housing, as well as reports from citizens' advisory committees which the Commission organized in 48 states, there is a dramatic story of men with widely differing backgrounds and strongly differing views trying to reason together.

When the President appointed as commissioners three southerners and three northerners, it was clear that whatever else happened there would be exciting conversation.

One member, former Governor John Battle of Virginia, accepted appointment on the understanding that he would represent "the strong southern viewpoint." One member was a northern Negro Republican (initially, Assistant Secretary of Labor J. Ernest Wilkins; after his death in January, his place was taken by George M. Johnson, former dean of Howard University Law School). Another was the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame. The other two southern members were former Governor Doyle Carlton of Florida and Dean Robert Storey of Southern Methodist University Law School, former president of the American Bar Association. Chairman John Hannah, president of Michigan State University, has stated that in the Commission's first meetings "we found that we were far apart in our basic thinking" and "it appeared that it was going to be very difficult, indeed, to make real progress."

Some southern members of Congress say that no progress was made. Urging that the Commission "be forced to die within 60 days of the filing of this report," Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina promptly called it "one of the most devastating, unconstitutional documents I have ever seen." Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina said that some of the Commission's proposals would have "the Federal Government further rape the rights of the states and the people."

Surprising Vehemence

The very vehemence of these statements suggests that the Commission's report was stronger than these Senators expected, granted the three-to-three regional composition of the Commission and the stature and conservative reputation of the three southern members. That these three southerners went as far as they did in the report must cause concern to those who wish to preserve the appearance of a Solid South.

Commission Vice Chairman Storey of Texas, in stressing that the Commissioners had agreed unanimously on many of the recommendations, said that "citizens interested in the solution of civil rights problems will be greatly enlightened by the factual information and recommendations in this . . . constructive report." While Governor Battle stated his disagreement "with the nature and tenor of the report," which he thought was "in large part an argument in advocacy of pre-conceived ideas in the field of race relations," he also expressed his con-

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NOTE: *Harris Wofford, Jr. is teaching law at Notre Dame University on a fellowship. He was on the staff of the Commission on Civil Rights as legal assistant to The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, who is a member of the Commission. With three members from the North and three from the South, the Commission was established by Congress to study the constitutional and human problems involved in civil rights. Mr. Wofford is the author of two books including "India Afire," and a recent article "Segregation and the Constitution" which appeared in the "Saturday Review" and was reprinted in "Reader's Digest" in June.*

viction that the work of the Commission in getting people to talk about and think about the problems involved was "bound to be fruitful." From "the fine spirit of give and take which has permeated the work of this Commission since it started," Governor Battle said he had "learned a whole lot."

Governor Battle had also gone a long way in agreeing upon the findings of fact and a number of specific recommendations in all three fields that the Commission studied: voting, education and housing. The other two southern members went even further and supported the Commission's most controversial proposal for direct Federal registration of qualified voters for Federal elections where there has been discrimination by reason of color or race.

What caused these men to find such a remarkable area of agreement after less than two years' work together? Undoubtedly the personal relationships that developed played an important part. Genuine friendships and mutual respect grew among the Commissioners through their regular one-day monthly meetings, their six completed hearings, and their one frustrated hearing—in Louisiana, where a court enjoined the proceedings until the objections of state officials had been litigated.

Then, too, Father Hesburgh's idea of flying the Commissioners from this debacle in Shreveport, La., to Land O'Lakes, Wis., to spend a week talking and fishing together was a major contribution. There, on a porch looking over a beautiful lake, far away from the southern heat but with the resistance of Louisiana officials fresh in mind, the Commissioners discussed, negotiated over, compromised on, and (in most cases) finally agreed upon their findings and recommendations.

But professional integrity that rose above politics or regional pressures also was a vital factor. After unanimously deciding to hold a voting hearing in Alabama, the Commission asked Dean Storey to preside. Reluctantly but firmly he did so. "My father was born in Alabama," he said in opening the hearing. "My grandfathers were Confederate soldiers. So there are many thoughts and memories going through my mind as we meet in Montgomery, the cradle of the Confederacy. But history moves on. We are one nation now. Hence this bipartisan Commission, composed of two presidents of great universities and four lawyers, has a solemn duty to perform. We are sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States."

Violated Rights

Having heard the uncontradicted testimony about violations of the Constitution's guarantee of the right to vote, the three southern members, as lawyers, saw no choice but to join in unanimous findings of fact. Similarly, the Commissioners studied the results of the staff's field investigations in other states and found further patterns of racial discrimination in voting. For instance, in Georgia the chairman of a county board of registrars denied registration to a Negro on the ground that in his literacy test he had pronounced the word "equity" as "*ee*quity." In Louisiana, registrars were instructed to require would-be voters to give a reasonable interpretation of the following provision of the State Constitution: "Prescription shall not run against the State in any civil matter." The Commission further found that there were 16 counties with non-white majorities where not a single Negro is registered, and 49 other Negro-majority counties with fewer than five percent of voting-age Negroes registered.

As Commissioner Carlton stated on occasion, "We must take the bull by the tail and look the ugly facts straight in the face." As lawyers and citizens sworn to uphold the Constitution, the Commissioners faced these facts and concluded that "many Americans, even today, are denied the franchise because of race."

Desegregation Raises Standards

In studying education, the Commission last March convened a conference in Nashville, Tenn., of officials of school systems that had undergone some desegregation, to compare their thoughts and experiences. The members heard impressive, often eloquent testimony from these local officials not only from big cities such as Baltimore, Washington and Louisville, but also from places such as San Angelo, Tex.; Van Buren, Ark., and Anderson County, Tenn. Having heard these first-hand accounts, the Commission was in a position to find, as it did, that "in many instances desegregation has been used by the local community as the occasion to raise its educational standards." It also found that:

> "A variety of plans have proved to be successful, ranging from the merger of the former Negro and white school systems into one integrated system (particularly in communities where the Negro population was small and the cost of maintaining separate systems considerable) to the gradual Nashville plan that began in the first grade and is proceeding at the rate of one grade a year, with voluntary transfer permitted to any child assigned to a school where his race is in the minority."

While the three southern members stressed that this "tremendously serious and complex problem will not be solved by hasty action" and that there must be "due regard for the way of life of large numbers of loyal Americans," they joined their three northern colleagues in defining the problem as that of "how to comply with the Supreme Court decision while preserving and even improving public education." They also joined in warning that "the ultimate choice of each State is between finding reasonable ways of ending compulsory segregation in its schools or abandoning its system of free public education," and in calling for compliance through "local option" instead of massive resistance.

Only by remembering Governor Battle's strong defense of the South in the Democratic Convention of 1952, by knowing the thorough Texas conservativeness of Dean Storey, and by hearing Governor Carlton's firm support of racial segregation, can the significance of these men agreeing to the

basic findings on education be measured. In this light, it is encouraging that the Commission was able to agree unanimously upon the following "two fundamental premises" in its study of education:

"(1) The American system of public education must be preserved without impairment because an educated citizenry is the mainstay of the Republic and full educational opportunity for each and every citizen is America's major defense against the world threat to freedom.

"(2) The constitutional right to be free from compulsory segregation in public education can be and must be realized, for this is a government of law, and the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court is the supreme law of the land."

In its study of discrimination in housing the Commission faced another set of difficulties. Having chosen the subject partly in order to emphasize that civil rights was a national and not a southern problem, and having held hearings in New York, Atlanta, Chicago, and Washington, D. C., the Commissioners had collected a vast amount of information on housing discrimination in the North. But the problem for the southern Commissioners was to find the facts about this and make recommendations without suggesting that they favored residential integration in the South.

So the Commission unanimously found that "a large proportion of colored Americans are living in overcrowded slums or blighted areas in restricted sections of our cities, with little or no access to new housing or to suburban areas." They agreed that there should be "equal opportunity in housing"—

"It would be an affront to human dignity for any one group of Americans to be restricted to wearing only hand-me-down clothing or to eating the leftovers of others' food. Like food and clothing, housing is an essential of life, yet many non-white American families have no choice but second-hand homes."

They recommended that biracial commissions on housing be established in all cities and States with substantial non-white populations, to study racial problems, to receive and investigate complaints, and to attempt solutions through mediation and conciliation. "Where public opinion makes possible the adoption of laws against discrimination in housing, this might contribute significantly to the work of the agency promoting equal opportunity in housing," the Commission added.

The Commission also recommended that the President issue an Executive Order "stating the constitutional objective of equal opportunity in housing, directing all Federal agencies to shape their policies and practices to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal, and requesting the Commission on Civil Rights, if extended, to continue to study and appraise the policies of Federal housing agencies, to prepare and propose plans to bring about the end of discrimination in all Federally-assisted housing, and to make appropriate recommendations."

The Commission has been voted additional life by Congress and now the extended Commission will have much to do in other fields that this Report did not cover: employment, administration of justice, public accommodations, public transportation. The progress that it made in reasoning about the controversial subjects involved in this present Report suggests that it has been and may continue to be what Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson predicted it would be: "a useful instrument." "It can gather facts instead of charges," he said. "It can sift out the truth from the fancies; and it can return with recommendations which will be of assistance to reasonable men."

The Civil Rights Commission in session at Montgomery, Ala. From left: Doyle E. Carlton, the late J. Ernest Wilkins, Chairman John A. Hannah, Vice Chairman Robert G. Storey, John S. Battle and the Rev. T. M. Hesburgh.

via air mail

May 13, 1960

Mr. Harris Wofford
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Harris:

You must be elated over West Virginia -- a stunning victory for Kennedy. I take it by now you are heading for your new duties. Have your secretary, if any, let me know how to communicate with you in Washington.

The unhappy purpose of this letter is to let you know that my efforts to raise an angel have failed, much to my regret. I am returning the speeches herewith.

On the purely personal level, I'd welcome a chance to learn from you what part you are playing in the platform drafting, particularly the plank nearest to my full-time interest.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

cc: Mr. Herman Edelsberg

May 2, 1960

Mr. Harris Wofford
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Harris:

This is more a progress report than an answer to your memo of April 20.

I'd like to see your speeches reprinted in one pamphlet, but, like Herman, don't have the budgetary fat to do it. However, I'm exploring extra-budgetary possibilities and should know soon whether I can swing anything. Whatever the case, I could of course scare up a nominal contribution toward the total amount; but I take it something more than that is needed.

Meanwhile, quid pro quo, I enclose a copy of one of my own recent oratorical flights.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Washington speech)

cc: Mr. Herman Edelsburg

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

May 5, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your case for the children, which was excellent. As I told Herman, I would not think of taking your personal check to distribute my Commission talks, though this is no promise that I will not embarrass you for more public causes someday.

One group I had in mind to send the talks to was the list of State Advisory Committee members of the Commission. If your un-named source wants to contribute a good part of the $300.00 needed, let me know, otherwise forget it. Of course the mailing would be free because franked envelopes would be supplied by Brademas.

Did I tell you that as of May 15 I am joining Kennedy's staff in Washington for the duration of his campaign? How long will that be? How the old-timers in the Party must be laughing up their sleeves at us new-timers mutilating each other in West Virginia. What irony that Humphrey, backed by all the forces he has always opposed until now, should be the agent trying to wipe out the best possibility of new liberal forces taking over the Democratic Party and the country.

As ever,

Harris

Harris Wofford
Associate Professor

HW:mh

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

HF
~~LWD~~

Will you look this over + advise me
Clearly we're not going to put $300 into this. But, apart from that, what merit do you see in reprinting Wofford's speeches?

HCF

I agree with you, in fact, I ~~am not~~ wonder if Wofford still agrees with the optimism of his first speech.

On the other hand, these talks constitute a clear summary of the CCR's most important recommendations: without necessarily sug-

getting it I desire for consideration the possibility of giving over an issue of New York Letter to reprinting.

Of the 3, the 2nd, which I enclose, contains useful facts & analysis in the most valuable. We might consider it particularly for New York.

I would not recommend our contributing to reprinting costs in other form than N.Y.

COPY

April 22, 1960

Professor Harris Wofford
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Harris:

I am sending on to Harold Fleming your memo inquiring whether we could finance the reprint from the Congressional Record of your recent pieces on voting, education and housing.

The pieces are first-rate, and I want them in my files for reference, background and plagiarizing. They strike me, however, as not being appropriate for mass distribution, and I could not conscientiously charge my budget for a substantial number of copies.

However, there are many people like myself who would want to have the speeches in convenient form, and I'd be glad to contribute $25 towards their reprinting and take about 50 copies for our offices.

I don't know if this helps very much, Harris. It isn't easy to sell a jury of twelve men when the poll tax is $25. But there's my contribution anyway.

Best to you and Harold.

Sincerely,

Herman Edelsberg

HE:ebe
cc: Harold Fleming

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

April 20, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO HERMAN EDELSBERG AND HAROLD FLEMING

Congressmen Brademas, Bowles and Dingell put my three talks on voting, education and housing and the Civil Rights Commission in the Congressional Record recently, and John has just sent me the enclosed prices for reprinting these in one pamphlet. He thinks this should be done and that plenty of copies could be used around Congress. But I don't have $300 to spare and I'm sure he doesn't. So I am wondering whether there's any point in having it done and whether organizations such as yours would be interested in using some and paying for part of the cost. If you can, please let me know whether you could use some copies and pay any of the freight.

Since there is no pressing need to have them reproduced further, do not be embarrassed about saying no or saying that you are as broke as I am.

Harris

Harris Wofford

HW:mh

P.S. Since I have only one set of the reprints, Herman, would you please send this on to Harold, and Harold would you return it to me as soon as you can?

House of Representatives, U.S.
PUBLIC DOCUMENT
FREE

John Brademas
M. C.

Dear Harris:

Let me know your feelings on this matter.

Best regards.

John

12-PAGE RECORD-SIZE REPRINT

John:

Here are the prices for reprints of Harris Wofford's three speeches inserted as follows:

1) February 24 -- Dingell

2) March 2 -- Bowles

3) April 8 -- Brademas (Part 1)

April 11 -- Brademas (Part 2)

Up to 3,000 ---------- $216.17 for 1st M, $30.57 for each additional M.

From 3,001 to 107,000 ----- $256.44 for 1st M, $11.77 for each additional M.

Note: These prices do not include $5.38 for head, $15.00 for leading, or a reduction of $2.16 per thousand due to cut in paper prices which is temporary.

Including these three price alterations, here are figures for various quantities:

5,000 ---- $313.00

10,000 ---- $361.15

20,000 ---- $457.35

mike

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

via air mail

June 14, 1960

Mr. Harris Wofford
Office of Senator Kennedy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

Thanks for confirming your change of venue. These must be exciting, if harrying, days for you.

I'm anxious to see you again, and will be hoping you can make Capahosic.

Meanwhile, my best

As always,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JOHN F. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN RELATIONS
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 4, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Change of address sent to 4th floor 6/14/60 mf

You can reach me here care of Senator Kennedy's office in the Senate Office Building, and please be sure to do so when next you are in Washington. Perhaps we will meet at Capahosic this month. Let me know if you decide not to go for you are one of the attractions. Have I told you how much I liked several of your recent writing? I will do so when I see you.

As ever,

Harris

Harris Wofford

HW/sm

January 3, 1961
Air Mail - S. Del.

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

We have engaged some help, by the name of Mrs. Mina Shaughnessy, to work with us on our report on your first year. She will be in Washington next week and if you have some time I hope you will be able to see her. She will call.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

P. S. I have read your beautiful little comment about Margery Michelmore and her tears!

via air mail

January 26, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Democratic National Committee
1101 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

This is to kill several small birds with one small stone.

(1) A very heartening acknowledgment of our report from Father Hesburgh, copy enclosed.

(2) Enclosed LIFE write-up of Mrs. David Roberts, III of Birmingham, who wants badly to be a CCR commissioner. She worked hard for Kennedy and claims the backing of Ralph Bunche, Turner Catledge, Ralph McGill, John Popham, Harry Ashmore, Senators Sparkman and Hill, and Cong. Huddleston. Off-beat, but she is an unusual woman with an extraordinary kind of influence; and I'm doing my duty by advising you of her interest and background.

(3) Why don't you send Stephen Currier something?

(4) Have you changed (a) position? (b) address?

(5) We're releasing "The Federal Executive..." for Monday morning papers, January 30.

All the best,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 11, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

It occurred to me that you and Burke Marshall might find interesting the enclosed report by Ben Muse covering his recent visit to Alabama. I am, therefore, sending a copy to each of you. I think it may give you some added insights and maybe some added information about that unfortunate state. I venture also to call your attention especially to pages 11-12 and the suggestion made there for activity by you helpful people in Washington.

When are you coming down to inspect this frontier again?

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

PA
SM-file

xxxxxxxxxx
Linville Falls, N. C.
August 9, 1961

Mr. Wofford Harris
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Harris:

I was requested to appear at the Clemency hearing for Carl Braden to be held in Washington on August 17. Circumstances prevent my attending.

My understanding is that you will be one of the persons conducting the hearing. Because I do not wish any inference unfavorable to Mr. Braden to be drawn from my non-attendance, I am venturing to write you stating my full endorsement of the petition.

It occurs to me that there might be some question of propriety in my ex parte statement to you of the reasons which have enlisted my support. However, it seems entirely legitimate that I hand you photostatic copies of newspaper clippings which, in my opinion, reveal not merely the chronology of the case but also the inspiration of the attacks upon Mr. Braden and the cause of his present unfortunate situation.

You may read these and draw from them the conslusions which seem to you to be appropriate.

My concern about Mr. Braden arises from my belief that in his place, but for the grace of God, would be Marion Wright.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion Wright

MAW/jep

Marion Wright

B.C.: Mr. Courtney Siceloff; Dr. Leslie Dunbar: Mr. James M. Dabbs.

Speakers Board - Rec'd 9/21

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File

September 18, 1961

Dear Leslie:

The letter to agencies regarding the voter registration project seems to me excellent.

Thanks also for enclosing the Ralph McGill piece which I am reproducing to send back to my doubting southern friends.

Don Wilson, Deputy Director of USIA, says he will do his best to persuade Murrow to accept your invitation.

Sincerely,

Harris

Harris Wofford
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

U. S.

September 28, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Room 212
Executive Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Miss Battle

Dear Miss Battle:

As you requested in your telephone call this morning we are sending you, under separate cover, thirty (30) copies of "Federal Executive and Civil Rights". They are being mailed today.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel Berger, Secretary

September 28, 1961

Fillmore LWD

Shipment to Harris Wofford @ 30 Federal Executive-Civil R
Rights

Please send thirty (30) copies of

"Federal Executive and Civil Rights"

to the following address: (label attached)

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Room 212
Executive Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

c/o Miss Battle.

Muriel Berger

Sent - "Special Handling"

October 17, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wofford:

Confirming our telephone conversation, the Southern Regional Council would be most grateful if President Kennedy could send greetings to us on the occasion of our Annual Meeting, November 8.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

November 15, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harris:

First, I want to thank you personally for the telegram. The Council members heard it read with great pleasure and, I think, gratitude. Mr. Dabbs will write a more formal acknowledgement, but I wanted to say my own thanks to you.

I got the letter you copied and forwarded from Beeley of the California Committee for Fair Practices; very interesting.

The chief purpose of this letter, however, is to tell you that we are planning, for release about February 1, a report on the Administration's accomplishments in the civil rights and racial relations fields during its first year. We think of this, of course, as a follow-up to our Federal Executive and Civil Rights.

Over these past few months we have been collecting all the orders, releases, news clips, etc., that have come our way, and these should furnish most of the material for a report. There must be things which have escaped us, however, and certainly there are many things which we need to know in more detail and depth.

Consequently, we want to be in communication with offices of the Administration. Can you nominate for us one (or more, as you see fit) person in each department and principal agency with whom we can correspond and, perhaps, later converse?

Any other help you can be to us, as we, no doubt, set out to sing your praises, will be, of course, and as always, deeply appreciated. I think, in all seriousness, that this sort of outside evaluation is not only our responsibility to perform, but can be of considerable value to the Administration and to civil rights.

Best wishes,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:dm

November 15, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harris:

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Best wishes,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:dm

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your letter of November 15.

Your proposed report on the last year in civil rights will be welcome. I informed our Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights about it and asked for full cooperation. I enclose the list of members of the group with whom you may correspond or converse directly. Let me know if you have any problems on which I can help.

Sincerely,

Harris

Harris Wofford
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosures

I just heard the good news from Racoric! I had lunch with Phil Stern who is also interested.

CIVIL RIGHTS SUBCABINET GROUP

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	William J. Sheppard, Acting Assistant Director for Administration	182-8008
	Robert I. Biren, Acting Director, Office of Program Support	182-7736
AGRICULTURE	Joseph M. Robertson, Administrative Assistant to the Secretary	111-3291
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION	Neil Naiden, General Counsel	119-3577
CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION	Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director	113-3381
	William Taylor, Special Assistant to the Staff Director	113-3460
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION	John Macy, Jr., Chairman	129-3301
COMMERCE	Hyman Bookbinder, Special Assistant to the Secretary	112-3538
DEFENSE	Carlisle P. Runge, Assistant Secretary (Manpower)	11-52334
	Adam Yarmolinsky, Special Assistant to the Secretary	CX 7-6351
	James Evans, Counsellor	11-52431

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY	Daggett H. Howard, General Counsel 112-4113	
	Owen Birnbaum, Attorney Advisor 112-5524	(Contracts)
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION	Herbert Angel, Director of Administration 183-4085	
	A.H. Rosenfeld, GSA Nondiscrimination 183-4751	Officer
	George Dorsey, GSA Deputy Nondiscrimina- 183-5385	tion Officer
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE	James Quigley, Assistant Secretary 13-36401	
	Lisle Carter, Deputy Assistant Secretary 13-21387	
HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY	Jack T. Conway, Deputy Administrator 128-5037	
	Milton Semer, General Counsel 128-4444	
INTERIOR	D. Otis Beasley, Administrative Assistant 183-2143	Secretary
	George Robinson, Assistant to Administrative 183-2143	Assistant Secretary Beasley
JUSTICE	Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General 187-2151	

any action

LABOR	James Reynolds, Assistant Secretary 110-2041	
	David North, Special Assistant to Secretary 110-2232	Reynolds
PEACE CORPS	Paul Geren, Deputy Director 113-3101	
	Franklin Williams, Director, United 113-2588	Nations Program
POST OFFICE	Richard Murphy, Assistant Postmaster 177-8177	General, Bureau of Personnel
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	Jerry Holleman, Executive Vice Chairman 110-2007	
	John Feild, Executive Director 110-3591	
	Jerald Bruno, Deputy Executive Director for 110-3571	Government Employment
SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION	John J. Hurley, Special Assistant to the 113-2040	Administrator
STATE	Herman Pollack, Deputy Assistant Secretary 182-2318	Personnel
	Richard Fox, Special Assistant, Office of 182-3789	Personnel
	Pedro Sanjuan, Assistant to the Chief of 182-7762	Protocol

TREASURY	Robert Wallace, 184-2551	Special Assistant to the Secretary
USIA	William C. Gausmann, DU 3-3634	Advisor on Labor and Minority Affairs
VETERANS ADMINISTRATION	Al Monk, 118-2641	Associate Deputy Administrator

December 15, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

This is the sort of thing we wish wouldn't come out of Washington. HEW made reservations at the Hampton Hotel (fourth rate) and on its suggestion, apparently, made a reservation for Mr. Delph at a Negro hotel. In this particular case we have been able to get the Atlantan Hotel to agree to take the entire party, and have so advised HEW.

I don't have to tell you we can't always, or even most of the time, do this. But I wish in situations like this Washington would not prejudge, and would check with us, if we are to be the local sponsor, to see what can be done.

A few weeks ago Labor sent a British Guiana trade union man to New Orleans and Atlanta (maybe elsewhere too) with a white escort, to guide him away from "embarassing" situations. This was disastrous. Labor did tell us about this arrangement in advance, and John Shulter who was handling the affair for Labor is a friend, so we neither can nor want to offer hindsight complaint. But Perry (the British Guianian) did not seem to me the kind of man described to us over the phone as needing an escort, and he was literally enraged by the whole business. I spent one whole blessed morning trying to smooth his feathers and - worst of all - spent $20.00 (SRC money, i.e.) for tickets for him and his escort to a Georgia Council on Human Relations fund raising dinner just to - hopefully - make him happier!

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

via air mail

April 4, 1962

Mr. Harris Wofford
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wofford:

As requested by your secretary today, we are pleased to furnish your office with 1000 copies of our Executive Support of Civil Rights. You may expect to begin receiving the reports within the next few days in lots of several hundred; the first of which to be mailed tomorrow. We will continue to send packages of several hundred until a total of 1000 has been mailed to you.

If at any time the Council can be of further help to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MFJ

April 12, 1962

Mr. Harris Wofford
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

I hear that you are leaving the White House and going to Africa. I suspect this is what you want to do and I wish you all the best. I am more than little sorry, however, to hear it. We always felt it reassuring to remember that you were at the vortex. I had a special reason for feeling that way because somehow I have always thought of you as more of a New Dealer than a New Frontiersman -- and every man is entitled to some biases. At any rate, best wishes, and let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Civil Liberties File

THE LAW AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

by

Harris Wofford

RECEIVED JUL 30 1962

First let me correct my billing and, more important, Professor Ward's billing. According to your poster he is to present "the lawyer's viewpoint" on this question, and I am to discuss "passive resistance."

Having just seen the grisly picture of Les Advocats by Forain in the current French art exhibit in O'Shaughnessy Hall, I don't know why I am stung by the implication that Professor Ward is the lawyer here tonight and that I am beyond the pale. I could make a case for civil disobedience based on St. Augustine's description of the "melancholy and lamentable judgments" -- the injustices -- inherent in the law in this sinful City of Man, and, with pacifism as a check on the commission of new injustices, call for peaceful resistance to unjust laws. Perhaps Mr. McKiernan, if his billing as a pacifist and anarchist is correct, will make that case.

It is a good American case, defended and demonstrated by Thoreau and by a whole generation of abolitionists. "Unjust laws exist," said Thoreau. "Shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" Thoreau asked, as I think we each must ask. His answer was: "If this injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth...but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine." So he advised the abolitionists not "to have God on their side, without waiting for that other one." And he went to prison for refusing to pay taxes to a government that was upholding slavery by imprisoning and returning runaway slaves. He said that "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also prison." But people did not understand and a distant aunt paid his taxes for him and he was put out of prison after only a one-night stand. Still, I think, his apochryphal answer to Emerson made an imprint on the American mind. When Emerson asked him why he was in jail, Thoreau replied, "Why are you outside?"

But I do not think I am a pacifist and I know I am not an anarchist and I did pass the bar. So tonight I want to make a lawyer's case for civil disobedience. We have been reading Justice Holmes in my class, and as always he has renewed my passion for this jealous mistress, the Law, whose loyal lover I claim to be - even as I stand here advocating civil disobedience. By the way, there is a Thoreau text for this, too.

- -

NOTE: Mr. Wofford was Associate Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame Law School when he delivered this address on November 20, 1959, before Gray's Inn, the student association of the law school. Mr. Wofford is an Episcopalian. He served on Senator Kennedy's staff during the presidential campaign and then was Presidential Advisor in Civil Rights for a period. He is now overseas with the Peace Corps. The address was first reproduced with his permission on August 23, 1960, and is now reprinted on June 30, 1962. Copies may be obtained for 10¢ each from the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

"They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."

Now I realize that this involves a paradox -- a central paradox of natural law jurisprudence -- that for many people spells anarchy. One man's natural law is all too often another's poison. For Socrates there was a higher law whispering to him from outside the cave of this world that told him it was the nature of man and the first principle of the teaching profession to ask questions -- to question everything -- and that therefore he should not obey the edict of Athens abridging his freedom of speech. But the Athenians who served him the hemlock were also obeying the highest law they knew, the need to preserve their society from subversion. I think you will agree with me that at least this one act of civil disobedience proved to be effective. For out of the cheerful prison-going and death of Socrates we learn academic freedom and I would say that Socrates also teaches us the first principle of any Republic, the principle established for this Republic by the First Amendment.

I suppose that almost everyone here would agree that civil disobedience would be justified toward any man-made law prohibiting the public worship of God. St. Thomas said that human laws contrary to Divine law ought nowise to be obeyed. The Church has gone to the catacombs before in its exercise of the freedom of religion. And the lives of many martyrs and saints should be enough to convince you of the educational potentialities of such civil disobedience. The question is, Where else in the field of law and on what other occasions is civil disobedience also necessary and proper?

I would cite the second part of the First Amendment, freedom of speech, and the principle of equal protection of the laws in the Fourteenth Amendment as two other areas where any laws in conflict with these commands of the natural law, according to my view of man's nature, ought to be civilly disobeyed.

But as soon as I say this, I have opened a Pandora's box from which many furies may fly, including the present disobedience of the Supreme Court's school decisions by many which citizens in the South. If you doubt that the white resistance to desegregation is based, in part at least, on a firmly-held and often conscientiously-held, though to me wrong-headed, view of natural law, then listen to this colloquoy from the Congressional Record for last September 14th. Senator Eastland asked: "Is not the segregated way of life a better life? Is not that the law of nature?" And Senator Thurmond replied: "Well, that is the way God made the races. I presume it is."

And yet, despite the risks involved in letting loose differing ideas of natural law to contend with each other, I believe that there is a great hope for the law, particularly for the law of a Republic, at the bottom of this Pandora's box. That hope is embodied in a view of law that transcends the old idea which says that law is nothing but the command of the sovereign. In a Republic, or with men who like Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee have the idea of a Republic in their heads, every command of the law should be seen as a question.

A Socratic philospher of the law, Scott Buchanan, has stated this thesis to show how "law teaches those who make and obey it" -- and I would add, disobey it. "Laws," he says, "are questions asked by God, history, nature, or society to be answered by men individually and collectively. This formulation penetrates the heart of human freedom. It says that no law, not even divine law cancels out human freedom; the answer can be Yes or No or something else. It also tacitly warns of consequences of the answer. But primarily it forces the human being to think about ends, or purposes."

In this view, there is implicit in each law the alternative of obedience, or of civil disobedience with full acceptance of the consequences. Once we no longer see law as a mechanical thing, once we free ourselves from the idea that as good citizens we have no choice but to obey any law passed by the Legislature, no matter how bad, then of each law we must ask ourselves, Is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from the very inception, and cannot wait the slow process of parliamentary reform?

So you see we are back with Thoreau, but with a difference. He thought in terms of disobedience serving as a counter friction to stop the whole machine of the law. I am presenting civil disobedience as a natural and necessary part of the great Due Process of our Law, that process of persuasion through which we govern ourselves. Civil disobedience, as I see it, is a kind of persuasion, the persuasion of last resort, within the boundaries of the law, sometimes the only kind available.

Of course any kind of disobedience of law may have the effect of persuasion, just as force can at times be a powerful persuader. The disobedience of the prohibition laws was violent, secret, rather cynical and largely uncivil, yet it finally led to the repeal of the 18th Amendment. But this kind of disobedience was truly beyond the legal pale. By teaching disrespect for this one law, it was indeed subversive of the Law. To have been civil disobedience, the resistance to prohibition would have had to be open, in the sight and knowledge of the authorities, and those thus disobeying the law should have not only been prepared to accept the consequences, but should have deliberately invited them. If those who considered the 18th Amendment a violation of their natural right to drink had courted the jails in protest, if they had, as Gandhi urged his countrymen, entered the prisons "as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber," I think the 21st Amendment would probably have come sooner. Certainly it would have come better. I do not think we would have had the organized crime that came in the wake of the less respectful forms of persuasion that were used.

Civil disobedience is within the legal pale -- within the Canons of Ethics of our profession, I would say -- because it involves the highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violate the law or try to evade it or violently seek to overthrow it, that would be disloyalty to the idea of law itself. But when we openly disobey a law that we hold to be unjust and ask for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that we belong in jail until it is changed. Thus Socrates refused to listen to his friends' plan for his escape from the verdict of Athens but chose instead to peacefully drink the hemlock, giving the respect he considered due to the state and to the laws in which he had lived and had his being.

Is this anarchy? I hope not, for I agree with Justice Brandeis that our government is "the potent, the omnipresent teacher" that "teaches the whole people." And I do not agree with Thoreau that "The law will never make men free." It is through law that we, like Socrates, find our freedom. But the law will play its full role as teacher only when we look upon it as a question. For it is the voice of our body politic with which we must remain in dialogue.

If the proposition to which we are dedicated is self-government, then we must respond to the law, resist it, change it, and fulfill it, even as it challenges, changes, and educates us. Civil disobedience is one way in which we can exercise the choice that law gives us. It is the choice that makes us free.

Now I have not even come to Gandhi, and all I will say here about him is that he, too, was a lawyer -- trained in London's Inner Temple -- and I think he always saw civil disobedience as a constitutional form of persuasion, as a way to reach and move the minds and hearts of people and thus to mould the law.

Nor have I tried to consider the many uses and abuses of this theory. I recall a Kentucky mayor who called on his people to adopt Gandhi's method of fighting injustice, as the only remaining form of resistance to court-imposed integration. The Mayor added that of course the white people wouldn't want Gandhi to come to their town, however useful his idea of civil disobedience might be for their purposes.

This doesn't disturb me. For the beauty of civil disobedience is that, in part at least, it answers a problem of law that has bothered people from St. Thomas to the present. Aquinas held that laws contrary to human good were not binding in conscience except in order to avoid "scandal or disturbance." Since violent disobedience, in the violent centuries that followed, did indeed often cause scandal and disturbance contrary to the common good, St. Thomas's exception has generally proved to be the rule, at least the rule for lawyers. But civil disobedience by its nature avoids the kind of scandal or disturbance that St. Thomas rightly feared.

In fact, what is wrong with the theory of civil disobedience in this country is not that our jails would fill. For jail-going is not the natural disposition of most men. A little jail-going against some of our laws might be good yeast to leaven the lump of our modern Leviathan. Civil disobedience could be an antidote to the centralization and standardization of our life, to the sense of fatality of the multitude as well as to the tyranny of the majority. We certainly need some kind of Socratic gadfly to stir society from its dogmatic slumbers.

No, the problem, I fear, is rather that by nature we seem more inclined to disobey not unjust laws but just ones. We all engage in civil disobedience in the form of jaywalking or speeding, to name only two popular varieties. But we hesitate to resist an unjust law. We do not take personal responsibility for injustice. Instead of taking Socrates straight, we seem to prefer the comic version. I am referring to Aritophanes' portrayal in "The Clouds," where the student of Socrates says: "But I wish to succeed, just enough for my need, and to slip through the clutches of law." But there again, we are free to choose which Socrates -- which inner light or higher law -- to follow, and it is the choice that makes us free.

August 3, 1962

Mr. Leon O. Marion
Regional Executive
World University Service
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file "WO" - Gen Corr

Dear Leon:

Welcome back.

I time this letter regarding Mrs. Emery of Dallas to be on your desk on your return.

These points are, I believe, pertinent:

(1) You're not putting me on the spot. Mainly because our reshuffling of assignments here moves me from the foreign visitor program - except as an interested colleague and occasional helper - and places our full foreign visitor program with Margaret Long.

(2) While I've worked very hard to avoid rudeness and will continue to do so, I just can't play with Mrs. Emery. She came here at her insistance -- and that of her sponsor -- in spite of my repeated warning that more ground work had to be done here. On arrival, she dismissed all of those people with whom we arranged meetings as being "nice but unimportant."

(3) Mrs. Emery announced to us and to every sponsoring agency in Washington that the Atlanta Mayor's Executive Secretary henceforth handle all foreign visitors; an unworkable and rude gesture that removed us from the picture.

(4) Mrs. Emery is very much obsessed with dealing with the most "important" names in Atlanta. If she can make this work, we're delighted; have and do pledge our full cooperation. But these people won't even talk to many of our guests and certainly wouldn't have them to dinner.

(5) We want to do what we can, from a professional and patriotic point of view, to help our international exchange programs. We also enthusiastically endorse any program that will make such programs community-wide and remove some of the burden from the few groups and people who now have the brunt of this. In the meantime, however, we have to struggle along with our minimum obligations.

(6) If any community-wide program can be developed, we will be participants and give all possible support.

(7) I'll be delighted to publicly apologize to Mrs. Emery if she can bring this thing off, shouting from the Bank of Georgia building that I was convinced she couldn't. In the meantime, it is wasting her time and mine to pretend that I think otherwise.

So, good friend, I turn the spot back to you. And, as I said, welcome back.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj

W. L. SNELL

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Sinc.pa

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Recvd
7/16/62
BP

July 13, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I hate to put you on the spot, but I felt a responsibility to send Mrs. Emery some word. See enclosed letter.

I believe I have listed all of the points she brought up during a lengthy telephone conversation from Dallas, in my letter to her of which a copy is enclosed for your information.

Even though my vacation will not be over, I plan to be back at my desk on August 7. Actually, I will arrive in town during the early afternoon of August 6. If we should meet at that time my secretary will place it on my calendar.

My best to you.

Sincerely,

Leon

Leon O. Marion
Regional Executive

LOM:ar
Encl.

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

World University Service

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July 13, 1962

Mrs. Clyde Emery
9417 Waterview Road
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mrs. Emery:

It is with much embarrassment that I write this letter because I have not been able to arrange a meeting with Paul Anthony. Even though I left a message for him to call, my schedule became extremely crowded obviating the possibility of a "follow-up" phone call later on.

I had hoped a decision regarding the possibility of your using your influence to help organize an effective coodinating office for service to international visitors might be made before I began my vacation on July 16. This does not seem to be the case, but I hasten to say that my opinion would follow fairly closely to that which would be made by the Southern Regional Council and specifically that of Mr. Paul Anthony. Perhaps he will be writing to you.

I understand from your telephone conversation the following:

1. By the use of influencial individuals in Dallas who know people of influence in Atlanta (e.g., the man who owns the Merchandise Mart in Dallas also owns the same type of building in Atlanta and has cooperated with you and your work) a coordinating committee with a broader base could be established. However, before organization steps are taken, you would like for the individuals in Atlanta that had a chance to meet with you to issue you an official "go ahead" statement.

2. To give the central or coordinating committee of Atlanta firm community status you suggest that Mr. William B. Hartsfield be asked to serve as the honorary chairman. This too can be handled from Dallas, due to the fact that an individual having worked with your committee is a close friend of Mr. Hartsfield. (Let me inject the fact that several of the people having worked with international visitors in Atlanta are also friends of Mr. Hartsfield.)

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3. The National Council for Community Services to International Visitors (COSERV) would like a representative from Atlanta to serve on their executive committee.

4. You have been informed by the Department of State that more international visitors would be sent to Atlanta if a Greater Atlanta Central Committee for international visitors was formed. (Mrs. Donna Potswald, after visiting the Department of State while in Washington attending the COSERV Conference reported the Department of State was satisfied with the services rendered to international visitors to Atlanta.) You are willing to see to it that a letter is written from the Department of State to those who have been working with international visitors in Atlanta indicating the fact that more international visitors will be sent if a Greater Atlanta Committee is formed.

I believe this was gist of our conversation. By a copy of this letter to Paul Anthony, I am asking him to send any comments he would like to make about these proposals directly to you. I am sure that my thoughts will concur with his since we have discussed some of these matters many times.

With kindness regards.

Sincerely,

Leon O. Marion
Regional Executive

LOM:ar
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Mrs. Margaret Long

World University Service
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FRENCH POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDENTS

August 5 - 8, 1962

Atlanta, Georgia

PROGRAM

Sunday, August 5	Arrival Atlanta International Airport - Transportation to the Georgia Hotel provided by Mr. Edward Brown, Human Relations Consultant and Mr. Hank Elkins, assistant minister, Ebenezer Church.
	Briefing on the South - The Georgia Hotel - Messrs. Brown and Elkins.
Evening -	Possible program at the Ebenezer Church.
Monday, August 6	
8:45 a.m.	TELEVISION APPEARANCE WSB -TV - Mr. Jerry Johnson, Program Director, "Today In Georgia." Four students to take part on Monday and the other four to take part on Tuesday. Students will be met in hotel lobby at 8 15 a.m.
10:00 a.m.	Walk from hotel to the offices of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street.
10:30 a.m.	"HUMAN RELATIONS GROUPS and THEIR ROLE in RACE RELATIONS" Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Southern Regional Council.
11:15 a.m.	"ATLANTA - CITY OF PROGRESS?" by a member of the Atlanta Council on Human Relations, Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Director.
12:30 p.m.	LUNCH
2:00 p.m.	"FEDERAL - STATE RELATIONS in the FIELD of INTEGRATION" Mr. Morris B. Abram, Attorney
3:00 p.m.	FREE
6:00 p.m.	DINNER
7:30 p.m.	Discussion meeting with members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Mr. James Foreman, Executive Secretary. "THE STUDENT ROLE in RACE RELATIONS"

Tuesday, August 7

8:45 a.m.	TELEVISION APPEARANCE WSB - TV - The four students that did not appear on Monday are to appear today. Students will be met in the hotel lobby at 8:15 a.m.
10:30 a.m.	Short tour of the city.
12:00 noon	Lunch at the "Pickrick," 891 Hemphill, N. W. Mr. Lester Maddox, candidate for Lieutenant Governor of the State of Georgia to address group. "SEPARATE but EQUAL - THE TRADITIONAL WAY"
2:00 p.m.	FREE or will program depending on wishes of the group.
5:00 p.m.	RECAPITULATION and QUESTION and ANSWER PERIOD. Offices of World University Service, Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place.
	DINNER - Group to be divided into four sections for dinner and hospitality in a Negro home. Mr. Hank Elkins in charge. The host family will return students to the hotel.

January 27, 1955

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Tacoma Park, Maryland

Dear Bea:

You were kind enough to say that sometime along in this year you would chip in.

The other people are due a great long rigmarole and I have to tell them what we are going to do. For you, none. I will send you an audit for 1954 in a few days.

Problem is, to put together enough to do the matching we have to do for the Fund for the Republic. We are within distant sight of it, so I don't ask you to tighten the family belt. But what can find its way into your budget would be tremendously helpful.

Best to your husband and to those children.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: KS

February 8, 1955

Dictated February 7th

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland

Dear Bea:

How very kind that was of you. No great long begging letter; no budgets; no audits; no justifications. Just interest and helpfulness.

The matter goes along about as well as I had hoped. We now have staffed organizations, mostly called Councils on Human Relations, for North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Kentucky. We have got shows, but as yet no staff, in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Florida. And I am helping Virginia set one up this month I hope.

The first job of each one will be to help where it can toward getting the schools open. It is a delight to see people in each state eagerly, but sanely, taking up that tough job.

Both the Marshall Field and the Doris Duke Foundations chipped in to enable us to do a better job with New South. The results appear somewhat in what I send you separately, and will come along in the February and later issues.

While many things don't look too favorable, it seems to me that the broad outlook is not too bad. Only four states acted up. The rest intend to live with and build to the law. And that will carry the four actors-up along, belatedly.

I will be up there sometime and we must all get together.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.
Changing Patterns in the New South sent under separate cover.

February 1, 1955

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Wolfe:

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city and will not return until Monday, February 7th.

I know that he will be delighted to receive your letter of January 28th, and the enclosed contribution to the Council.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
(Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director)

eab/

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . RHA . . . . . .

CR for $250.00
enclosed.

2/1/55

Jan 28 - 55

Dear George -

FEB 1 1955

Enclosed is with our good wishes for the "matching" :- let us hear how you're coming along when you have breath to spare - or better yet, plan to have supper with us next time you're up here.

We're all well here :- best regards to you and we'll save ~~the~~ gab till we see you. Bee

May 29, 1956

(Dictated May 28)

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Bea:

I was in Charlottesville this last weekend for some Roman-y Retreat. I wrote Mrs. Nunnally ahead of time and said I would be there for the weekend and I would try to see her. She wrote and said come any day except Friday because Friday is big doings in the club at the flower show in Farmington. I came in on a Saturday afternoon and rang her telephone, but no answer. So when I got back in the office today I wrote her a note and sent her a minimum of readables, and told her about a friend of ours in Charlottesville who would know about us.

She sounds like a nice person.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 5, 1957

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Wolfe:

You have been an understanding and generous friend of the Southern Regional Council. As 1957 gets underway and we plan increased activity -- diminished as we are by George Mitchell's retirement! -- we face a special and immediate need. If you can assist the Council again at this time, we shall be deeply grateful and the work of the Council will be benefitted out of all proportion.

In this, the third and last year of assistance to our state-organization effort from the Fund for the Republic, the allocation for our central activities is drastically reduced. Accordingly, we are faced with a greatly enlarged fund-raising task at precisely the time when we are undertaking expansion of our efforts to meet the mounting demands for an organization of this kind in the South.

We have tried to convey in the enclosed report some idea of the various efforts which we expect to carry on this year on an expanded and more effective scale. I hope it conveys, too, some sense of the eagerness and resolve with which our Board and staff approach opportunities that the Council, almost uniquely, is equipped to meet.

On a personal note, I might add that I have been vastly encouraged, on assuming a position of formidable responsibility, by the spirit of dedication which both the staff members and lay leadership of the Council have shown.

George Mitchell has told me many times of the pleasant visits he has enjoyed with you and your husband. Next time I am to be in Washington, I will write ahead in the hope of meeting you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

March 5, 1958

Mrs. Bee R. Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Wolfe:

Many thanks for your card. Having heard of the Wolfes so enthusiastically over the years from George Mitchell, I would like nothing more than to meet you. Occasions for Washington trips seem to come rarely, but I will certainly call the next time I am there.

George's address is simply Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland. I know he'd be pleased by a note from you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Cordially,

HCF

BEE R. WOLFE · 7901 CARROLL AVENUE · TAKOMA PARK 12, MARYLAND

2-28-58

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Enjoyed the Annual Report.

Would like to have a chance to discuss Council and its activities in person with you. When you are passing through here, would you give us a call? And could you send us George Mitchell's address?

Cordially, Bee Wolfe

VIA AIR MAIL

March 28, 1960

Mr. & Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Wolfe:

Mr. Fleming has asked that I let you know he is having to cancel his Washington trip because of a sudden attack of "Flu."

He expects to be in Washington for another meeting within the next month, which he will be writing you about when he returns to the office.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

HCF

via air mail

May 2, 1960

Mr. & Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Wolfe:

With apologies for this hasty and last-minute notice, I am to be in Washington this coming Thursday and Friday for a conference and will have a few hours free after my arrive at about 3:00 p.m., Thursday.

I realize that this is an awkward time, but if by any chance you two could join me for a drink, I should welcome the chance for even a brief chat.

In any case, I will call you from the airport to see whether this is possible.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

August 31, 1960

Mr. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Mr. Wolfe:

This is an attempt to reduce to writing the understanding we arrived at in our discussion here some weeks ago. I have discussed this question with Dr. Dunbar, our director of research, and he shares my feelin g that this would be an eminently desirable exploratory effort.

This, then, is to propose that beginning in September you continue to explore the possible scope, methods, and means of a study of social welfare programs in the South as they affect the Negro population. The terms, as I understand them, would be as follows:

(1) The exploration can probably be kept within two to three months part-time work by you.

(2) You are willing to devote your time and skill to this investigation. The Southern Regional Council will be prepared to pay up to $300.00, as needed, for the limited travel and clerical expenses required.

(3) It is understood that there is no commitment on your part or ours to undertake any later study of this subject under the auspices of the

Southern Regional Council. At the end of this proposed investigation, you will give us in writing your findings and recommendations. We understand that these will be dictated entirely by the situation as you find it and your own judgment; that you may recommend one or several different approaches in this area, under any sponsorship you feel most desirable, or that you may recommend that no study at all is desirable or feasible. Once your findings are in hand we will then discuss further the best ways to implement them.

If this proposed statement of our agreement is unsatisfactory in any way, do let me know how it should be amended. Otherwise, I shall look forward to word from you that the investigation will go forward this fall.

We are grateful for the interest and initiative you have shown in this important field.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Wolfe.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

HF

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Telephone 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 23, 1960

To: LWD From: HCF HCF

Subject: GEORGE WOLFE

I passed on to you, the other day, a copy of a memo from George Wolfe, the social work consultant who is exploring the possibilities of a study of discrimination in welfare programs. Wolfe was here in the office day-before-yesterday. He feels that further exploration is needed in order to decide what is possible and desirable by way of such a study. Subject to your agreement, I tentatively concluded the following:

(1) We will ask him, by letter, to continue his explorations and at the end to advise us in writing of his findings and recommendations. It is understood that he may recommend one or several different approaches in this area.

(2) It is understood that there is no commitment on his part or ours, to undertake any study under SRC auspices.

(3) He will require no remuneration for his exploratory efforts. However, SRC would be willing to put up a modest amount (up to several hundred dollars) for the limited travel and clerical expenses involved.

defrayed 300

(4) Wolfe can pursue this study in September, and he anticipates that he can complete the exploration within two to three months of part-time work.

(5) If this is agreeable, I am to write Wolfe a letter to this effect. He will reply in August when his schedule for the fall is set and he knows specifically how much time he can give to the effort.

LWD
(Let's discuss)
HCL

Preliminary Statement on a Proposed Study-Of Social Welfare Programs in the South and the Negro

The Problem

Since the inauguration of large scale, publicly financed social welfare programs in the early 1930's, and the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, American citizens of all races have benefited enormously from the fairly well developed system of social welfare in effect in the United States. Some of these programs are entirely under Federal control; others are administered under Federal-State partnership and still others are entirely under State or local control. The complex of privately organized and financed social work activities has undergone great changes during this period but in general operates in areas where public social services are either not available at all or are still in their infancy.

What have these programs of social welfare meant for the Negro population of the South? Have social welfare policies in the Southern States been shaped to assist both races on an equal basis? What is the status of the Negro with regard to privately organized and financed social services?

These are some of the questions which might be answered in a proposed study of social welfare programs in the South and the Negro. The purpose of this statement is to present in a very preliminary way some aspects of the proposed investigation. It is based in part on interviews with officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington and on the meager literature dealing with this subject.

What is Social Welfare?

There is no generally accepted definition of the "Social services", "social work" or "social welfare" in the United States today. Such definitions as have been made tend to derive from two dominant conceptions of social welfare: The (1) Residual and the (2) Institutional. The first, which often carries the stigma of "Dole" or "Charity", holds that "social welfare institutions should come into play only when the normal structures of supply, the family and the market, break down". The second, in contrast, "sees the welfare services as normal first line functions of modern industrial society. These are the concepts around which drives for more or less welfare services tend to focus."[1]

In actual practice American social work has tried to combine the two concepts and current trends and social welfare will present a middle course. For purposes of the proposed study, social welfare will refer to: "Those formally organized and socially sponsored institutions, agencies, and programs, exclusive of the family and private enterprise, which function to maintain or improve the economic conditions, health, or inter-personal competence of some parts or all of a population."[2] This definition needs to be narrowed further to exclude such socially sponsored, non-profit services as public education, libraries, museums, subsidized housing, certain aspects of public recreation, etc., which are not typically defined as social welfare.

1. Wilensky, Harold L., and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare., pp. 138-139.
2. Ibid., p. 17.

Welfare Auspices

Public Welfare

Tax supported social welfare programs are termed "public welfare". They may receive legislative sanction at any of the three main levels of government - Federal, State and Local (Town, City, County) - and are found operating separately at all levels or as joint endeavors of two or more.

Completely Federal Program

Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance under the Social Security Act. This program is administered by Social Security district offices.

Federal-State Programs

Public Assistance, Financial Aid and Standard Setting for State Administered "Categorical" Relief Programs: Old-Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled.

Child Welfare, Grants-in-Aid to States for Crippled Children, Maternal and Child Health, General Child Welfare Programs.

Vocational Rehabilitation, Financial Support for State Programs.

State

Under State Welfare Departments; Administration of Public Assistance, Certain Child Welfare Programs, Inspection and Licensing of Boarding Homes for Children, etc.

Under Other State Agencies: Administratively Separate from the State Welfare Departments and from each other are such major welfare programs as Corrections, Mental Health, Vocational Rehabilitation, School Social Services, to mention only a few.

Local

Limited Social Welfare Programs centering around the general relief office.

Voluntary Welfare Efforts

A network of private, secular social welfare activities financed in the main through city wide community chests or United Givers Fund Campaigns and coordinated in the larger cities through councils of social agencies. In addition, there are a number of social welfare programs carried on under religious auspices, the national health agencies (Heart, Cancer and the like), the Red Cross, Foundations, etc.

Phases of Social Welfare in the South

Before the Great Depression

Insofar as there existed an organized program of social welfare in the United States under private and public auspices prior to the great depression of 1929, there is evidence that such programs were not as well developed in the Southern States as in some other parts of the country. Some of the factors which accounted for this were: Slower pace of industrialization, relatively few large urban centers, absence of significant immigrant groups, the legal social and economic position of the Negro, strong tradition of individual responsibility and relative isolation from the important reform movements of the North. It is possible, however, that detailed studies of social welfare in the South prior to the depression might modify the accepted picture of "Backwardness", especially in such States as Virginia and North Carolina.

1930-1935

This period is marked by increasing public responsiblity for social welfare programs aimed to alleviate the worst effects of mass unemployment. When private and local efforts proved totally inadequate to cope with the effects of unemployment, the Federal Government assumed the major share of financing relief and unemployment programs. The South shared heavily in these programs along with the other stricken parts of the country.

1935-1960

The Social Security Act of 1935, as amended, has been the main vehicle of social welfare programs in the United States during the past twenty-five years. At the same time, there have been many other significant developments in social welfare under public and private auspices in which the South has undoubtedly participated in varying degrees.

The Negro and Social Welfare in the South

Prior to the Early 1930's

There is little public information about the status of the Negro with regard to social welfare programs in the South prior to the great depression in the early 1930's. The following statements may throw some light on the matter but a good deal of research will be required to assess the situation accurately:

"The whole South seems agreed that there shall be some measure of inequality imposed on the Negro population (with regard to the need for social services)."[3]

"Eleemosynary institutions are not as well developed in rural areas and villages as in cities. Aid to Negroes from private and semipublic agencies is not systematic, and is more in the nature of alms than welfare. Negroes share to a greater extent in the benefits of public, tax-supported, welfare institutions, especially those supported by the state rather than by the local government. Here again the whites are cared for first and, admittedly, even they are not cared for very well."[4]

3. Thomas, Jesse O., "Social Service Needs of the South", Opportunity, June 1927, p. 173.
4. Johnson, Charles S., Patterns of Negro Segragation, p. 35.

"A new movement is stirring in the South, it relates to the Negro. It is born of an honest admission on the part of numerous white people that the Negro deserves opportunities for development and expression of his powers. The Negro is being given new responsibilities and a more enlightened regard. This he has won by his own honest efforts to improve himself".[5]

Public Relief in the 1930's

The Negro in the South benefited enormously from the large relief and work programs initiated by the Federal Government in the 1930's. Writing of this period Gunnar Myrdal felt justified in saying that:" Under the pressure of shrinking employment oplortunities in agriculture and of industrial depression and job restriction in the cities, public relief has become one of the major Negro occupations; all through the 'thirties it was surpassed only by agriculture and possibly by domestic service."[6]

Charles S. Johnson, who was responsible for some of the field work on which Myrdal's report is based, concluded that: "Negroes have profited greatly by the recent multiplication of public relief agencies. It appears that they receive most consideration from federal agencies, and receive less attention the farther the control of relief is removed from Washington. In the large southern cities many complaints regarding discriminatory practices are heard. At the various relief agencies there are usually separate waiting rooms for white and Negro clients; and the relief allocations are, as a rule, different in amount. The assumption is that Negroes require less or that they have learned to live more efficiently than whites of the same economic level. In the large cities of the South the proportion of Negroes on relief is larger ~~than~~ than that of the whites mainly because there are more Negroes of marginal economic status, more unemployed, and fewer opportunities for Negroes in either regular or temporary work."[7]

There is a great deal of statistical information on the Negroes participation in the large relief programs in the 1930's. As we will see later this is in contrast to the lack of statistical data on the Negro and social welfare at the present time.

Federal and Federal - State Programs Under the Social Security Act.

During the past twenty-five years the Social Security Act has undergone a great many changes, many of which have been of direct benefit to the Negro as well as to other disadvantaged groups of the population. Writing in 1942 Myrdal commented that the programs under the Social Security Act "are so constructed that Negroes, along with certain groups of white workers, are in a disadvantaged position. In other words, there is what might be called "indirect discrimination." Particularly, coverage is limited."[8] There is evidence that this criticism would not apply in the same measure to the operation of the Social Security Act at this time.

5. North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, North Carolina's Social Welfare Program for Negroes 1926, p. 7.

6. Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, pp. 353-354.

7. Johnson, Charles S., Op. Cit., pp. 35-36.

8. Myrdal, Gunnar, Op. Cit., pp. 357-358.

State and Local Programs

Many important programs of social welfare are carried on under State and local auspices. We have been unable to find any published information or comment on the status of the Negro with regard to these programs.

Social Welfare Programs Under Private Auspices

There have been a few papers by professional workers on possibilities for making services under private auspices available to both races on a more or less integrated basis.

Possible Areas of Study

The detailed historical background of the Negro in relation to social welfare programs in the South undoubtedly would have great interest for the social historian but could only serve as a part of the frame of reference for a study of the Negro and social welfare in the South today. Viewing the contemporary framework of social welfare, we may list the following areas for possible investigation:

1. Social Welfare Policy. There are some areas of public welfare for which basic policy is determined by the federal government; in other areas, basic policy may be set by the federal government but specific practices for granting aid maybe determined by the states; in still other areas, the states and localities have complete freedom in setting their own social welfare policies. Where states and localities have complete control over the determination of social welfare policy, it would be pertinent to inquire about the nature of such policies and their application in practice. Even under the system of federal-state programs where the states are required to accept federal policies and standards there may be considerable leeway for the states to develop specific policies and practices.

2. Service Patterns. How are social welfare services made available to both races in the South?

3. Staffing Patterns. This could be studied at all levels with the possible exception of the Old-Age Survivors and Disability Insurance Program which is completely under federal control.

4. Assistance Grants. Are assistance grants determined on the basis of need or other factors used in their determination?

5. Separate but Equal Doctrine. How does the separate but equal doctrine apply to the supply and quality of social services at the state and local level?

6. Participation in Policy Making. To what extent are Negroes represented on the various commissions and boards which play a part in policy making with regard to welfare programs?

7. Voluntary Social Work. Financing service, staff and board patterns in privately organized and financed social welfare programs.

Is Such a Study Feasible

An adequate answer to this and other questions raised in this preliminary statement would require further study of the problem at the state and local levels in different parts of the South. One difficulty in the way of studying the Negroes participation as a consumer in social welfare programs is the apparent absence of statistics by race. There may also be a lack of written material on social welfare policy inthe South as it applies to whites and non-whites. In any event, much more detailed study is required to determine the need and feasibility of the kind of research project discussed in this statement.

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Prepared by George Wolfe, Social Work Consultant - June 15, 1960

GEORGE WOLFE
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

LWD
HCF

June 29,1960

Dear Mr.Fleming:

Enclosed is a statement of my education and professional experience.

I had a very fruitful talk with Whitney Young which confirmed my impression that there have been few,if any,studies of the subject we discussed.Mr.Young was very much interested in the project and offered to cooperate in its exploration.

Cordially,

George Wolfe

7901 CARROLL AVE.
TAKOMA PARK, MD.

June 15, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Since I will be in Atlanta nexe week I wanted to get to you a statement of the proposed study of social welfare programs in the South, and the Negro. The statement which I am enclosing is necessarily very sketchy and tentative. To have prepared a firmer statement of the problem and a possible research design, I should have had to talk to a number of people in the field and to have consulted more fully the existing, if meagre, literature on the subject. I hope that what I have been able to prepare will give us an opportunity to discuss the matter when we can get together. If possible, I would like to consult a few people at the Atlanta School of Social Work and other agencies.

I shall phone you when I am in Atlanta next Tuesday or Wednesday.

Cordially,

Sanford Winston

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Possible Areas of Study

The detailed historical background of the Negro in relation to social welfare programs in the South undoubtedly would have great interest for the social historian but could only serve as a part of the frame of reference for a study of the Negro and social welfare in the South today. Viewing the contemporary framework of social welfare, we may list the following areas for possible investigation:

1. Social Welfare Policy. There are some areas of public welfare for which basic policy is determined by the federal government; in other areas, basic policy may be set by the federal government but specific practices for granting aid maybe determined by the states; in still other areas, the states and localities have complete freedom in setting their own social welfare policies. Where states and localities have complete control over the determination of social welfare policy, it would be pertinent to inquire about the nature of such policies and their application in practice. Even under the system of federal-state programs where the states are required to accept federal policies and standards there may be considerable leeway for the states to develop specific policies and practices.

2. Service Patterns. How are social welfare services made available to both races in the South?

3. Staffing Patterns. This could be studied at all levels with the possible exception of the Old-Age Survivors and Disability Insurance Program which is completely under federal control.

4. Assistance Grants. Are assistance grants determined on the basis of need or are other factors used in their determination?

5. Separate but Equal Doctrine. How does the separate but equal doctrine apply to the supply and quality of social services at the state and local level?

6. Participation in Policy Making. To what extent are Negroes represented on the various commissions and boards which play a part in policy making with regard to welfare programs?

7. Voluntary Social Work. Financing, service, staff and board patterns in privately organized and financed social welfare programs.

Is Such a Study Feasible?

An adequate answer to this and other questions raised in this preliminary statement would require further study of the problem at the state and local levels in different parts of the South. One difficulty in the way of studying the Negro's participation as a consumer of social welfare programs is the apparent absence of statistics by race. There may also be a lack of written material on social welfare policy inthe South as it applies to whites and non-whites. In any event, much more detailed study is required to determine the need and feasibility of the kind of research project discussed in this statement.

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Prepared by George Wolfe, Social Work Consultant - June 15, 1960

LWD ✓
MF -file

October 19, 1960

Mr. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Mr. Wolfe:

Thank you for your letter of October 3, which arrived while I was away from the office.

Our interest in a possible study of social services in the South has been confined to our discussions with you. We have no plans, at this time anyway, that would warrant approaching anyone else on the matter. So if it appears later that you can pursue the project further next spring, by all means let us hear from you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

GEORGE WOLFE
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

October 3,1960

Dear Mr.Fleming:

Many thanks for your clear letter of understanding of August 31,1960.I am glad to know that Dr.Dunbar shares your feeling that a study of the social services in the South as they affect the Negro population has merit.

When I received your letter I was in the process of making up my schedule for the coming year and it was clear to me then that I would probably not have the time to undertake the further exploration of the subject.I am now quite certain that I could not undertake this responsibility before the Spring of 1961.Although I am still interested in the project I want to leave you free to approach someone else to pursue the matter if you are interested in going on withit now.On the other hand if you can wait until the Spring there is some possibility that I would be able to do some work on it at that time.

The exploratory work should of course be done in several Southern states in close cooperation with State directors of social welfare. Should you decide to have me continue with the project in the Spring of 1961 I would be prepared to visit with you and Dr.Dunbar in Atlanta sometime before the Spring to determine the best method for continuing the exploratory work in the field.

Very sincerely,

George Wolfe

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1960

December 28, 1960

Mr. & Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Bee and George:

You are very kind to remember the Council so handsomely at this season. We are most grateful for your contribution and no less so for your welcome words about our materials.

I'm still hoping that we will have an opportunity later to work together on the exploration of welfare services in the South. And, whether or not this develops, I will look forward to seeing you whehever you make your next trip to Georgia.

As you doubtless know, the situation in Atlanta is an unhappy one just now. The protest against segregated eating facilities continues, with no visible prospect of settlement. To my morbid eye, we seem to be developing some of the early symptoms of Little Rockitis, though it's much too soon for such dire predictions. Maybe the famous Atlanta Spirit will assert itself in time to spare us the Little Rock and New Orleans type of experience here.

My apologies for sounding this gloomy note, and best personal regards and good wishes for the New Year.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1.

12-23-60

BEE R. WOLFE 7901 CARROLL AVENUE TAKOMA PARK 12, MARYLAND

Dear Harold -

We've enjoyed your mailings of publications: here's a contribution to go to the cost of them or anything else that you'd like.

Greetings of the season. George & Bee

$50.00 OK
RHA 12/27/60

via air mail

January 11, 1961

Mrs. Bea Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear Bea:

As you suggested, we have added Mrs. Betty W. Platt of Savannah to our mailing list and have sent her some of our most recent materials. We are glad to do this complimentarily.

I would have acknowledged this note from you sooner, but I have been pondering what I could suggest to you about the Atlanta situation. Unfortunately, I am still berefit of suggestions. The situation is still on dead center. One point of view, which I hold to at the moment, is that some new efforts might well be made to encourage a apparate settlement with variety stores and possibly others, by-passing Rich's. This will not be easy to accomplish, and it may be too much to hope for. But if and when it can be done, this might do more than anything else could to produce a more impersonal and reasonable view of the situation by Rich's'management. In any case, this is one of those situations where, apparently, the pressure cooker has to steam for a while before anything is to happen.

Atlanta is enormously helped, both with respect to the sit-ins and the public schools, by the desegregation of the University of Georgia. As this is written, it looks as though the two Negro students are in there to stay and that

Georgia is going to weather the crisis uneventfully. Whether this optimism is justified or not, it's now the state politicians who are on the spot rather than Atlanta, and this is bound to help.

If new developments or new ideas on the lunch-counter situation arise, I will be writing you again.

With all good wishes to you and George,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Md.

Dec. 28, '60

Dear Harold -

I'd like some of your most recent mailings (awfully good!) sent to Mrs. Betty W. Platt
620 E. 53rd St
Savannah, Ga.,
and please put her on your regular mailing list. I'd like to pay a membership fee for her if that's involved. Thanks.

And now, what can I say or do about the Atlanta crisis? I've written and phoned Dick, and

written to a few board members but is there anything you can suggest from your vantage point? This is entirely confidential for both of us, of course

Resolution - greetings for a New Year that will end out of the many darknesses of human struggle -

from
Bee Oudberge.

October 4, 1954

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk 8, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Silverman:

That little Williamsburg gathering was interesting and mighty pleasant. But I had the feeling that it didn't help you much with your problem, though maybe it will work around.

The evening of February 2, 1955 is quite all right for me to be in Norfolk, and I have marked it on my calendar and will be at your disposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

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NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED 9/4/54 Southern Regional Council

October 1, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was a rare treat for our program committee to visit with you and Mrs. Mitchell in Williamsburg, and we want to thank you for the inspiration and ideas you gave us.

The School Committee has met and is presently gathering maps to follow through on your suggestion of action in school fringe areas.

Our Council is immensely stimulated at the prospect of having you here in Norfolk in February. We have selected February 2 (8 P. M.) as our date for this meeting and are directing our sights at the schools. We shall make a concerted effort to get the teachers' attendance at this meeting. As soon as you confirm the date, I shall invite the Superintendant of Schools to introduce you.

I know that you will be interested to know that our Council spearheaded a meeting on the "Coronado Situation" immediately following the last bombing. A small steering committee was named from that group that is trying to form a "Mayor's Committee." Since that time, and perhaps because of the efforts expended by this group, there has been constant night patrolling by the police and no further violence in Coronado.

I do want to thank you again for the opportunity of talking with you and am looking forward to your visit on February 2. The program committee joins me in sending kindest personal regards to you and Mrs. Mitchell.

Sincerely,

Zula Silverman

Program Chairman

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk 8, Va.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

Re:

Your television appearance in

Norfolk at 5:45 p.m. February 2nd.

You wanted to check on Joel
Carlson's Tidewater Viewpoint.

December 20, 1954

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk 8, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Silverman:

All remains in order for February 2nd. I haven't yet worked out transportation, but you can be sure that I will be there.

I send a picture separately. For biography, take what you want out of the enclosed.

Willing to do television, but always look funny on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

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NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED 12/20/54
Southern Regional Council

December 16, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Our February Second Meeting is shaping up very well. We have been fortunate in obtaining Dr. Houston R. Jackson, Assistant Superintendant of Schools, Baltimore, who is going to speak on the Integration of Schools in Baltimore after your report on Southern Attitudes Since the Supreme Court Decision.

We are trying to get school and church cooperation, and have invited the local school superintendant to introduce our speakers. We plan to publicise the meeting throughout the Tidewater Area.

We have arranged a television interview for you at 5:45 P. M. Feb. 2 on Joel Carlson's Tidewater Viewpoint.

Please send me your picture and a biography for newspaper publicity. Let me know your arrival date and time, and we shall meet you.

My committee joins me in sending personal regards.

Sincerely,

H. Silverman

Program Chairman

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk 8, Va.

522 MOWBRAY ARCH
NORFOLK 7, VIRGINIA

JAN 24 1955

Jan 20, 1955

Dear Dr Mitchell:

Thanks for yours of the 17th. Mrs Silverman has already answered your question and has alerted Mary Lee Tillett (whom we consider one of our prize members!)

I phoned Mrs Armstrong last night and she wanted to know if you planned to stay at their house. I told her we didnt know your travel plans but would ask you to let her hear if you had designs on her guest room. I've written her since and Mrs Silverman has sent her one of our formal invitations.

A letter has gone to Mr & Mrs Walker, too. If they have a guest room available in Norfolk perhaps they will come--they have long enough notice to scare up something. They might even go home after the meeting tho' that would put them in Hampton rather late. In a few years we expect a bridge-tunnel which will make us just next door to all that section. It will be time for you to come again when we get the facility so we can invite all of Hampton, then!

The enclosed clipping gives you Virginia's official opinion. From the governor down, the ruling party is opposed to integration and doesnt seem to be looking for ways of making the Supreme Court decision workable. Personally, I believe Virginia

would have to go slow and, probably, let the country districts go slower than the urban ones but I deplore offiaaldom's pronouncements. You may, however, want to know just what attitude is being expressed so as to take it into account in your talk here. We are looking forward to so much help from you and hope the two legislators from Norfolk who are members of Virginia's School Segregation Stury Commission will be present to hear you.

Sincerely yours,

Sue R Slaughter

January 17, 1955

Dictated January 13, 1955

Miss Sue R. Slaughter
The Woman's Council for Interracial Cooperation
522 Mowbray Arch
Norfolk 7, Virginia

Dear Miss Slaughter:

I have a brother-in-law and his wife, named Mr. and Mrs. James Armstrong, who live at 120 Jane Way Street, Norfolk 3, Virginia.

A college friend of my wife's is my good friend and is really useful, though she may not often appear. Her name is Miss Mary Lee Tillett, 732 Westover Street, Norfolk, Virginia.

I don't suppose that my friends, Mr. and Mrs. William R. Walker, Jr., 7 Russell Road, Hampton, Virginia, could be persuaded by a postcard to get themselves clear across Hampton Roads for a one-night stand, but it would be nice to invite them.

Left to myself, I would talk about how to proceed with school integration. Is that what I should talk about?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

JAN 13 1955

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Jan 11, 1955

Dear Dr Mitchell:

we're looking forward with great pleasure to having you with us next month. Everyone who heard your "map of the South" three years ago was charmed.

Have you any personal friends whom we might invite - either right in Norfolk or at Virginia Beach, Suffolk or other nearby places? maybe some old college mates of ~~friends~~ yours or students of your father's.

cordially yours,

Sue R Slaughter

January 25, 1955

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk 8, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Silverman:

I am going to get to Norfolk the evening of February 1st by hopping a ride from Richmond to Petersburg and catching the Norfolk and Western's train #8, which leaves Petersburg at 5:15 p.m., and gets into Norfolk at 7:05 p.m. I will probably be picked up by my brother-in-law, James Armstrong, and whisked off to bed. His address doubtless you have as 120 Jane Way Street, Norfolk 3.

By this device, I am sure to be well on hand for and from 5:00 p.m. on February 2nd. At least so far as I know I am at anybody's service for earlier that day.

I will telephone you in the early part of February 2nd for directions as to how to put myself in the presence of Mr. Carlson by or before 5:00 p.m; or for any other directions you wish to give me. Being on at 5:45 p.m., well enough. Supper at 6:30 p.m. at the YW, grand. Subject of my speech-making, all right. And I will do the best I can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

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NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

January 19, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 24 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing announcement of our meeting. Your TV interview is at 5:45 P.M., and Mr. Carlson wishes to meet with you earlier, so please plan to be available from 5P.M. on. We are having a small dinner for our board to meet you and Dr. Jackson at 6:30 at the YWCA and shall proceed to the meeting from there.

Dr. Jackson is going to talk on "The Baltimore Picture," and we would very much like to have you give us a general picture of the Southern educational scene since May 17, and, of course, a procedure for integrating the schools of Norfolk.

Mr. Brewbaker, Superintendant of Norfolk Schools, has accepted (albeit reluctantly) our invitation to introduce you and Dr. Jackson. The principals of every school in the city have been invited to attend and urged to have his teachers represented. We have also invited neighboring cities and counties to send representatives.

I am personally delighted that the SRC is planning to set up a Virginian group, which is sorely needed. I turned your letter over to our board, and we called in our list of names to Emerson Smith, as requested. Mrs. Strauss, of course, will meet you in Richmond on February 1.

Miss Slaughter read me your letter, and we shall invite the names listed to our meeting.

I wish you every success in Richmond and am happily anticipating your arrival here.

Sincerely,

Freda Silverman

Program Chairman

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Cres.
Norfolk 8, Va.

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
of Norfolk

Presents:

INTEGRATED EDUCATION TODAY and TOMORROW

With Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell, Director Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

and
Dr. Houston R. Jackson, Assistant Supt. of Education,
Baltimore, Md.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2nd, 8:00 P. M.

Freemason Street Baptist Church
Bank Street Entrance

JUL 12 1955

522 MOWBRAY ARCH
NORFOLK 7, VIRGINIA

July 9, 1955

Dear Dr Mitchell:

Since you "confessed" to me last February your part in helping S J Phillips get started on his Booker T Washington Birthplace Memorial, I wonder if you know anything about the present plan to get "Uncle Sugar" to be the goat! Do tell me what you know.

Norfolk's School Board has announced that it approved integration in principle which, I hear, made a great sensation in Richmond. For 1955-56 we will certainly continue segregated schools but I hope we will have small study groups as I believe our school superintendant favors. No doubt you started his thinking along that line. As a whole, I think Norfolk is very calm about the situation.

The latest on our integration front is the decision that the State cannot operate our nearby Seashore Park as a segregated park nor lease it for such use and this decision will, no doubt, control the City's present policy of segregated golf courses.

It was such a pleasure to have you here last February and I hope we may see you again before too long.

Cordially yours,
Sue R Slaughter

522 Mowbray Arch
Norfolk 7, Va
July 9, 1955

Hon. Porter Hardy, Jr
Federal Bldg
Norfolk, Va.

My dear Mr Hardy:

Thank you for your letter of June 28th replying to my question about a bill introduced by Congressman Miller of Nebraska for the purchase of the Booker T. Washington birthplace.

Your letter states that the Secretary of the Interior is directed to acquire by gift, purchase or condemnation all right, title and interest in and to the real property located at Booker T Washington Birthplace, Virginia. Booker T Washington Birthplace is a community of some size with a 2nd class U.S.post office of that name. Is it proposed to acquire all the property at the centre?

While I am in favor of honoring B.T.Washington in a dignified manner, I am opposed (and know that many Negroes are equally opposed) to a large expenditure for land and buildings which have no direct connection with Washington. There has been a certain amount of unfavorable newspaper publicity in Norfolk regarding the project in the past and there will certainly be more if any considerable amount of tax funds is to be used.

A brochure (undated) called "The History and Achievements of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial" states that the properties include a 216 acre tract of land (the "plantation" on which Washington was born) plus an additional 300 adjoining acres purchased by the Memorial; a replica of the cabin in which Washington was born (built with funds appropriated by the Virginia General Assembly) five other houses built for dormitories, offices and class rooms, a farm equipped with modern machinery, thoroughbred animals and poultry and a 30 acre orchard. In addition to the $15,000.00 appropriated by the Virginia General Assembly, the Congress of the United States had been persuaded (presumably by the Washington Memorial people) to appropriate $150,000.00 toward the establishment of a Geo. Washington Carver memorial at Diamond, Mo..

Will you kindly find out for me the amount of property (land and buildings) proposed to be acquired and the amount of money involved? A news article of 1-20-55 states that all the property had been assigned to B.A.Davis, Jr., a Rockymount attorney, so it could be sold to pay creditors some $140,000.00. Personally, I see no reason why any such amount should be expended by the Federal government when the cabin in which Washington was born cost only $15,000.00-the amount of Virginia's 1946 appropriation. I hope you will act to safeguard the U.S.Treasury from unnecessary expenditure which, rather than honoring a wise educator, will largely pull the chestnuts out of the fire for an unwise one.

Yours very sincerely,

Sue R Slaughter

July 15, 1955

Miss Sue R. Slaughter
522 Mowbray Arch
Norfolk 7, Virginia

Dear Miss Slaughter:

I think your letter to Congressman Porter Hardy, Jr., is exactly right. I know nothing further about the whole matter than what has been in the newspapers, but I see no reason at all for the U. S. Government to send good money after bad. The only thing about the matter that ever appealed to me was the purpose to establish a vocational training institute at that site. As that seems long dead, the rest of it is, so far as I am concerned, without merit.

We are all proud of what Maryland has been doing, and I have given the credit all around to the Norfolk Women's Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 20, 1955

Mrs. Victor J. Ashe
2900 Hollister Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Ashe:

Thursday is a difficult day for me; possible, but tough. The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council meets at Tuskegee Institute November 9th. That is the climax of a year's work. The only way for me to get from Tuskegee to Norfolk in the course of Thursday would be to fly, and I never feel right about undertaking to be at a meeting if I am to get to it via an airplane. If you meeting has to be Thursday night, November 10th, I will be willing to accept and come, but I accept subject to the plane's flying.

If there is any way that, perhaps, a smaller group could come together in the course of the 11th or the 12th -- perhaps in the daytime? -- that is a cinch for me.

You decide what you want to do and I will fit in some way. But I am mighty skittish about Thursday night.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated September 19th)

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

SEP 17 1955

September 14, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Council is delighted to learn you will be in Portsmouth, Virginia on Friday, November 11th.

We would like to plan a program around you, if possible on Thursday, Nov. 10th, as weekend nights are impossible for us to get a meeting place. We, therefore extend to you an invitation to be with us, if convienent to your

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

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NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

schedule.

"Recreation Facilities" is our topic this year. At the November meeting we would like to discuss "State Parks".

We do hope you will be able to meet with us and perhaps the Director of Virginia's Human Relations Council could be introduced to our members and friends.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience, with a favorable reply.

We do hope you can be with us.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. V. J. Ashe

Program Chairman

Mrs. Victor J. Ashe
2900 Hollisten Ave
Norfolk, Virginia.

Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation

October 2, 1956

Mrs. Zelda B. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Silverman:

I appreciate a lot the report and the program for this Fall and next Spring.

You good people in Norfolk comfort me a lot. I hang my head for most of Virginia, but I hold it up for Norfolk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

ANNUAL REPORT - 1955-1956

The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation found itself the focus of attention from outside this city during the year 1955-56, and its importance was emphasized seemingly out of all proportion to its size and activities. The necessity of our existence as a conservative meeting ground on the interracial field becomes apparent, and the requests that the Women's Council has received in the past year underline the unique position we hold. Last summer your president was asked to entertain four French women, guests of our State Department. This request came from Washington through the AAUW. In December Mr. Carl Rowan, special reporter for Look Magazine in a series of articles on the South, visited Norfolk and interviewed some of our Past Presidents. Mrs. Louis Jaffe, Past President, reported a telephone call from Edward Murrow's SEE IT NOW television program, asking for WCIC cooperation on a television program. Late in the winter Mrs. Jaffe was asked to arrange a meeting of Norfolk citizens in the interracial front with visiting NATO correspondents.

In creating this Council, its founders no doubt foresaw the great need for its fulfilling an intermediary role, and those of us who head the Council today feel the pressure of responsibility to guide it through the ever increasing currents of racial tension. At no time has our existence been more imperative or more difficult to maintain. A new chairmanship, Public Relations, has been formed to handle calls for information or speakers from the Women's Council. Any special request for publicity or speakers may now be referred to Mrs. Vincent Ober, Chairman.

Throughout the past year we were called upon to reiterate our belief in the justice of the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954. Because of a resolution passed unanimously by our membership in 1954 and presented in Richmond by Mrs. Yolanda Chambers, Past President, we were enabled to restate our belief in the maintenance of a public school system unhampered by devices to by-pass the Supreme Court ruling. Our Executive and School Committees held many rushed late sessions to prepare statements appropriate at the time. One was delivered in Richmond before the General Assembly by Mr. Emerson Smith, Council of Churches; another before our local delegates at a hearing in Norfolk by Mrs. Mildred Sherry. This past summer, with new pressure exerted on the public schools, we again sent a telegram to Governor Stanley, and Mrs. George Brewer, Program Chairman, personally delivered our statement before the House of Delegates hearing on the Governor's Plan. In each instance, local newspaper publicity was complete, and many congratulatory calls were received. The WCIC has led the way for other groups to take a stand. Our statements may encourage many organizations and individuals to follow suit.

Public Recreation was the subject of Program for the year. In February the WCIC held an outstanding meeting when it presented the Lakeside String Quartet of Richmond in a Concert at the Norfolk Museum. The auditorium was filled past capacity, and music lovers of both races were represented in the audience. It was a delightful evening, truly interracial, although this unusual feature of the program appeared to pass unnoticed.

The WCIC has always interested itself in the welfare of children. The Committee on Children, formerly Nursery School Committee, has worked in conjunction with the Program Committee to present a year's seminar on How to Rear Children of Good Will. The program for 1956-57 is enclosed with this report, and it is our hope that our members and parents and teachers in the community will profit by attending it.

ZELDA B. SILVERMAN,

President, 1955-56.

RECEIVED SEP 28 1956

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

Presents a seminar on

CHILDREN OF GOOD WILL

The program for this year explores the positive and negative approaches to rearing children of good will. Prejudice is an acquired characteristic. How is it learned? How is it unlearned? What can we as parents, teachers, and leaders do to keep a child's horizon unlimited and unclouded by the narrowing perspective of bigotry? Everyone who works with children will find this seminar informative and valuable. Bibliography and pamphlets available.

OCTOBER 16, 1956

"The Child and the Community" . . . . . Dr. Alvin Boskoff, Professor of Sociology
2:30 P. M. - Y. W. C. A. William & Mary College, Norfolk Division

What can the community do to train children of good will? Specific examples of communities who have tried. Analysis of techniques used. Is there a pattern of success?

NOVEMBER 13, 1956

"The Child and Religion" . . . . . Panel Discussion by: Dr. Paul Reich
8:00 P. M. - Y. W. C. A. Rev. Richard Martin
Father G. T. Maioriello

What religious centers can do on a denominational level to teach children respect for differences in culture, creed, and race.

DECEMBER 11, 1956

Children's Seasonal Party . . . . . Harold Anderson, Chief of Police
3:30 P. M. - Y. W. C. A. Film: The Toymaker
Favors and Refreshments

Meet your public servant, the police officer.
Let's share each other's holiday by celebrating Christmas and Chanukah together.
An intercultural, interreligious experience for children of all ages.

JANUARY 15, 1957

Current Literature . . . . . Display of books to use with children and adults
2:30 P. M. - Y. W. C. A. Review and analysis of books available for every age.

A help for parents and leaders in selecting books that widen a child's understanding.
Recommended reading for adults.

FEBRUARY 19, 1957

Current Films . . . . . Edward R. Murrow's "Segregation and the Public Schools"
12:30 P. M. - Y. W. C. A. - a film presentation. Mr. G. W. C. Brown, commentator.

Luncheon by reservation

Bibliography and discussion of other films available for use by group leaders, P. T. A.'s, church groups, etc.

MARCH 19, 1957

"The Child at Home" . . . . . Dr. Ruth Harrell, Child Psychologist
2:30 P. M. - Y. W. C. A.

What role does the home play in forming attitudes? How is the bigoted child penalized by lost opportunities?

APRIL 16, 1957

College Attitudes . . . . . Panel Discussion among students from Virginia
8:00 P. M. - Y. W. C. A. State and William & Mary Colleges

How do our college youth evaluate the opportunities and experiences they have had? What can we learn from youth?

OPEN TO THE PUBLIC . . . . . FREE OF CHARGE

October 3, 1955

Miss Florence Sherman
The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation
c/o Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Miss Sherman:

How very kind of the Women's Council to arrange for luncheon on Friday, November 11th at 12:30 at the YWCA.

I will surely be there; and we all ought to have a good time together.

When I am in town or at the edge of town, I will call Mrs. Silverman at MA 29974.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Mrs. Silverman

SEP 29 1955

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

•

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

September 27, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Excutive Director
Southern Reginnal Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

The Women's Council has scheduled a luncheon for Friday, November 11th at which time the board looks forward to being with you.

The luncheon will be held at the Y. W. C. A. at 12:30.

Please contact our president, Mrs. H. Silverman (phone MA.29974) on reaching our city.

Trusting these arrangements will be satisfactory, as usual we are anticipating with pleasure this date.

Yours very truly,

Florence Sherman

Florence Sherman-Secy.

August 29, 1955

Mrs. Arnold F. Strauss
Algonquin Park
Norfolk 7, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Strauss:

Mr. William M. Cooper at Hampton has written me on behalf of the Negro Organization Society and asked me to speak for them at Portsmouth on Friday evening, November 11th at the Zion Baptist Church on "New Opportunities in Human Relations." They will pay expenses and some giftie to SRC.

I give you this earliest notice of my being in your neighborhood for any occasion there may be to meet with the Woman's Interracial Committee and some of its friends.

Sincerely,

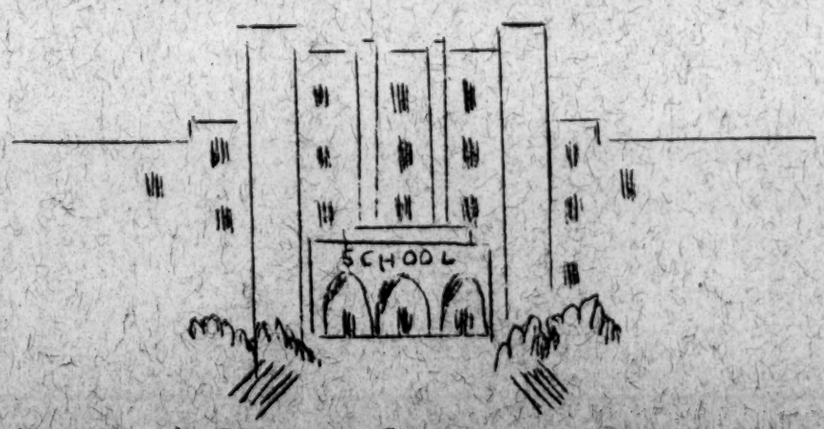
George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LITTLE ROCK REPORT

THE CITY
ITS PEOPLE
ITS BUSINESS

1957 — 1959



The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools
August 1959

LITTLE ROCK REPORT . . . . . PREFACE

What has happened since the school crisis?

Little Rock is a beautiful city . . . a city that has in recent years grown rapidly in all directions. It has a new Medical Center, a new Institute of Technology, a new University. Its Main Street has grown to be the shopping center of the entire state. Its industrial program is a model of its kind. The business and cultural climate of the city was clear and bright until a storm broke over its public school system in September 1957.

The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools has conducted a study of the effects of the school crisis on the business and professional life of those living in Little Rock. This is a report of the findings.

Little Rock businessmen have traditionally been optimistic --- and with good reason. Moreover, they do not like to talk pessimism for fear that pessimism breeds actual depression. Nevertheless, the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce has stated that the school crisis has kept new industries out and Main Street merchants have testified that business has been hurt by the school closings.

To the testimony of Little Rock businessmen, the present survey adds the testimony of people engaged in manufacturing and the professions.

WHAT KIND OF A REPORT IS THIS ?

It includes:

-- The replies to questions and the volunteered comments of 68 plant officials and 101 professional people - from medicine, engineering, teaching. They were selected by a method of random sampling to represent a population of nearly 500 professional people and the 70 plants which employ over 50 people in the Little Rock - North Little Rock area.
See Appendix A for a list of the questions asked and the survey procedure.

-- Reports on the number of newcomer and departing families; real estate - sales and rentals; and new industry. These findings came from utility listings, moving companies, a large real estate firm; and the Industrial Development Company.

-- The major indices of business for Little Rock compared with 1957 or earlier years, with other cities in the area, and with the nation as a whole.

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Its business

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What has happened since the school crisis?

THE CITY

People want to live in a city that is attractive . . . friendly . . . and progressive. Newcomers want to come to a city that is growing and prospering . . . . newcomers are a good clue to how a city is doing. We found:

- Fewer families are moving into Little Rock - - - one-third fewer than in 1957.
- More families are moving out of the city - - - almost twice as many as in 1957.
- People with professional skills and training are refusing job offers in Little Rock because of the unsettled school situation.
- Many top professional and management people believe that community cultural standards will suffer if a good public education system is not maintained.

THE PEOPLE What has happened since the school crisis?

No one in Little Rock has escaped the effects of the school crisis.

People with professional training, however, are among the first to be concerned about any crisis in education. These are the people who are leaders in many phases of community life. A disturbance in education is a disturbance in community life --- and many professional people retain a mobility which provides them some choice as to the community in which they will live and in which they will raise their children. We found:

- One out of five of the professionally trained people say they are leaving Little Rock -- or say that they plan to leave IF the public high schools do not open this year.
- A number of others said they would prefer to leave --- but that they do not want to start their careers over, or they are unable to do so.
- 90 percent of the professional people who volunteered a comment wanted the public high schools open.

*** *** ***

Managers of large plants not only can speak for themselves, but also can speak for many of their workers. At least they can sum up the feelings which are transmitted to them by their workers. We found:

- 85 percent of plant officials who volunteered a comment wanted the public high schools open.
- Many plant officials commented that failure to reopen the public high schools would impose an impossible financial burden on their workers.

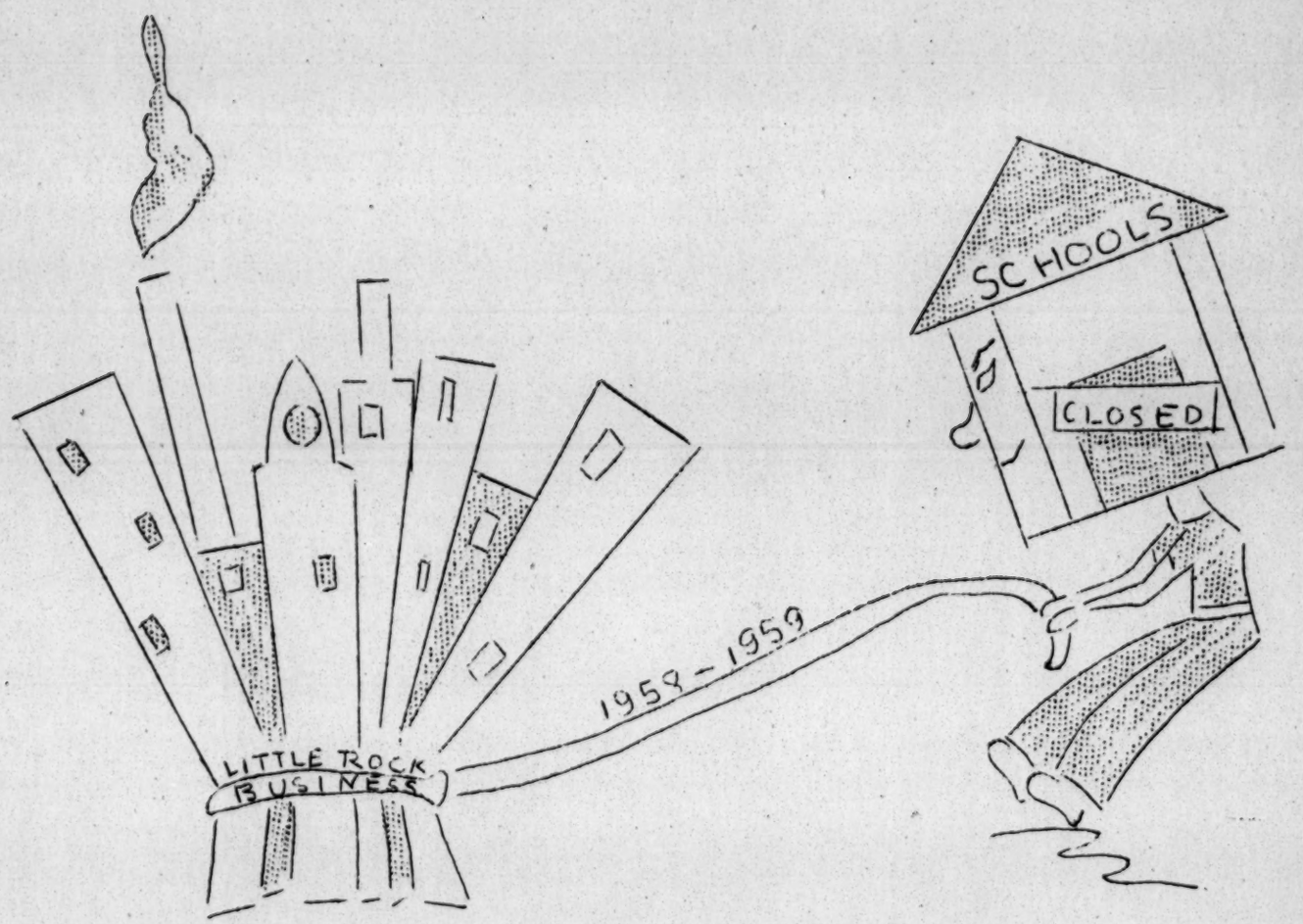
B U S I N E S S What has happened since the school crisis?

A city cannot live without business. This is particularly true of Little Rock, which has long been the commercial center of Arkansas.

In recent years, Little Rock, along with the State of Arkansas, has put considerable effort into attracting new manufacturing industry. The Little Rock Industrial District, established for this purpose, is a model of its kind. We found:

- New industry has avoided Little Rock. Several plant managers asserted that new industry would continue to avoid Little Rock unless the public high schools open.
- Many manufacturers believe that the city's business climate has been adversely affected by the school situation. (This supports the Chamber of Commerce report that the school situation has had a bad effect.)
- Large manufacturing plants which sell chiefly to the Little Rock area are planning production cutbacks.
- Real estate business and home building are down 20%.
- Many business indicators for Little Rock have not kept pace with other cities in the area.

THE CITY



COMING . . . . . and . . . . . GOING

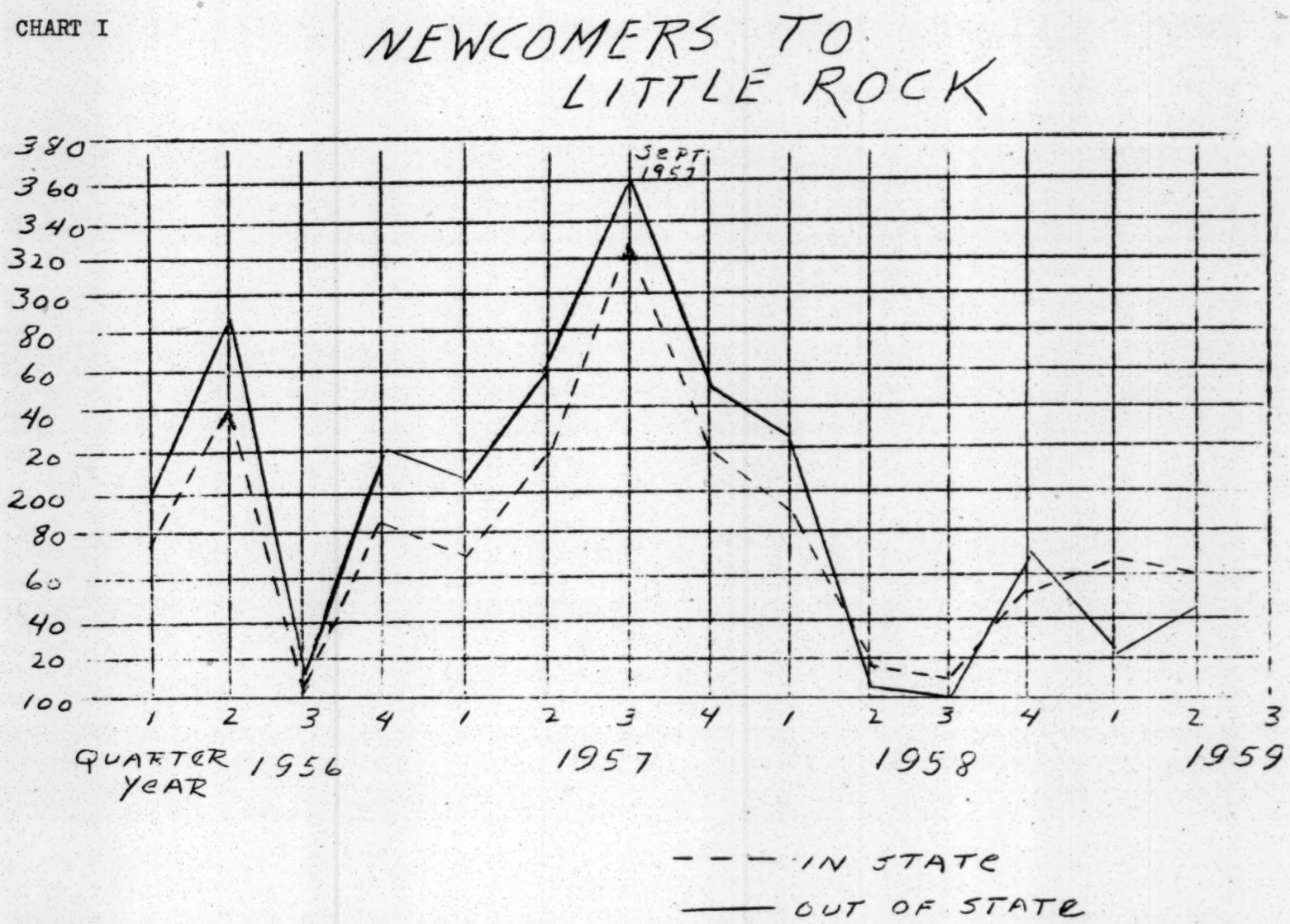
Are people moving into Little Rock - or away?

- Thirty-six percent fewer families will move into the Little Rock School District during 1959 than in 1957.

- Twice as many families will move away from the Little Rock Metropolitan Area during 1959 than in 1957.

- For the first time in years more families will move out of the Little Rock area in 1959 than will move in.

CHART I


NEWCOMERS TO LITTLE ROCK
380
360
340
320
300
80
60
40
20
200
80
60
40
20
100
SEPT 1957
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3
QUARTER YEAR
1956
1957
1958
1959
IN STATE
OUT OF STATE

. . . . NEWCOMERS TO LITTLE ROCK DECLINED

Table 1: Newcomer Families to Little Rock and North Little Rock
1956 - 1957

	1956	1957	1958	1959*
Little Rock	1975	2076	1807	1391
North Little Rock	630	680	690	795
Military Personnel	873	586	455	190

* Based on first six months

. . . . ESPECIALLY IN THE LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL DISTRICT

Table 1A: Newcomers to the Little Rock School District and the County School District inside Little Rock
1956 - 1959

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Little Rock School District	1835	1922	1628	1239
County School District inside Little Rock	140	154	179	152

NEWCOMERS TO NORTH LITTLE ROCK INCREASED . . . . .

While Little Rock suffered a sharp decline in newcomers, North Little Rock, in sharp contrast, experienced a steady growth in the number of newcomer families.

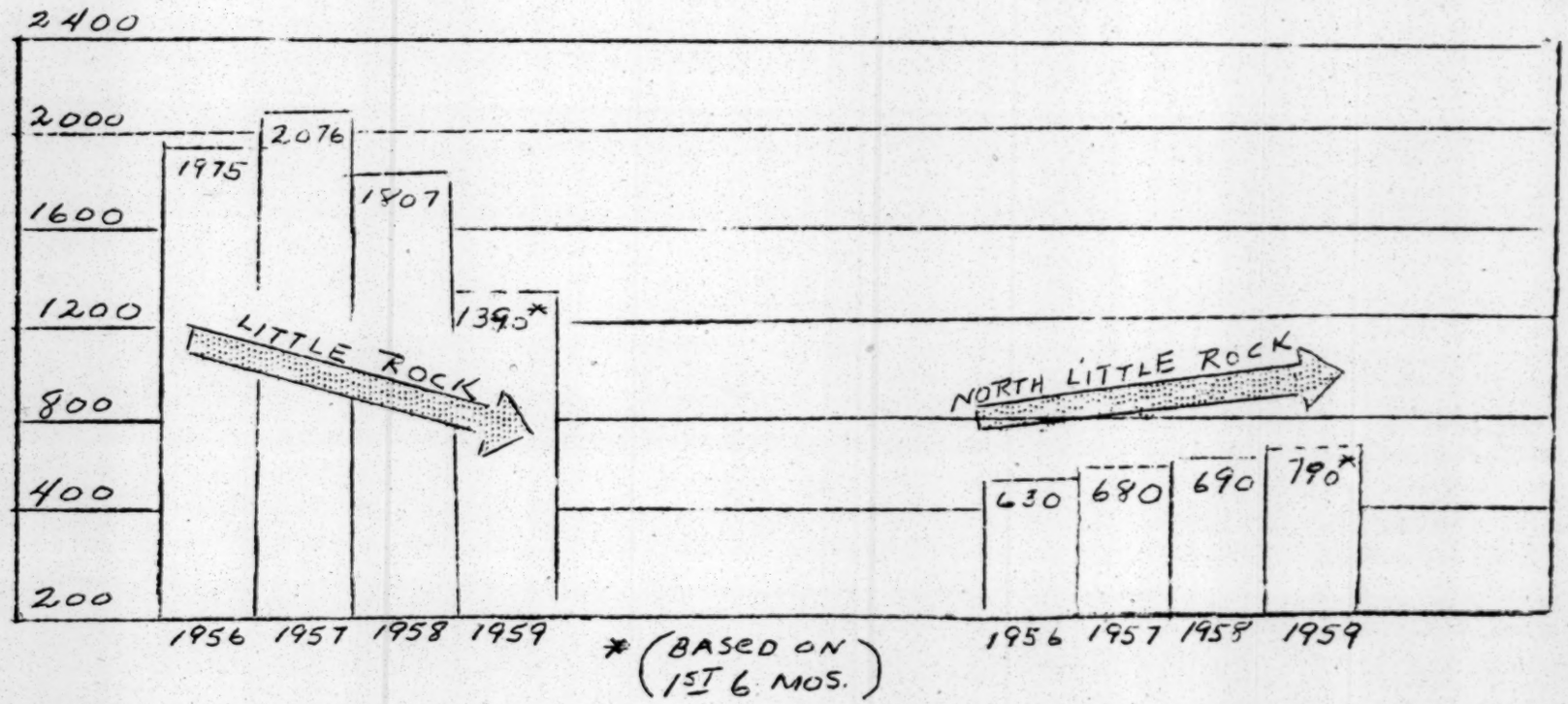
- North Little Rock has settled an increasing number of newcomer families each year since 1956.

- During the first six months of 1959, moreover, the city north of the river recorded the largest number of newcomer families in recent years, as shown in Table 1.

- Twenty percent more families moved to North Little Rock during 1959, the same period in which 33 percent fewer families moved to Little Rock.

CHART III

NEWCOMER FAMILIES TO



FEWER NEWCOMERS --- - - FROM ARKANSAS AS WELL AS OUT OF STATE

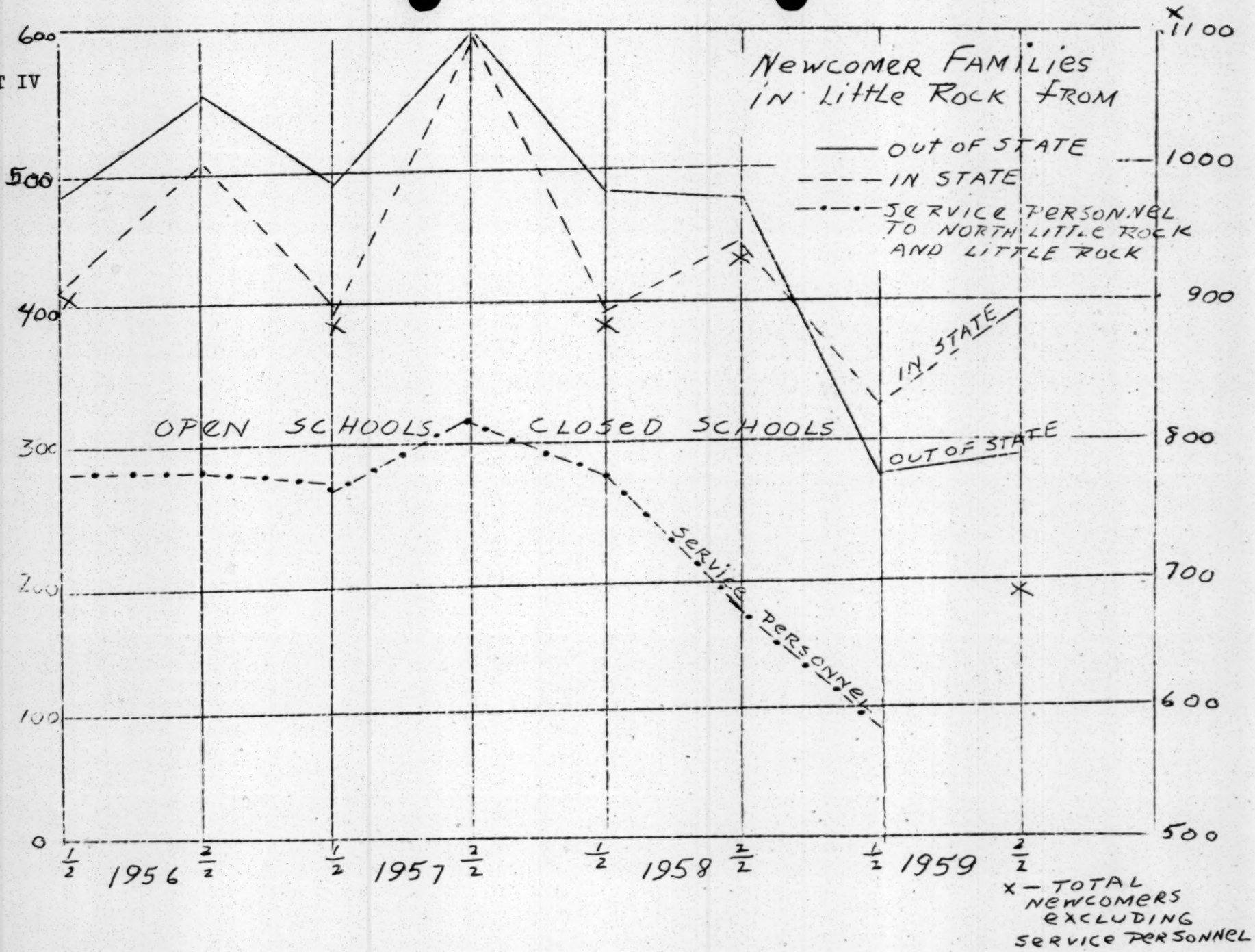
The decline in newcomer families to Little Rock is not, as shown in Chart IV, the result of a decline in moves from out of the state. Fewer Arkansas families moved into the city, as well as fewer families from out of state. On the basis of the first six months of the year, it is estimated that the number of Arkansas families moving into the city will be one-third fewer than in 1957. Out-of-state newcomers, it is estimated, will be almost 50% fewer. The result will be that for the first time in recent years, Little Rock's growth will be based more on Arkansas newcomers than on newcomers from outside of the state. This could mean that out-of-state skills previously available to the city's industries, schools, and professions may no longer be available. This trend is indicated also by the survey reports of recruiting difficulties.

Table 1B: Newcomer families from in state and out-of-state

	L. R. County School District		Little Rock		North Little Rock	
Year	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
1956	75	65	933	1,042	325	305
1957	61	93	997	1,079	370	310
1958	69	110	846	961	363	327
1959*	90	61	735	565	386	344

* Based on first six months

CHART IV


Newcomer Families in Little Rock from
Out of State
In State
Service Personnel to North Little Rock and Little Rock
Open Schools
Closed Schools
In State
Out of State
Service Personnel
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
1100
1000
900
800
700
600
500
1/2
1956
2/2
1/2
1957
2/2
1/2
1958
2/2
1/2
1959
2/2
x — Total Newcomers excluding Service Personnel

MORE FAMILIES LEFT . . . .

The moving business is better -- fewer than 1300 families left the area in 1957. But, by 1959, the number of departures swelled to 2500.

Table 2: Newcoming and Departing Families;
Little Rock Area 1957-1959

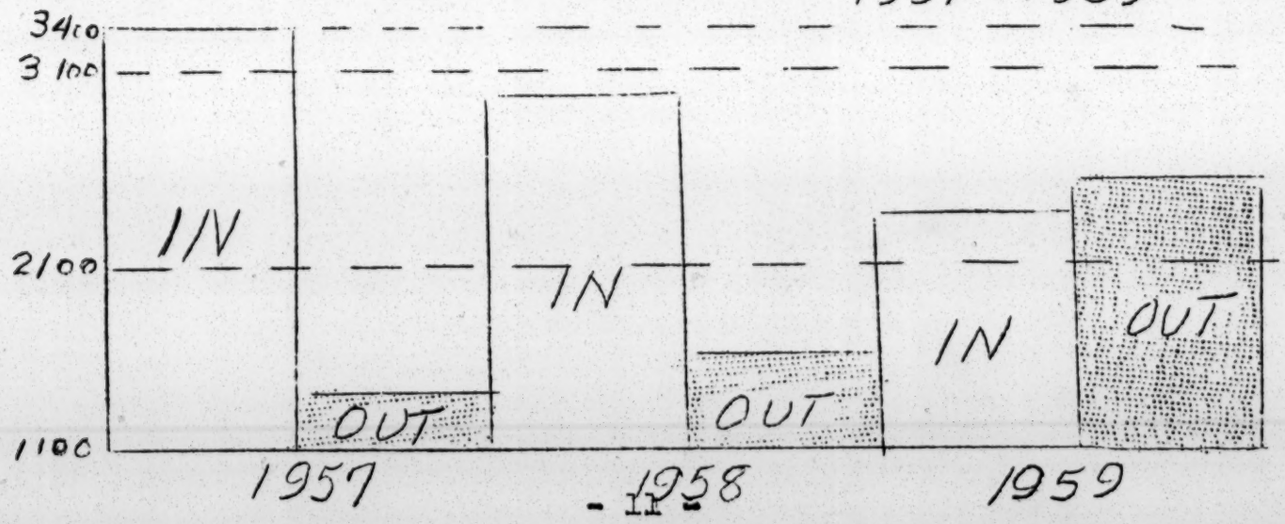
Year	1957	1958	1959*
Newcomers	3,342	2,952	2,376
Departures	1,280	1,623	2,507
Net gain or loss	2,062	1,329	- 133

* Based on first six months
Table 2 includes military personnel and excludes moves between Little Rock, North Little Rock, the Air Base and Jacksonville.

. . . . THAN CAME

From a net gain of 2,062 families in 1957, the area will fall to a net loss of 133 families in 1959.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES:
LITTLE ROCK AREA
1957-1959



JOBS ARE BEGGING.....

Industry and business are having difficulty recruiting top skilled personnel both inside and outside the state -- and anticipate more difficulty if the schools are not opened.

*** *** ***

Some personnel men said in interviews:

> It's very difficult to secure personnel. Have not recruited any with high school age children since this situation began. Three or four have already turned us down.
>
> One from Ft. Smith and one from El Dorado refused to accept positions because of school situation -- one managerial, one accountant.
>
> I am already faced with the problem of securing personnel...New people will not come in. Had one very desirable registered engineer turn us down specifically because he refused to move his family into the unsettled school situation.

And the Metropolitan Employment Security Division this summer lists shortages of office workers and professional and technical people.

MANAGERS.....ENGINEERS.....NURSES.....

..... HIGHLY TRAINED PERSONNEL

Hospitals, including the Medical Center, which must rely on out-of-state personnel, are having trouble replacing and recruiting for an adequate staff.

*** *** ***

Our interviews say:

It has seriously crippled the drive at Medical Center to augment faculty, particularly at the senior staff level.. very difficult to find capable doctors who are willing to live here.

No mass exodus yet at medical school, but not many new people coming in, especially those who have school-age children.

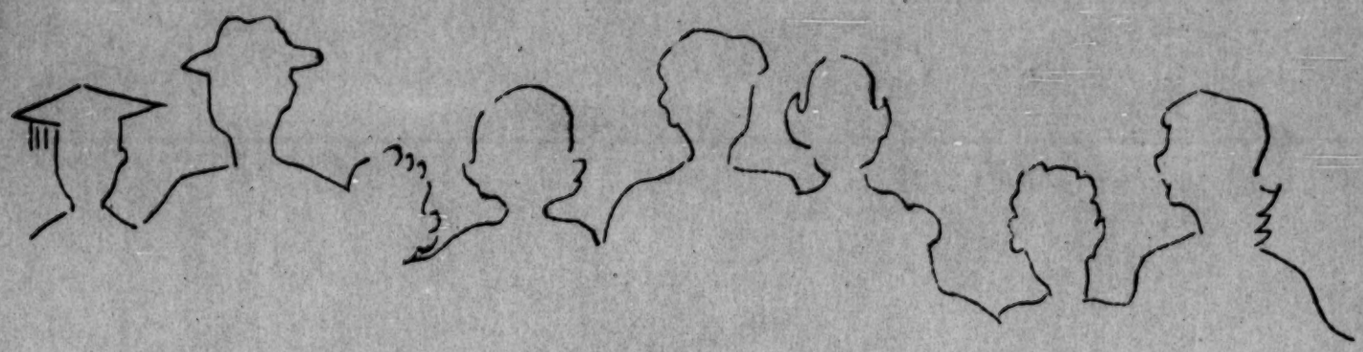
Engineering Firms said:

Have had two emphatic refusals from men offered jobs to come to Little Rock .... and my firm has felt the effect in trying to employ new people. We recently had a definite rejection because of the school situation here.

And ...Arkansas Baptist Hospital is short about 35 nurses - due in part to the school situation according to their official magazine --- nurses having high school age children have moved away and fewer nurses have moved into the community.

.....DOCTORS.....CHEMISTS.....ENGINEERS

THE PEOPLE



PEOPLE . . . HOPING TO STAY ...

- One-fifth of the professional group interviewed reported they were leaving or considering leaving because of the school situation.

- Personnel officers reported that if the schools remained closed they anticipated an even greater increase in employee separation and departure.

- Skilled personnel and workers in industry in the Pulaski County Area are leaving or thinking of leaving because of the school situation.

IF THE SCHOOLS OPEN ....

They said:

-- I expect the school situation to continue and therefore I am leaving.

-- ...the only reason we haven't left here is because we didn't have another job to go to.

-- within the last 8 or 10 months I had requests from numerous employees for transfers to comparable positions in other states. They gave as their reason the growing crisis in the school situation and their fears that conditions may become worse this fall.

-- We will move when our children are affected.

-- For the future, family men would separate at a great rate.

-- I would consider leaving Little Rock if the situation kept on. I wouldn't want my children to grow up in a place where mob violence is encouraged. Parents are encouraging their children to have no respect for the law.

..... OR LEAVING

UP

BUT MORALE IS AND

DOWN . . . .

Our interview reports say:

Our family will be broken up a year earlier ... we have already enrolled our only child outside the state.

One of our employees has a son who did not go back to school. He got a job. His mother is very bitter.

I have no children, but the school situation has a bad effect on the community.

There is no doubt that the school trouble has been damaging to the reputation of our city.

My wife and I are both teachers and we have been afraid to express ourselves for so long that we feel we couldn't. Our fear is commentary enough.

and they said . . . .

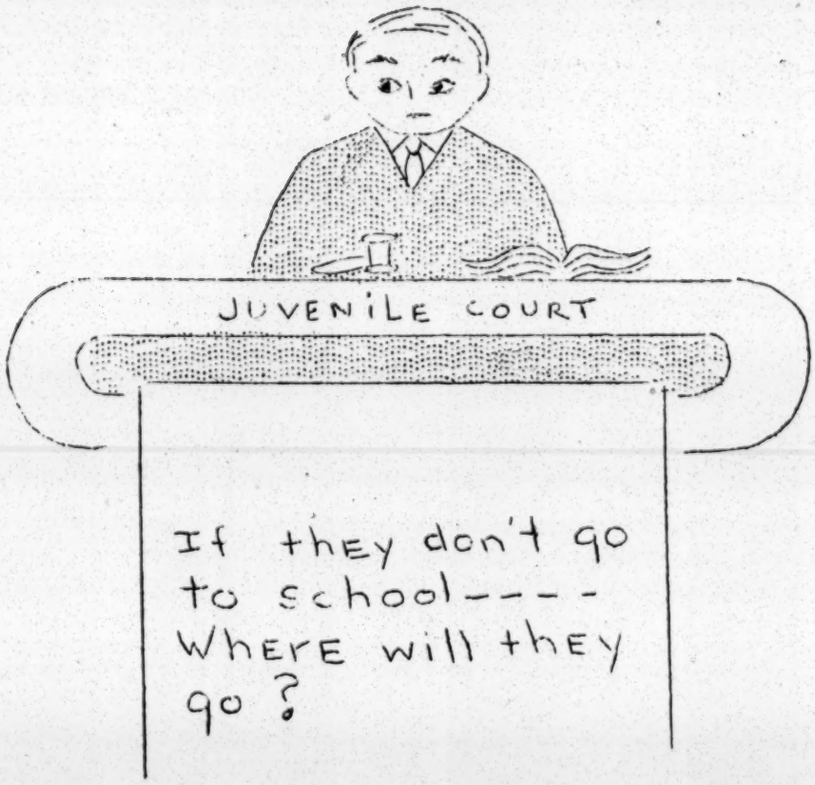
--- employees .... fear financial drain .... if they have to pay tuition.

--- excellent job man .... rendered useless from worry .... sent girl to Memphis, boy to Mississippi...

--- A teacher with several more teaching years left is thinking of retiring next year and drawing a smaller pension if the public schools do not open. Her income would be greatly reduced not only because of retirement but because of the uncertainty of renting an apartment she owns. For the first time she has had difficulties. The last tenant was a young married teacher with a new baby. He decided to accept a teaching position in another state because the school situation looked so bad here. She herself would remain here because she could not afford to give up any of the pension she has worked for so long.

. . . . DOWN FOR

- family unity
- employee efficiency and harmony
- industry - customer relations



PUBLIC SCHOOLS CONSIDERED INDISPENSABLE . . . .

The citizens of Little Rock stress the importance of the high educational standards that have been maintained by its public school system. An overwhelming majority of the people interviewed in this survey who have children now in school, or who will have children in school in the near future want the public schools opened. One-half of those with no children involved spoke out for public schools. The large majority of all skilled personnel want the public schools open. This attitude reaches 100% among the personnel officers.

Although attitudes toward public education were not solicited during the course of the interview, the following comments on public education were volunteered:

> Frankly, I like Little Rock. I like living here, but I will have to leave town unless the schools are open. I don't intend to pay tuition for my children. I believe in public education.
>
> Each semester that this present school situation continues, the more likely it is that our family will move. We do not care to have our children grow up in a state with the present atmosphere, and we insist that they have the advantages of a large, well-established school system.
>
> I am not afraid to express myself. I believe in public education and would welcome integrated schools in preference to no schools.
>
> My wife and I both fervently hope that all public schools will be open next year. We believe that people who want public schools are not the wealthy or financially successful, but those in every walk of life who want culture -- not just education.
>
> If the school closing moves down into junior high and the elementary grades, we will move where we can send our children to public schools.
>
> We will move when our children are affected. The recent recall election gives me great confidence. If public schools are abandoned, there will be an inevitable population decline in this state.
>
> Our family will be broken up several years earlier. We have enrolled our only child outside of the state. Public schools are necessary to the progress of any community.
>
> Many plant workers are concerned. They are not economically or socially able to do without public schools.
>
> Two of us have moved into the county so that our children can attend public schools, and I will send my child to Central in the fall, even if I have to pay tuition as a county resident.

I would first try to find a school for my three children which I could afford before leaving my company or plant. I would do this from necessity, not from choice, because I believe in public schools. (I attended them with Negroes, attended college with Negroes, and respect them as equal human beings.)

My daughter (only child) prefers to go to Hall High regardless of its status as far as integration and segregation is concerned.

I would rather my children live in a town where there is no school problem. I may have to send them away, but my daughter wants to graduate from Central High.

I prefer to remain here, but I am most uncertain of the future. I prefer not to send my child away to relatives or a private school, because I believe parental guidance at this time is most important. I have not registered my child for next year. I hope the high schools will be open, but I am not optimistic.

My child did not learn as much as in previous years under the strained situation at Central, but I think Little Rock schools are better than California schools.

I fear that loss of North Central Accreditation will lower the standards of the whole community.

I am a native Arkansan and will send my children to public schools when they are opened.

My company feels being a good citizen means supporting public education. This company believes a city without public education is not a good location for a plant.

It is harder for a doctor to move than for most people, but if no public schools are available, then we'll move. We have discussed it often.

I think that 85% of the doctors are for public schools, and in private conversation, many wish they were young enough to establish a new practice elsewhere.

If schools are open I will send my children to public schools, even if integrated -- unless there is violence.

BUT PRIVATE SCHOOLS . . .

PRIVATE SCHOOLS CONSIDERED TOO EXPENSIVE . . .

Personnel men agreed that the workers in their plants could neither move to an area with free public schools, nor pay for private schooling. They said:

-- There are so many parents who cannot afford private schools.

-- So many cannot afford private school tuition. Hardships will develop.

-- A number of employees have expressed fears that the loss of public schools here would be a financial drain on them if they were required to pay tuition.

-- I believe they might try to move away should there be a choice between the financial burden of leaving or private schools.

-- In our group of skilled workers, there are many children and the parents are planning to send them to Raney. They don't think they will have to pay tuition. They think contributions will be sent from outside the state.

-- Among county employees, the personnel men generally feel that semi-skilled laborers could not afford to send their children to private schools, should the county schools be closed; and that Negro laborers with a low level of education would be unconcerned with closed schools.

-- In Jacksonville, a manager believes his workers would send their children to no schools if their schools were closed.

Although several top managerial persons said they would pay tuition for private schooling for their children rather than move away. 90 percent of those who have school age children preferred to have the public schools open.

One manager mentioned costs specifically: The private schools in Memphis have tuition and board of $1,850. It is going to cost more to send my daughter there than it will to send the other daughter to the University.

One general manager has an unwritten understanding with the president of a company on the West Coast that in the event it becomes necessary to pay for private schooling, the company will finance it.

BUSINESS

NUMBERS DON'T LIE

Numbers don't lie, but they often do not tell a clear story, or a complete one. This is particularly the case in looking at what has happened to business in Little Rock since the school crisis erupted in 1957.

No figures will ever reveal the number of families that did not locate in Little Rock, or in Arkansas for that matter, or the number of people who did not move here to take jobs that are now unfilled, buy houses, and shop on Main Street because Little Rock came to stand for defiance of law. Nor can dollar amounts or business indexes ever clearly point to the mob at Central High and say "see what you have done to me". There are no barometers (or thermometers) that can measure business conditions as precisely as they can weather conditions.

Nevertheless, figures can be used, like the wet finger, to tell which way the wind is blowing. And if the wind appears to be coming from the Southwest then you can expect to see some rain clouds. The figures presented on the following pages do show that Little Rock's business climate has clouded up some since its school troubles began. While it is not clear that a pressure front moved in from Central High, or that the city is due for thundershowers, they are presented in order to inform the people of Little Rock that some clouds have gathered in the sky and that the outlook is not -- and has not been -- as clear and bright as some official forecasters have led them to believe.

The fact that the statistics show the dark side of the Little Rock picture should not hide the fact that there is a bright side, too. The city still serves as Arkansas' business and banking center. Its trade, services and government institutions employ a steadily growing number of people at wages which are higher than they are in most other areas of the state. The city <u>is</u> growing. But any Mayor -- or -- City Manager knows that a growing city does not thrive and prosper on mob action or international notoriety.

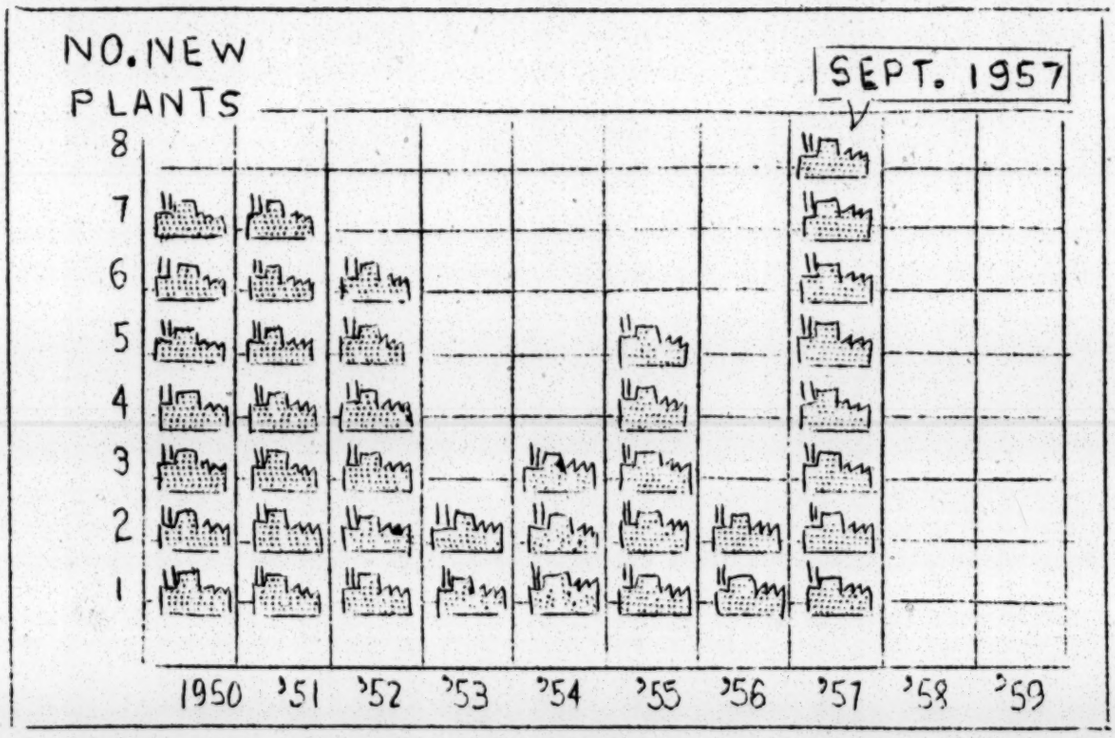
A few cold, hard numbers will never take the place of good business sense. A majority of Little Rock businessmen have already declared that their business has been hurt by the school situation. Almost unanimously they indicated their anxiety about the future of their business if the school troubles continue. Thus, any of the figures shown should be taken in the context of what Little Rock businessmen themselves have said.

NO NEW INDUSTRY

- Before the school crisis new industries were moving into Little Rock. After the crisis, none came.

- Industrial managers volunteered that they felt that new plants have avoided Little Rock because of the school situation and will continue to do so if it is not settled.

CHART V



... And None Will Come

Industrial managers volunteered that they felt that new plants have avoided Little Rock because of the school situation and will continue to do so if it is not settled.

Here is what they said:

No new industry will locate in a community of bad race relations no matter what the school situation.

If the schools continue to be closed, then no additional industry will come. People and industry will shy away from here and people will move away. Eventually every business in Little Rock will be affected.

I don't think the school situation will help bring in any other jobs.

If schools are not opened it will definitely affect the lives of all boys and girls in Little Rock. People will be moving away. Industries will by-pass Arkansas. Production will stop. The State of Arkansas will be hurt. Little Rock will become a ghost town. It is getting harder for people without an education to get jobs.

Production is below expected capacity as no new industry has located here which is this plant's major outlet -- all due to the school situation.

Industrial work has slacked off so we are directly affected. If the schools remain closed industry won't be building or expanding.

The future of our work depends on the growth of municipalities ... ...others (in the firm) have expressed concern over the school situation as the business has felt some lag recently, but they feel it is too early to consider it significant.

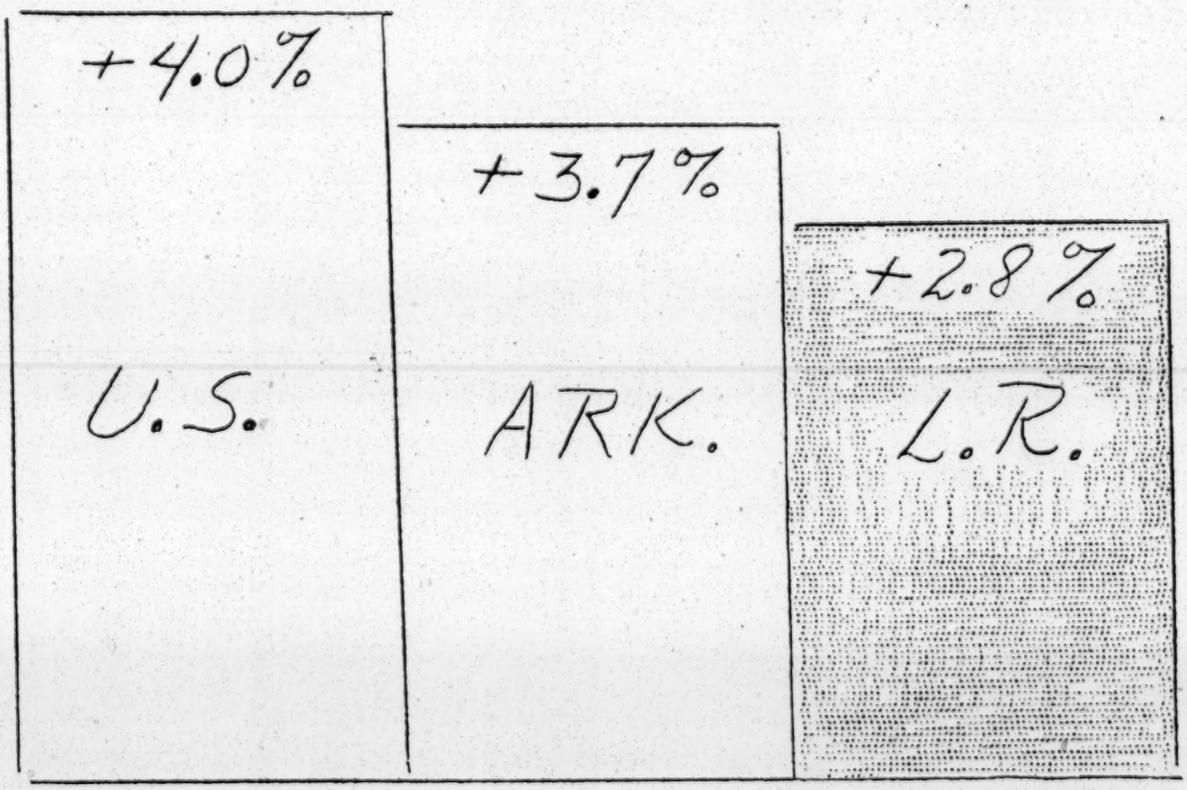
It hasn't affected us yet but I think it will affect everyone -- business is bound to slow down. Industries won't come because of the schools -- people can't afford to send their children away.

My company believes a city without public education is not a good location for a plant -- is concerned enough that they voluntarily contributed to STOP....Company feels that being a good citizen means supporting public education.

EMPLOYMENT

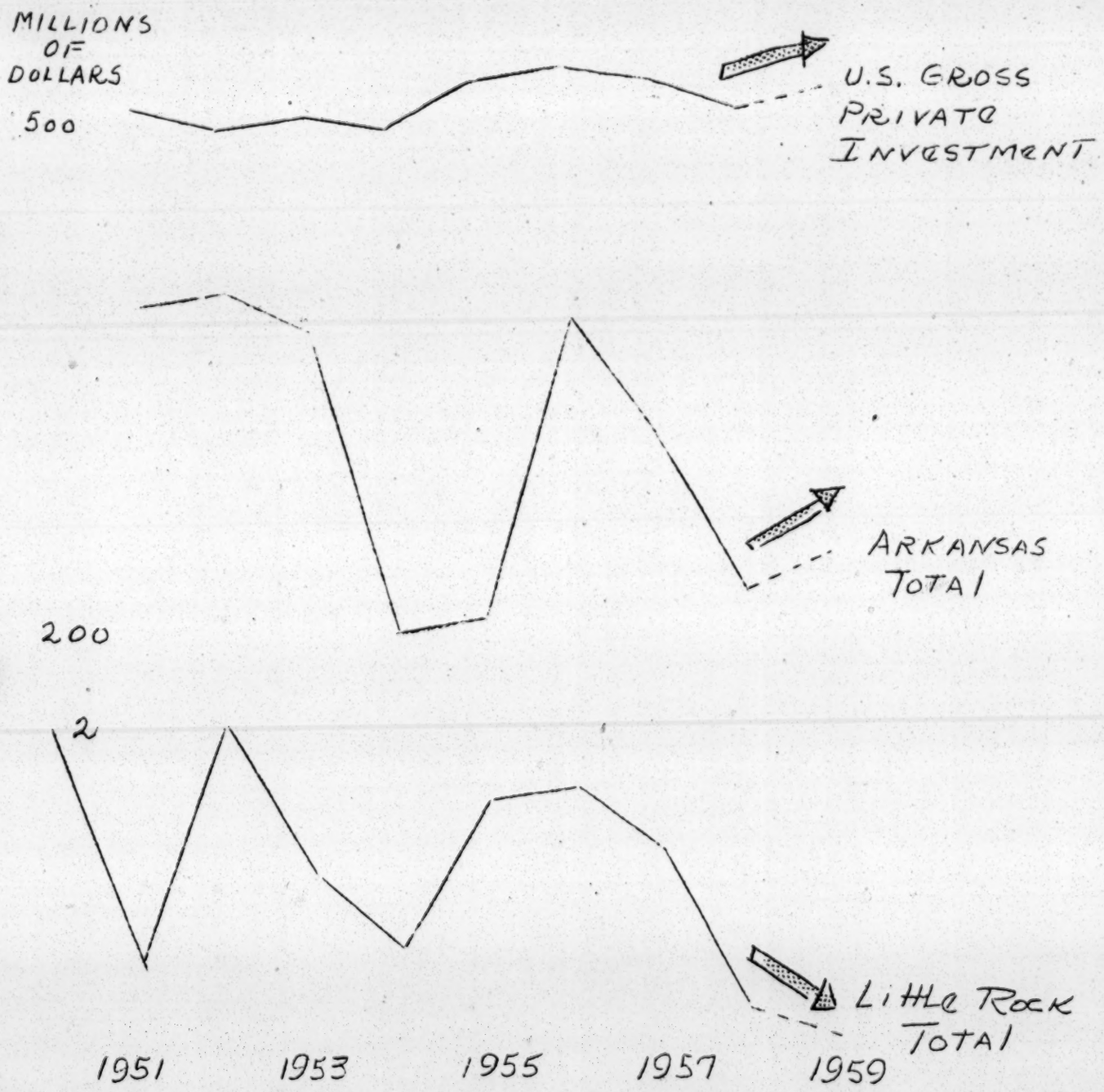
(MAY - 1959)

COMPARED WITH A YEAR AGO)



SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

INVESTMENT IN PLANT FACILITIES



SOURCE: STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

A letter from one prospective plant to the Little Rock Industrial Development Company said:

> Our Board of Directors has made the decision to remain in our present location for a period of at least three years.
>
> As you know, from our previous discussions, certain key employees' reluctance to leave the Detroit area make it impossible to move. The wives of these employees played a prominent part in their decision not to move to Little Rock. The adverse publicity given your area on the 'school issue' was certainly no help to our cause.

And a comment forwarded by a firm specializing in plant location said:

> You may dismiss (name of city) from consideration. Our contacts with Arkansas have given us an unfavorable opinion of that state in comparison with Tennessee, Mississippi, or Missouri. We have no desire to be involved in the segregation problems current in that state.

The table below shows the rapid growth that occurred before the school crisis in September, 1957, and the subsequent total decline:

LITTLE ROCK INDUSTRY

Year	No. of New Plants	Value	No. of New Jobs	No. of Expansions	Value	No. of Jobs
1950	7	$ 835,000	143	6	$2,110,000	. .
1951	7	945,000	255	3	475,000	. .
1952	6	295,000	163	9	2,150,000	. .
1953	2	100,000	30	7	820,000	. .
1954	3	1,350,000	150	1	500,000	. .
1955	5	1,393,000	565	8	1,250,000	194
1956	2	325,000	70	8	1,350,000	212
1957	8	3,092,000	1,002	3	913,985	70
September, 1957 Trouble at Central High School						
1958		NONE		1	325,000	50
1959		NONE		1	268,000	. .

These figures were furnished by the Little Rock Industrial Development Company. The plant values and the numbers of employees are mainly estimates, particularly in more recent years.

Table 3. Little Rock Industry 1950 - 1959
Source: The Nashville Tennessean, May 31, 1959

BUT THE WORST IS YET TO COME . . . . .

says the Executive Director of the Little Rock Industrial Development Company:

We haven't begun to feel this thing yet. After all, the plants which decided to locate here in 1957 are still being built or have just been completed. Business is good here. All the economic indices show it. Bank debits and bank clearings are up over last year. So are electricity consumption, building permits,* employment, retail trade and express shipments.**

It's hard to get people excited when business is good, But what they don't realize is what's going to happen a year from now.

Another reason the news has not come out, is that Chamber of Commerce people are congenital optimists, and in any case when you're trying to attract industry, you don't go around advertising the fact that nobody is locating in your town.

However, I've come to the conclusion that the time has come to take the bull by the horns and tell the people the facts.

* In the first six months of 1959, residential building permits and dollar volume of building were down about 20 percent compared with the first six months of 1958.

** Though the indices show some gain they also show Little Rock lagging behind comparable cities in this area. See the pages following.

Production Cutbacks . . . . .

- Firms which depend on sales in the Little Rock Area:
  SALES OFF, PRODUCTION CUT BACKS PLANNED

- Firms which sell chiefly outside the state:
  LITTLE CHANGE IN SALES, NO CHANGE IN PRODUCTION PLANS.

- NO FIRM IN THE SAMPLE PLANNED TO EXPAND FACILITIES IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IN THE LITTLE ROCK AREA.

- PROFESSIONAL BUSINESS HARMED.

See Appendix C., Production plans, for interview reports from all plants.

Business is Good, But. . . .

HOW DOES LITTLE ROCK'S BUSINESS COMPARE?

A U. S. News and World Report survey "How's Business Across the Country" (July 20, 1959) based on Federal Reserve Board and United States Department of Labor figures found that

> "In the South and West business is moving onto new high ground. Records are being broken ...
> ... recovery has turned into a boom."

Figures for Little Rock were not included in the U.S. News survey. These figures show that Little Rock has lagged behind other central U. S. cities in business growth this year - and actually ranks lower than it did at the same time in 1956.

HOW DOES LITTLE ROCK'S BUSINESS COMPARE? Ranks based on Federal Reserve Board and U. S. Dept. of Labor Statistics

Source: U. S. News and World Report

Worker's Income	Income Gain	Employment Changes Rank	Employment Changes City	Dept. Store Sales Rank	Dept. Store Sales City	Banking Activity Rank	Banking Activity City
Detroit	Topeka	1	Grand Rapids	1	Memphis	1	Jackson
Dayton	Cleveland	2	San Antonio	2	Detroit	2	Cleveland
Cleveland	Duluth	3	Knoxville	3	Jackson	3	Detroit
Topeka	Milwaukee	4	Cleveland	3	Dallas	4	Indianapolis
Milwaukee	LITTLE ROCK 1956	6	Omaha	5	Houston	5	Kansas City
Houston	Cleveland	6	Dayton	5	Kansas City	6	Dayton
Duluth	Detroit	7	Kansas City	7	Duluth	7	Chicago
Birmingham	Dayton	8	Des Moines	7	Tulsa	8	Minneapolis
Des Moines	UNITED STATES	8	UNITED STATES	7	LITTLE ROCK 1956	9	LITTLE ROCK TODAY
Grand Rapids	Cincinnati	8	LITTLE ROCK 1956	7	Indianapolis	10	Milwaukee
Wichita	Des Moines	8	Birmingham	7	Oklahoma City	10	Omaha
Louisville	Birmingham	10	Louisville	11	Grand Rapids	12	Grand Rapids
St. Louis	St. Louis	11	Indianapolis	11	UNITED STATES	13	Oklahoma City
Minneapolis	Memphis	11	Oklahoma City	12	Knoxville	14	Des Moines
Cincinnati	Houston	13	Cincinnati	12	Louisville	15	St. Louis
Tulsa	Louisville	14	Memphis	12	Cleveland	16	Duluth
UNITED STATES	Minneapolis	15	Detroit	15	Des Moines	16	Knoxville
Omaha	Omaha	15	LITTLE ROCK TODAY	15	Milwaukee	18	Cincinnati
New Orleans	Oklahoma City	17	Minneapolis	15	San Antonio	19	Dallas
Knoxville	Grand Rapids	18	Chicago	15	LITTLE ROCK TODAY	20	San Antonio
Dallas	Dallas	19	St. Louis	15	St. Louis	21	Evansville
Memphis	Knoxville	20	Houston	15	Cincinnati	22	Birmingham
Oklahoma City	Tulsa	20	Jackson	21	Evansville	23	Tulsa
Jackson	Wichita	20	Milwaukee	21	New Orleans	23	UNITED STATES
San Antonio	LITTLE ROCK TODAY	23	Evansville	23	Topeka	24	Wichita
LITTLE ROCK 1956 and TODAY	San Antonio	24	Tulsa	23	Birmingham	25	Memphis
	Jackson	25	New Orleans	25	Minneapolis	26	Topeka
	New Orleans	26	Duluth	25	Chicago	27	Louisville
		27	Topeka	26	Wichita	28	New Orleans
		28	Wichita			29	Houston
(Factory Earngs.)	(May 1958-59)	29	Dallas (May 1958-59)		(5mos. 1958-59)		(1956 n.a. - 3 mos.58-59)

-30-

Income... slower growth...

Dollar income is a good measure of a community's prosperity.
Little Rock incomes are about one-third higher than the state average but are at least twenty percent below the US average.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO LITTLE ROCK'S INCOME?

PERSONAL INCOME source: University of Arkansas, Bureau of Business Research

* Income growth in Pulaski County has fallen below that of the entire state for the first time in recent years.

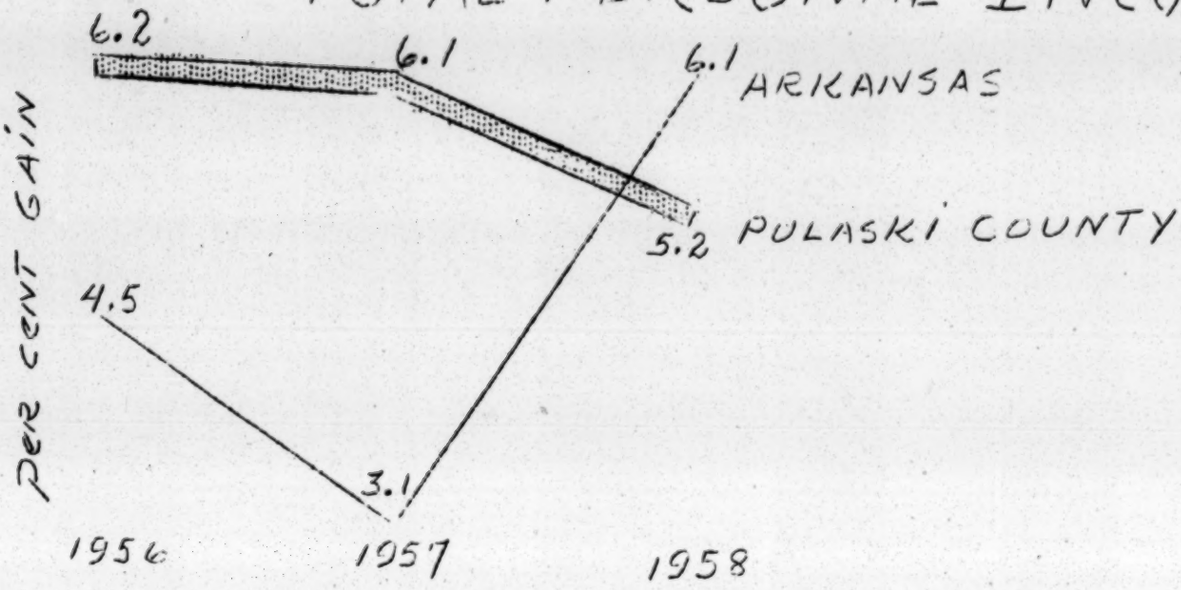
* Income gain per person in the county fell well below that in the state.

source: Blue Book of Southern Progress

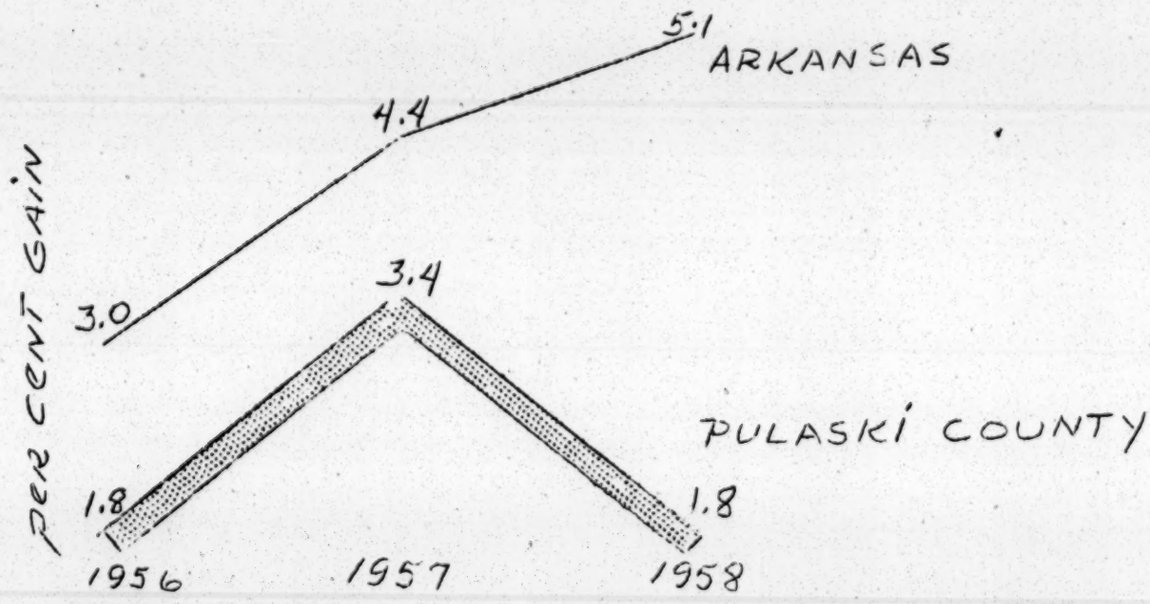
* Income per person in the Little Rock area increased less than in other Arkansas cities during the last two years.

  This is a reversal of the two previous years (1954 - 56) when the average person's income increased more rapidly in Little Rock than in other cities of the state.

TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME

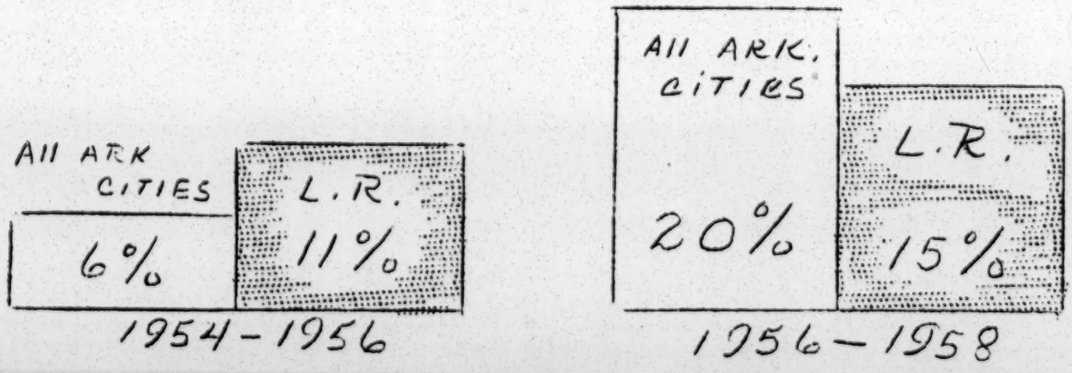


PERSONAL INCOME PER PERSON



(source: University of Arkansas, Bureau of Business Research)

URBAN INCOME PER PERSON



(source: Blue Book of Southern Progress)

EFFICTIVE BUYING INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD
percent change 1956 - 1958

Central U. S. Cities		Arkansas Cities	
Omaha	+5%	Batesville	0%
New Orleans	+3	Russellville	-2
San Antonio	+3	Paragould	-3
Shreveport	+3	Texarkana	-3
Des Moines	+3	Benton	-4
Wichita	+3	North Little Rock	-4
St. Louis	+2	Hope	-4
Topeka	+2	Forrest City	-4
Birmingham	+1	Searcy	-4
Kansas City	+1	Newport	-4
Grand Rapids	+1	Osceola	-4
Houston	0	Camden	-5
Tulsa	0	Fort Smith	-5
Dallas	0	Springdale	-5
Oklahoma City	0	Conway	-5
Minneapolis	0	West Memphis	-5
Chicago	-1	Fayetteville	-5
Cincinnati	-1	Hot Springs	-5
Milwaukee	-1	Magnolia	-6
Cleveland	-2	El Dorado	-6
Knoxville	-3	Pine Bluff	-6
Dayton	-4	Helena	-6
Indianapolis	-4	Blytheville	-6
Detroit	-4	Jonesboro	-7
Memphis	-5		
Louisville	-5	LITTLE ROCK	-7
LITTLE ROCK	-7	Stuttgart	-10
Jackson	-12		

Source: Sales Management

.. Family Incomes Down

EFFECTIVE BUYING INCOME

source: Sales Management leading US marketing magazine

* The average Little Rock family had 7% less buying power in 1958 than in 1956.

  The average U. S. city family in contrast, had 2% more buying power in the same period.

EFFECTIVE BUYING INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD
percent change 1956 - 1958

Little Rock	-7%
Arkansas	+6%
U. S. cities	+ 2%
U. S.	+ 5%

* The decline in Little Rock family income was sharper than in

  : all other Arkansas cities surveyed by SM, except one

  : all of the 26 leading Mid- and Southwest cities surveyed, except one

* Little Rock fell from 202nd to 268th place among metropolitan county areas ranked by SM according to family buying income.

* Metropolitan Little Rock's total buying income failed to keep pace with other U. S. cities. In SM's survey, Little Rock - North Little Rock slipped from 102nd to 112th place among metropolitan areas.

TOTAL EFFECTIVE BUYING INCOME
Percent change 1956 - 1958

Little Rock - North Little Rock	+ 2%
U. S. cities	+ 9%

Little Rock Workers ... losing ground

AVERAGE WORKER INCOME source: U.S. Department of Labor

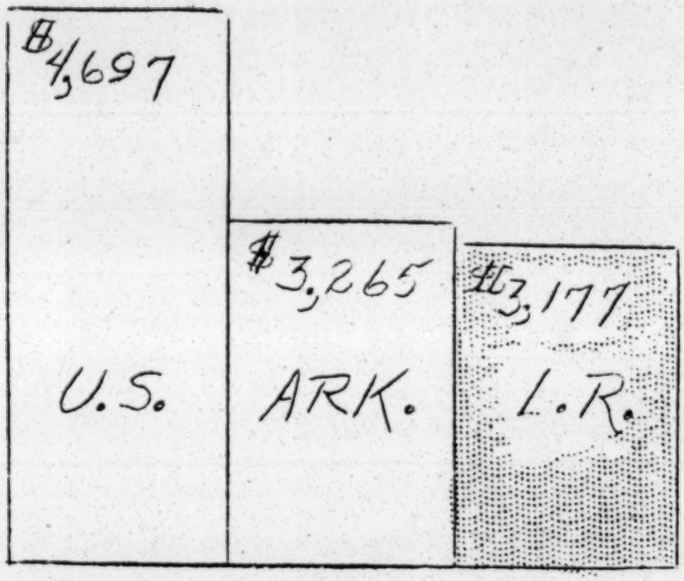
* The average worker in Little Rock makes less than the average worker in Arkansas or the average worker in the U. S.

* The Little Rock worker lost ground during the past year. Wages increased almost three times faster in the nation and state than in the city. 21 of 24 Central U. S. cities recorded larger gains in worker incomes between May 1958 and May 1959 than did Little Rock.

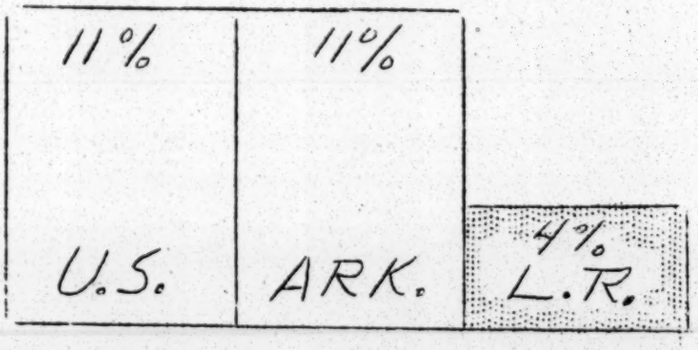
  Workers wages bear a direct relation to the demand for their services. The fact that Little Rock failed to attract a single new industry during the past year (or since September 1957) meant that wages in the Little Rock area did not increase as rapidly as in expanding employment areas.

* The relative decline of Little Rock worker incomes between May 1959 and May 1958 reversed the direction between May 1957 and May 1956.

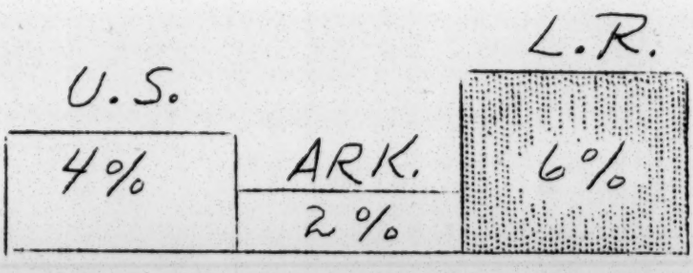
SOURCE - U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
(ANNUAL RATE, BASED ON MAY)



AVERAGE WORKERS INCOME 1959



AVERAGE WORKERS INCOME GAIN 1958-1959



AVERAGE WORKERS INCOME GAIN 1956-1957

SALES ACTIVITY

Little Rock historically has been the commercial center of Arkansas.

What has happened on Main Street?

*Business volume increased less in Little Rock between 1956 and 1958

: than in the average Arkansas city
: than in the state as a whole

This was in sharp contrast to the years 1954 - 1956 when Little Rock's business volume expanded almost double the rate of the average Arkansas city and the state as a whole.

*Total Consumer Purchases in the Little Rock area were 10% greater in 1958 than in 1956.

This increase was less than the increase in other Arkansas cities, however, and less than the increase in the state.

In the preceding period consumer buying in the Little Rock area outstripped buying in other Arkansas cities, and increased almost twice as fast as in the state as a whole.

Source: Blue Book of Southern Progress

*Retail Sales per person

failed to rise in Pulaski County between 1956 and 1958. Sales per person in the state as a whole, however, climbed by 4% during the same period.

Source: University of Arkansas Bureau of Business Research

Dollar Business Volume in Urban Areas
Percent Change

	1954 - 1956	1956 - 1958
Little Rock	+ 14%	+ 17%
All Arkansas cities	+ 8%	+ 18%
Arkansas	+ 7%	+ 18%

Consumer Purchases
percent change

	1954 - 1956	1956 - 1958
Little Rock	+ 22%	+ 10%
All Arkansas cities	+ 13%	+ 11%
Arkansas	+ 10%	+ 11%

Retail Trade Sales: per capita

	(in dollars) 1956	1958	% change
Arkansas	826	860	+ 4%
Pulaski County	1,090	1,090	0

SALES ACTIVITY INDEX . . . down

The sales activity index for Little Rock was 6 points lower in 1958 than in 1956. Only 7 cities among 24 compared (all of them in the South and Southwest) showed a greater decline.

Index of Sales Activity
change 1956 - 1958

Birmingham	+7
Atlanta	+5
Nashville	+4
Charleston, S. C.	+3
Corpus Christi	+3
Lexington	+2
San Antonio	+1
Louisville	-1
Knoxville	-2
Dallas	-2
Columbia, S. C.	-2
Oklahoma City	-4
Wichita	-4
Jackson	-5
St. Louis	-5
Little Rock	-6
Memphis	-6
Tulsa	-7
New Orleans	-7
Des Moines	-8
Charlotte	-10
Kansas City	-13
Topeka	-14
Houston	-25

source: Sales Management

DEPARTMENT STORE SALES . . . LAGGING

Federal Reserve Board records show that Little Rock department store sales this year are better. In June for example Little Rock sales were 4% above what they were the year before. Business was up in Little Rock, but not up as much as in Memphis (up 23% over last year) or as in the entire 8th District which recorded a 7% gain over the same month last year. Reserve Board figures show, moreover, that they not only have failed to rise as fast this year as the District's, but that last year they fell almost twice as much.

The June sales figures reflect the sales picture for the first half of 1959. Little Rock sales were up almost 6% over the corresponding period last year, but sales in most other cities climbed even more. Two-thirds of the cities in the Mid-West and South recorded larger gains in sales than did Little Rock. The nearby cities of Memphis, Jackson, Dallas, Tulsa, Louisville, Knoxville, Houston, and Oklahoma City all recorded larger gains this year than did Little Rock. Average sales in the U. S. as well as in the entire 8th District ran higher than in Little Rock during the first half of 1959. The U. S. News and World Report survey of business included shows Little Rock's ranking in comparison with other cities.

REAL ESTATE IS OFF . . .

One of the leading real estate companies in the city and state confirmed that business has been off. The owner stated:

Sales

We have found a great deal of resistance from newcomers to purchasing property in Little Rock until the school situation has been resolved.

The sale of homes is off between 20 and 25 percent in Greater Little Rock for this year over last.

North Little Rock is slow, but not as slow as Little Rock. We are beginning to recover from the housing project on the Air Base of over 1500 units.

Rentals

Rentals are off. Two weeks ago we had 20 percent more vacancies than a year ago. Quite a number of people who are now renting are buying homes out in the county.

Renters are not going to buy here. They have asked for transfers until the school situation is settled.

Other realtors

The Real Estate Board has been quite disturbed by the situation. Several meetings have been held to discuss the effect the schools situation has been having on local sales.

I believe that you will find other realtors are having the same experience.

BUILDING

* Building is off in Little Rock this year

: Employment in Little Rock's building industry is running 10% below the 1958 level.

This is a greater decline than in the state, and a sharp contrast to the national increase in building employment.

Contract Construction Employment
per cent change
April 1958-59

Little Rock	-10%
Arkansas	- 8%
U. S.	+ 8%

source: U. S. Department of Labor

: The value of building permits in the Little Rock area was down 12% from the 1958 level.
Only two of the ten Southwest cities surveyed by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce registered larger declines.

: While the number of residential building permits authorized in Little Rock was higher than in 1958 - by more than 10%-
U. S. Department of Labor figures show that twenty of twenty five Southern cities surveyed recorded larger increases in authorized building permits.

TRAVEL source: a Little Rock agency that handles tourist inquiries

* Out of state tourist inquiries were down almost 50% in 1959 from the corresponding eight months in 1958. Inquiries about Little Rock facilities from within the state, however, continued at about the same level.

While tourism is expected to increase this year in both the U. S. and Arkansas, agency figures from 1958 indicate that tourist trade will be off in Little Rock this year - by some twenty percent.

OTHER ECONOMIC INDICATORS --- higher ... and lower

Source: Dallas Chamber of Commerce and cooperating chambers, including Little Rock

	1959-58 (5 months)		1958-57	
	Little Rock business is	Compared with S.W. cities business in L.R. is	Little Rock business was	Compared with S.W. cities business in L.R. was
Bank clearings	down	lower	up	lower
debits	down	lower	n.a.*	n.a.*
deposits	up	higher	up	lower
Building	down	lower	up	higher
Postal Receipts	down	lower	up	higher
Electric Meters	up	higher	up	lower
Gas Meters	up	lower	up	same
Water Meters	up	same	up	same
Telephones	up	same	up	higher
Electricity consumed	up	lower	up	higher
Gas consumed	up	lower	up	higher
RR Express	down	higher	down	lower
Air Express				
out	up	higher	down	lower
in	up	lower	down	lower
Total Indexes	down 5 up 9	lower 8 higher 4 same 2	down 3 up 10 n.a. 1	lower 6 higher 5 same 2 n.a. 1

* not available

Economic Status of Professionals Impaired

- Doctors report their practices suffering because of school situation effects on community.
- Possible curtailment of Little Rock University faculty if schools unopened and enrollment falls off.
- Engineering firms report adverse effect upon business.

Interviewers said:

A doctor reports, the school situation has affected my business adversely - in fact it has affected the whole Little Rock economy adversely.

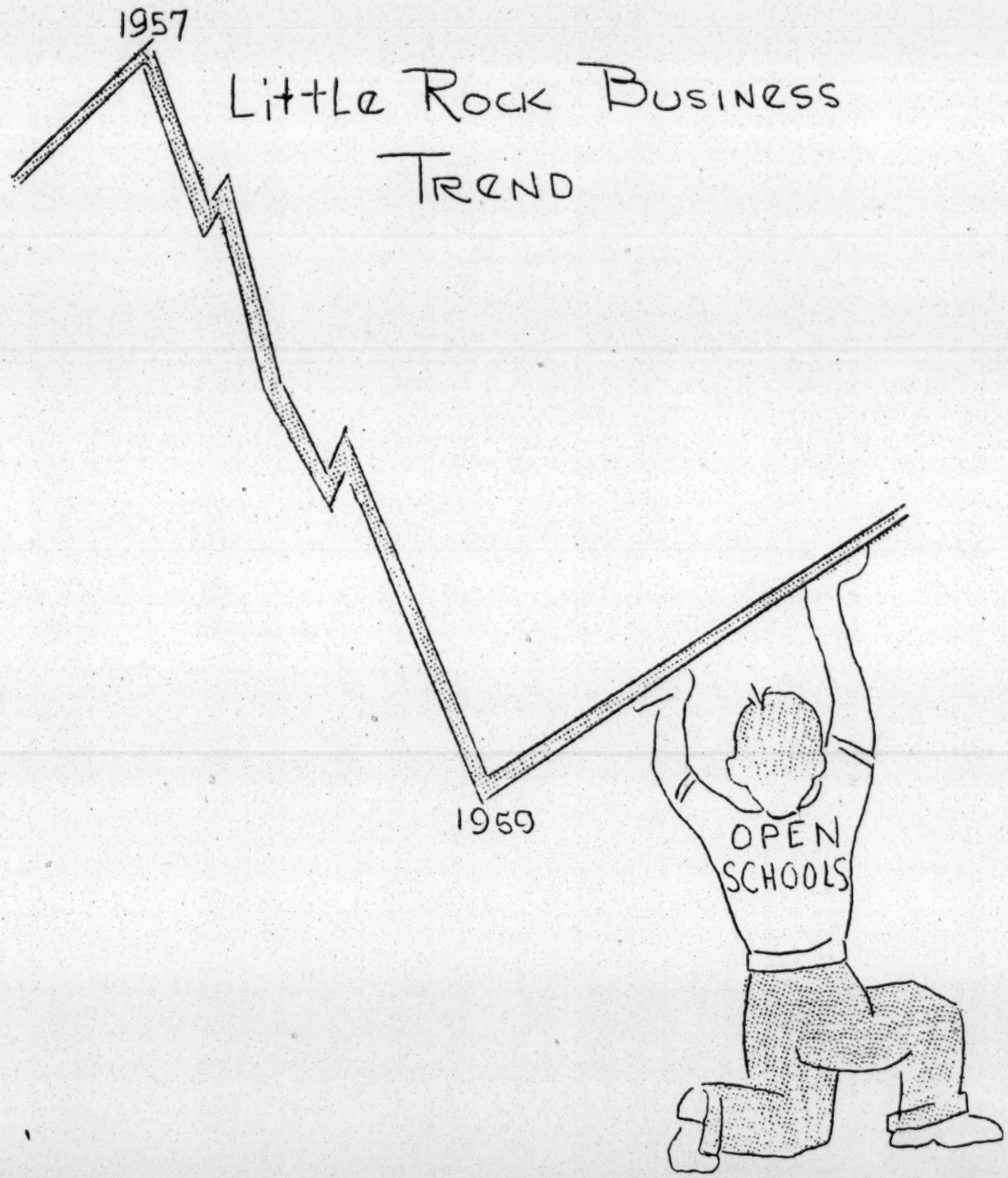
People are not paying their bills (doctor). Business has suffered.

My wife had to go back to work. (doctor)

If Arkansas abandons public school education it will have an adverse effect on my business. (engineering firm)

I feel that University faculty members may be affected financially because of possibility of enrollment loss by next year if public schools remain closed. If there are not enough pupils there will be no need for faculty.

My standard of living would be reduced if I have to send my children away to school.


1957
Little Rock Business
Trend
1959
OPEN
SCHOOLS

Appendix A

SURVEY PROCEDURE

Appendix A

Survey Procedure

Interview Questions.

Plant owners or managers.

A. If the school situation* continues into this fall and through the year, how do you expect this to affect production plans for your plant?

B. Are there any other ways it might affect your plant?

Personnel Officers.

A. Can you give your separation rate for this year?

B. How does this compare with previous years?

C. Have any mentioned school closing for the reason?

D. What has been your experience in getting replacements during the past year?

E. How does this compare with previous years?

Managerial, Professional and Skilled Personnel.

A. If the school situation continues into this fall and through next year, how do you expect this to affect plans for yourself and your family?

B. Do you have children? What ages?

*The school situation was defined as uncertainty over the future of the public schools.

Selection of Interviewers.

Twenty interviewers were selected on the basis of ability. They were instructed in the procedure to be followed for obtaining survey data and provided with the necessary equipment.

It was emphasized that the interviewer must be absolutely objective in her contacts and data gathering. She was not to give her opinions nor was she to solicit or "guide" specific answers from those being interviewed.

Procedures.

The interviewer called at the address of the sample without an appointment and asked to see the owner or manager. If he was not there she made an appointment and returned later. She did not reveal the purpose of her visit until she talked to the head of the plant.

Upon entering the office of the executive, the interviewer introduced herself by presenting an introductory letter which gave the purpose of the survey and solicited his cooperation. She assured him that his identity and that of his firm would remain anonymous. She explained that she also wished to see the officer in charge of personnel and other managerial, professional and skilled workers in his plant. She read the questions to be asked and described her card entries.

In interviewing the professional group, contact was made at home or office. If by the first or second visit no contact was made, the individual was interviewed by phone or wives were interviewed where they felt qualified to answer the questions.

Each interviewer was provided with a folder containing the following: introductory letter; blank 6 x 9 cards; copy of Women's Emergency Committee policy and purpose; check list of questions; list of addresses; copy of survey proposal; description of interview techniques and procedures.

Industrial Plant Sample.

The 70 major industrial plants in Pulaski County were surveyed, using a random sample of forty plants. Excluded were organizations employing less than fifty persons and those operating under public franchise such as transportation systems, utilities, and government agencies.

Table I and II show that the sample selection was representative of the area's major industrial plants in both size and location. Table I shows the distribution of plants between Little Rock and North Little Rock. Table II shows the number of plants of each size that was included in the sample, in relation to the total number of such plants in the community.

Table I

Location of Major Industrial Plants in the Little Rock Metropolitan Area

City	Total Number	Number in Sample
Little Rock	53	33
North Little Rock	17	7
Total	70	40

Table II

Total Number and Sample Number of Plants
in the
Little Rock Metropolitan Area, by Size of Work Force

No. of Employees	Total Number	Number in Sample
1 - 25	269	0
25 - 50	33	0
51 - 100	25	14
101 - 200	27	14
201 - 300	6	6
301 - 500	4	3
over 500	8	3
Total	372	40

Major industries or plants having more than 50 persons, were selected for survey because

(1) They employ 90% of the metropolitan area industrial workers.
(2) They employ the bulk of skilled workers in the area.
(3) Skilled workers find it relatively easy to change jobs.
(4) Many of the key personnel in major plants have come here with the plants and have no strong community ties.
(5) A broader representation of skilled and professional personnel are available at major plants than at smaller ones.

Further characteristics of the industrial sample are: 16 are owned out-of-state; 24 are locally owned. In 14 of the plants surveyed, the company is able to transfer its employees outside the state. In addition, most of the companies sell most of their output outside the state. Table III shows where the companies do most of their selling.

Table III

Where Surveyed Plants Sell Most of Their Output

Area	Number of Plants
County	7
County and State	3
State	2
State and out-of-state	3
Out-of-state	25
Total	40

Professional Sample.

A total of 100 names were selected at random from the following professional groups: doctors; teaching doctors, nurses and pharmacists; research faculty; full and part-time college faculty; employed and individual engineers.

Inasmuch as the sample is between 17-20 percent of the population, an effort was made to select a sample number from each professional group of about the same ratio.

Table IV

Population and Sample Numbers
by Professional Group

Group	Total No.	Sample No.
Doctors	226	46
Teaching Doctors, Nurses, Pharmacists	99	19
College faculty	65	12
Research faculty	23	4
Engineers	67*	20*
Total	480	101

*It was assumed that 17 engineering firms averaged three engineers each. Experience indicated this was a low estimate, therefore more interviews were obtained in this group than originally planned.

Appendix B

Revised

SURVEY RESULTS AND INTERVIEW QUOTATIONS

Appendix B

Survey Results and Interview Quotations

Personal Reactions

The number of interviewees expecting to leave the city and those expressing sentiments on school closing is indicated below in the responses to the question: "If the school situation continues into the fall and through the next year, how do you expect this to affect plans for yourself and your family?"

Strong personal reactions to the school closings were evident in the large proportion of those interviewed who volunteered opposition to the school closings. Among professional persons nearly 90% of the three-quarters who made a comment wanted the schools open. Further, over four out of five plant officials who commented (almost all) thought the schools should be open.

People who have no school or pre-school children were nearly as concerned as those with such children - nearly 90% versus 73%.

Having school or pre-school children, however, made the respondents eight times more likely to leave the city - over a quarter who had school or pre-school children had decided to leave if unsettled conditions continued.

Table VI

REACTION TO SCHOOL CLOSINGS

Reaction	Totals		Plant Officials		Professionals	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
With school or pre-school children						
leaving	22	27	18	8	26	19
remaining	78	98	82	45	74	53
wants schools open	89	98	87	42	93	56
unconcerned	11	11	13	7	7	4
No children or older children						
leaving	4	2	0	0	8	2
remaining	95	42	100	15	92	27
wants schools open	73	21	83	16	65	11
unconcerned	27	8	17	3	35	6
Totals: leaving	18	29	12	8	20	21
remaining	72	140	88	60	80	80
want schools open	87	119	85	58	87	67
unconcerned	13	19	15	10	13	10

More Comment from Professionals and Plant Officials

Schools and the Community

Frankly, we are very disturbed about the situation. We do not have any children or we would be even more disturbed. The intellectual atmosphere has been seriously affected by the closing of the schools... We feel that the closed schools, the cutting back of the Medical School budget are all part and parcel of the anti-intellectualism that has swept the state and has given rise to the attack on the Medical Center. All are part and parcel of the closing of the schools.

We are keeping quiet and trying to stay out of the school controversy. Little Rock University has not been involved, and we hope it won't be. My husband teaches because he loves it. We are natives of Arkansas and don't want to leave the state if it can be avoided.

We would send our children to private or state operated schools if the tuition is not too high. We are not enthusiastic about a move away from public schools and fear the snobbery that may follow - but do not think the school situation will change anything in our family or business plans.

We are seriously concerned for the future, not only for the schools for our children, but because it just won't be the sort of community in which we can live successfully. Let's face it - there'll be no future in it for us.

The school situation has had a most devastating effect on the Medical School. We have lost a lot of people and expect to lose a lot more. Our department has stuck together. So far, we have not lost any personnel, but if it continues - we may, probably will...I try to think the business people could exert enough influence to preserve our school system...

I have no immediate plans to move out of the state, but if the situation extends to grammar schools, I'd have to leave because I have a child entering first grade in the fall. I believe the situation will affect me financially in terms of curtailment of community expansion. The desirability of a place is very closely related to who your colleagues are, and the Medical Center has lost many of its most competent doctors.

Our first grader is being sent to a private school so as to have him in school for next year. But after that - if it doesn't work out - we'll have to move or something, because of course, we want the very best for our child.

We have two elementary school children. The school situation would not affect our plans as long as our children's grades were not affected. If they were, I don't know...

Jobs are begging...

If schools are closed no trained people will be available for employment. Present top level employees would move away, and they could not be replaced easily.

If schools remain closed upper personnel may be affected. We need additional chemists, have run ads in various trade journals. We do not know if school situation affects this, but have not filled these categories.

High priced personnel might not want to come down here. As far as parents go, the kids can get along all right for one year, but if it continues that will be bad.

It has been difficult to get technical personnel since plant has opened. The school situation could contribute to this difficulty in getting people to move to Little Rock, but no way to measure.

No problem except for technical engineering personnel which has always been a problem and is a national problem. Is generally more difficult to get people to move to Arkansas.

None have left town yet, but I think some will leave if grade schools are closed. In personnel work I have found many have been affected. New people are not available to do work in organizations, etc. They are not coming to town. I feel that people are not moving here who might have normally because of the situation.

Personnel would be a problem only if it became necessary to hire employees from out-of-state.

I am already faced with the problem of securing personnel...new people will not come in. Had one very desirable registered engineer turn us down specifically because he refused to move his family into the unsettled school situation.

We are having trouble getting skilled employees because Tech High is closed.

I know of one example where a fellow refused to move here to work with us.

It is very difficult to secure personnel. Have not recruited any with high school age children since this situation began. Three or four have already turned us down.

No employee will transfer in--very difficult to transfer out due to real estate market at standstill.

One (potential employee) from Ft. Smith and one from El Dorado refused to accept position because of school situation--one managerial, one accountant.

If North Little Rock schools were closed, there would certainly be problems. Probably would have trouble in hiring supervisory personnel since they could afford to move and are capable of getting another job. I have had a little difficulty in getting technical personnel but I don't think this has been connected with the school problem too much. It might bother some.

PEOPLE - hoping to stay - or leaving

Engineers

If the situation continues another year, we would move.

Each semester that this present school situation continues, the more likely it becomes that our family will move.

We will move when our children are affected.

If the school closing moves down into junior high and elementary, we will move to where we can send our children to public schools.

The longer this situation continues the more likely we are to lose some of these (employees) because they have openly expressed concern.

College faculty

They do not want to move because they have strong family ties here and will stay until they feel that they must move because of education and income.

Natives of Arkansas don't want to leave the state if it can be avoided.

Doctors

The Medical Center has already lost some of its most competent doctors.

The school situation has had a most devastating effect upon the Medical School. We have lost a lot of people and expect to lose more.

Would remain yet another year because of strong family ties, but after that...

Couldn't afford to move.

If we were younger and had more children would definitely move out.

If their children (six and nine years) were affected, they don't know.

(If conditions continue) it would give further impetus to serious consideration of relocating.

I'd be compelled to change my location - in fact you may add - I've already investigated possibilities.

I expect the school situation to continue, and therefore I am moving.

It would make all the difference in the world and I would leave Little Rock.

Our immediate plans - no - but if it continues until our oldest child is ready for junior high we'll have to leave. We have no other recourse.

If this situation doesn't improve (clear up) we're definitely going to do something. Don't know what but something.

Much stronger vote for moving elsewhere (out of city). Doesn't want to live in "this type" of community where situation is as is. No children.

Though it is harder for a doctor to move than other people, if no public schools are available then we'll move. We've discussed it often.

I may add that my wife's ready to leave tomorrow, she's so disgusted.

Frankly we are very disturbed about the situation. We have our eyes and ears open for another job, and the only reason we haven't left here was because we didn't have another job to go to.

Industry

I feel that in the future family men will separate at a great rate if the situation continues.

If the schools remain closedfor several more years, I know of several employees who will be lost.

I'm stuck here but it sure will make it distasteful. Children not of school age. You can see how I feel..it's pretty urgent to do something.

Laborers would not be affected at all, they would stay, nothing else to do.

If Arkansas abandons public education, it will have an adverse effect on my business and we would need to move.

If all the schools closed I still don't think there will be a mass exodus because people of laboring class can't afford to leave, but efficiency will be hurt because it will be on everyone's mind.

His plans for moving out of the state will depend on whether schools open in the fall.

I would not stay if children had no schools.

One key person left because a member of family was employed in education field and felt insecure in job. Left city to obtain employment elsewhere and necessitated key person leaving job also. Manager most upset over this.

I am local person who prefers to remain here, but is most uncertain of the future at this point. Felt he should have spoken out but believes anyone who does is endangering his business because of boycotts and reprisals.

Within the last 8 or 10 months I had requests from numerous employees for transfers to comparable positions in other states. They gave as their reason the growing crisis in the school situation and their fears that conditions may become worse in the fall. Our workers don't live in the Little Rock School District.

If it doesn't straighten out, one would want to think of moving.

Yes, ma'am, I would certainly say we have been affected. Have one man, excellent job man rendered, almost useless from worry, had to send a girl to Memphis, boy to Mississippi, wife almost mentally ill from strain and financial press, so his work has been terribly affected. Yes, our separation rate has been slightly higher, probably not all for school reasons, but surely some. The man I spoke of will leave if this continues.

Children not affected - would definitely consider moving rather than sending children to private schools.

Present top level employees would move away if situation continues. Could not be easily replaced.

Two years ago lost one good office girl because of school situation - young couple, no children. Didn't think Little Rock good place to live.

For the future family men would separate at a great rate. Closed schools in Jacksonville would probably cause us to lose personnel. It would cause individuals to lose because they'd have to sell their homes.

Production plans --

Had bad effect

Production is below expected capacity as no new industry has located here which is this plant's major outlet - all due to the school situation. No employee will transfer in, and it is very difficult to transfer out because the real estate market is at a standstill.

Production will be affected quite adversely. Sales have fallen off and will continue to do so if the school situation continues unsettled.

There would be some curtailment - but I can't say to what degree the business would be curtailed. The sales picture is synonmous with production figures.

It will affect production plans because we are in business for a profit, and if several employees have the excessive financial burden of separation or private schooling, we cannot hope to escape.

So far it has had no effect but will if they continue closed.

It will hurt definitely. It hurts us because we are tied in with construction and it hurts construction. It has been slowed down. There are so many empty houses.

If schools remain closed, upper personnel may be affected. Present top level employees would move away and could not be replaced easily. I need additional chemists...The school situation is a factor of production. Hardships would develop because so many cannot afford private school tuition.

Ultimately it might affect the building end of our business.

Out of state business forestalls effect

It would have no effect on this business since 99% of it is out of the state.

We don't sell 10% in Arkansas...It hasn't affected production for this year or for the immediate future.

All production plans come from our northern office and we would not be affected by closed schools or other local situations since the product is for national consumption.

The owner expected no change because his sales are mostly out of Arkansas. He estimated they sold more in New England States than they did in Arkansas, and there had been no change in their sales picture.

The school situation has not affected production and I do not expect it to, because sales are out of the state. It has not affected us because we do not live in the Little Rock School District.

Most of our business is from outside Little Rock and even the state. It has not affected our own personal business; in fact, the business recession of several months ago didn't affect our business.

The school closing here has not influenced our production. Our products are sold throughout ten southern states. Customers inquire about the school situation here, because they feel they will be next.

The school situation will have no effect on our business due to its type. We are not dependent upon sales in Little Rock.

The school situation will have no effect on this plant production schedule because production plans come from the home office out of the state.

Probably had no effect so far

The school situation has not affected production plans at all. It may indirectly in several years. There will be no increase or decrease in production because of school closing.

The school situation has had no effect so far. There have been no changes in production plans. The schools being closed affected a loss in business to the three high schools, but this was picked up somewhere else.

The school situation would have no immediate effect, but if confronted with a need to expand, we would have difficulty.

I don't think it will affect production plans. It will affect the plant. We will have difficulty hiring people and keeping others.

If the schools remain closed, I cannot speculate.

The school situation is economically bad for the whole area, but it hasn't hurt this business.

I do not think the present school situation will have any effect on my plant or production.

No change is expected. (2)

The school situation has not affected production plans for the plant and I do not expect it to do so in the fall.

It would have no effect whatsoever, unless we had bad racial incidents. We have had no trouble at all in our plant like that.

Out of state business forestalls effect

There has been no evidence that the uncertain school situation has influenced our production or sales. Our business is done primarily with out-of-state concerns. Most people here have been employed over a long period of time.

There has been no effect on our production. We sell to exporters and wholesalers...It is impossible for our production to be affected because our products are shipped and sold out-of-state.

We sell to dealers rather than directly to consumers. The trouble over schools may have helped our business. Our product is well advertised - coming from Little Rock.

If the school situation continues, plans would not be affected. We are in the fringe area and it has not hit us at all...we would be dead if we depended on Arkansas sales.

Our production will not be increased or decreased locally because we sell only four plants in Arkansas. Most of our business is outside the state.

Production plans would be unaffected because the product is not distributed locally. It would be affected only if it became necessary to hire employees from outside the state.

Probably had no effect so far

A real population exodus would curtail our production. But I don't think there will be any such exodus. We have noted no loss of business since the trouble began.

The closing of the four high schools has had no effect whatever on the factory or production and if they stay closed, it would not affect the plant.

I do not think the present school situation will have any effect on my plant or production, or that we will have any problem.

The school situation has not affected production, and I do not expect it to - if at all, negligible.

Foresee increases in spite of school situation

Of course, we are here and local and we don't think it will bother us...We will have a slight increase in production next year.

The manager stated that production had not been affected particularly. He implied that due to special local conditions their business will increase.

Morale is up and down

The efficiency of our plant has been hurt some, but not enough to affect cost. The men have been affected emotionally.

If the schools are not opened it will definitely affect the lives of all boys and girls in Little Rock. People will be moving away. Industries will by-pass Arkansas. The State of Arkansas will be hurt; Little Rock will be a ghost town.

A number of employees have expressed fears that the loss of public schools here would be a financial drain on them if they were required to pay tuition for the education of their children.

Since my son's friends have been away at school, he has found older friends and I do not think that is desirable.

One of our employees has a son who did not go back to school. He got a job. His mother is very bitter.

I think it would have a bad effect on business and a bad effect on the morale of the community and in own case, it would give further impetus to the serious consideration of relocating.

Closing the schools for one additional year would not affect our family except secondarily as the impact on the community is felt.

I don't expect the school situation to continue...It will not affect me no matter what, although the situation really affects everyone. I have no children.

I feel encouraged over the recent recall election and trust the new School Board can work things out.

I do think that the last 4 months people in Little Rock seemed to have settled down to do some stable thinking, and I have confidence in the present school board to reach some practical compromise solution.

I know of one example where a fellow refused to move here to work with us - but as far as I'm concerned, I would be willing to pay to send my children to some sort of private school if necessary.

IN SUMMARY --

The city's growth has been seriously affected. Newcomers have declined in significant numbers with special difficulty in hiring the skilled and professional both from in the state and out of the state. Those who have come have tended to be the very young or the very old. If family men came, they tended to settle in North Little Rock or the county. The city is not getting its normal replenishment - its insurance for the future, its full productivity in civic leadership, in social or business life. The city is becoming older as men with minimal families replace full family men. Minimal families and those who live outside contribute minimally to the city's general economy. Minimal families are more mobile, too - they are less likely to put down roots in a community. Thus the city has more turnover, less continuity. The city's well-being is being affected.

The city's growth is further stymied by the increasing number of departures. More people are leaving because they want their children to attend free public schools, or they do not want to stay where the atmosphere is tense. Some moved into the county, but most left the state to accept other jobs through transfer or direct application. Who is leaving? Men without children or with older children, or the young and the old, tend to remain as do workers. They would not leave because they lack the educational and financial ability to choose jobs, and many live in the county and are relatively unaffected. People will endure for a while but eventually they cannot accept cultural deprivation, emotional strain, or economic stress. Those who are able will leave.

Businesses dependent on the growth of the city, such as real estate, construction and all those related, reflect the loss in newcomers - compounded by increasing departures. Newer businesses and practices more dependent on city growth show more adverse effects than do older, more established businesses and industries. Other businesses do not show the increases or expansions that might be expected in comparison with other cities in the area or even with the nation as a whole in a time of booming business recovery.

The personal testimony and job replacement needs reported in the survey indicate that departures are increasing among families with young children, and professionals.

Appendix C

S O U R C E S

Appendix C

SOURCES

Findings on the experiences of manufacturing plant officials and professional people are based on an interview survey conducted by members of the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools. A detailed description of survey procedure is contained in Appendix A.

Findings on newcomer families are from listings of newcomers maintained by the Chamber of Commerce of Little Rock and based on utility company reports.

Findings on departures of families from Little Rock are based on figures from nine moving companies which handle an estimated eighty-five percent of the departure moving business in the city, although several major movers were not included.

Findings on production plans and new industrial locations are based on the survey of manufacturing plants, except where additional sources are cited.

Travel information is from a Little Rock tour agency representing 60% of the automobile travel volume.

Real estate information is from a prominent Little Rock real estate firm.

Information on job openings is from "Employment Trends", Metropolitan Employment Security Division, July 1959.

Retail Sales and Effective Buying Income are indexes in Sales Management.

Personal income figures are based on reports by the University of Arkansas Bureau of Business Research.

Urban income figures were taken from the Blue Book of Southern Progress.

Comparison of Little Rock business with other central cities is from U. S. News and World Report, July 20, 1959.

New residential construction figures are based on City Engineer records, and the U. S. government periodical, Construction News.

Department store sales and bank clearings are from the Federal Reserve Board of the Eighth District.

Other economic indicators were obtained from the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and cooperating chambers, including Little Rock.

Findings on employment and earnings are based on reports of the U. S. Department of Labor.

INTERVIEWERS

Mrs. Albert Ahrens

Mrs. L. Prentice Booe

Mrs. Calvin Dillaha

Mrs. Casper Dum

Mrs. S. J. Fields

Mrs. Charles Henry

Mrs. Byron House, Jr.

Mrs. James L. Jackson

Mrs. Payton Kolb

Mrs. Frank Lambright

Mrs. Lewis M. K. Long

Mrs. Frank McGehee

Mrs. Woodbridge Morris

Mrs. Tom Norman

Mrs. Herbert Storthz

Mrs. William Thompson

Mrs. Gordon N. Wilson

Mrs. James Youngdahl

Appendix D

THE LITTLE ROCK PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

Reputation
Accreditation -

THE LITTLE ROCK PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

For more than one-third of a century, the Little Rock Public High Schools have enjoyed an enviable prestige and representation for excellency both locally and in the broad circles of educational institutions through the nation. This prestige was earned and maintained through the years by the interest of the citizens, the loyalty of students and alumni, the vision and wisdom of administrators and board members and the devoted efforts of well trained and dedicated classroom teachers. People were appreciative of good schools and accustomed to them.

When the public high schools were closed in September 1958 each of the three general high schools was accredited by the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, the largest and most influential accrediting agency for schools and Tech High was accredited by the State Department of Education as a Class A School.

The general high school had a large enough enrollment to offer a curriculum broad enough to serve the interests and needs of all pupils who earnestly desired a high school education. The college preparatory curriculum and training at Central which was duplicated at Hall High School qualified the graduates for admission to any college or university in the United States. Central graduates have attended most of the outstanding colleges and universities in the country. The high scholastic background for and achievement in colleges of these graduates have led the admissions officers of colleges that select their student bodies to rate Central High (Hall High) as one of the ten or twelve strongest high schools private and public in the United States. These colleges and universities offer attractive scholarships to get such students and many Central High graduates have received substantial scholarships.

It is a matter of record with the National Merit Scholarship Council that no school has a better record for high achievement in that competition than does Little Rock.

But the general high schools did not concentrate on training the few for the select school. A large percent of graduates attend colleges and make strong records in the schools of their choice.

The general high schools had strong programs for those pupils who wanted vocational training. According to business men the Central High secretarial training was as good as the best in the state. The print shops offered unusually good training. And other industrial and fine arts programs were structured to teach a skill by which a graduate could enter a job for a living wage.

What has Little Rock lost?

Appendix E

What is the Women's Emergency Committee

What is the Women's Emergency Committee?

The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, organized September 16, 1958 in Little Rock, Arkansas, cited its policy and purpose as follows:

> Dedicated to the principle of free public school education, and to law and order, we stand neither for integration nor for segregation, but for education. Our aims are to reopen Little Rock's four free public high schools; get students back in their classes; retain the staff of good teachers; regain full accreditation.

Since the Little Rock schools are open, the group continues its program in support of public education revising its name to Women's Emergency Committee for Public Schools. The original group of 50 women now includes more than 1,600 members. The elected chairman is a lawyer, Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, daughter of a former mayor of the city and a graduate of the Little Rock public schools, Smith College, and the Arkansas Law School. Although the group has no charter or by-laws, the organization is detailed and strong. Besides the four officers who are active daily, an Executive Committee of 14 meets each week to determine policy and projects, which are implemented through many sub-committees. All work is volunteer and is supported by contributions.

WHAT WE DO

Mail thousands of flyers to businessmen, legislators and parents.
Send letters to out-of-state friends, describing our purpose.
Write daily, commending stands in favor of public schools and answering statements opposing public schools.
Propose similar groups to other communities in the state; several have been organized.
Run weekly advertisements in the two Little Rock papers.
Relay messages to members via telephone chain.
Maintain a lending library pertinent to our program; list related books available at the public library.
Arrange programs and announcements on TV and radio.
Seek voluntary financial support.
Staff an office with at least two typists daily.
Solicit ideas for flyers and other publicity, speakers, letter writers, book donors, volunteer typists and telephoners.
Call on legislators and study legislation.
Visit sessions of the House and the Senate, School Board meetings, wearing badges.
Work to select public school supporters to the school board.

We want the best possible education for all of our children and we are deeply concerned that they be spared the cost of resolving any social conflict which can and should be worked out in the judicial atmosphere of our courts of law. We welcome your comments, your suggestions and your advice, for we know you will realize that ours is not just a local problem, but one which is vital to the future welfare of our nation.

THE WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
FOR
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Policy and Purpose

The Women's Emergency Committee for Public Schools is dedicated to the principle of public school education and to law and order.

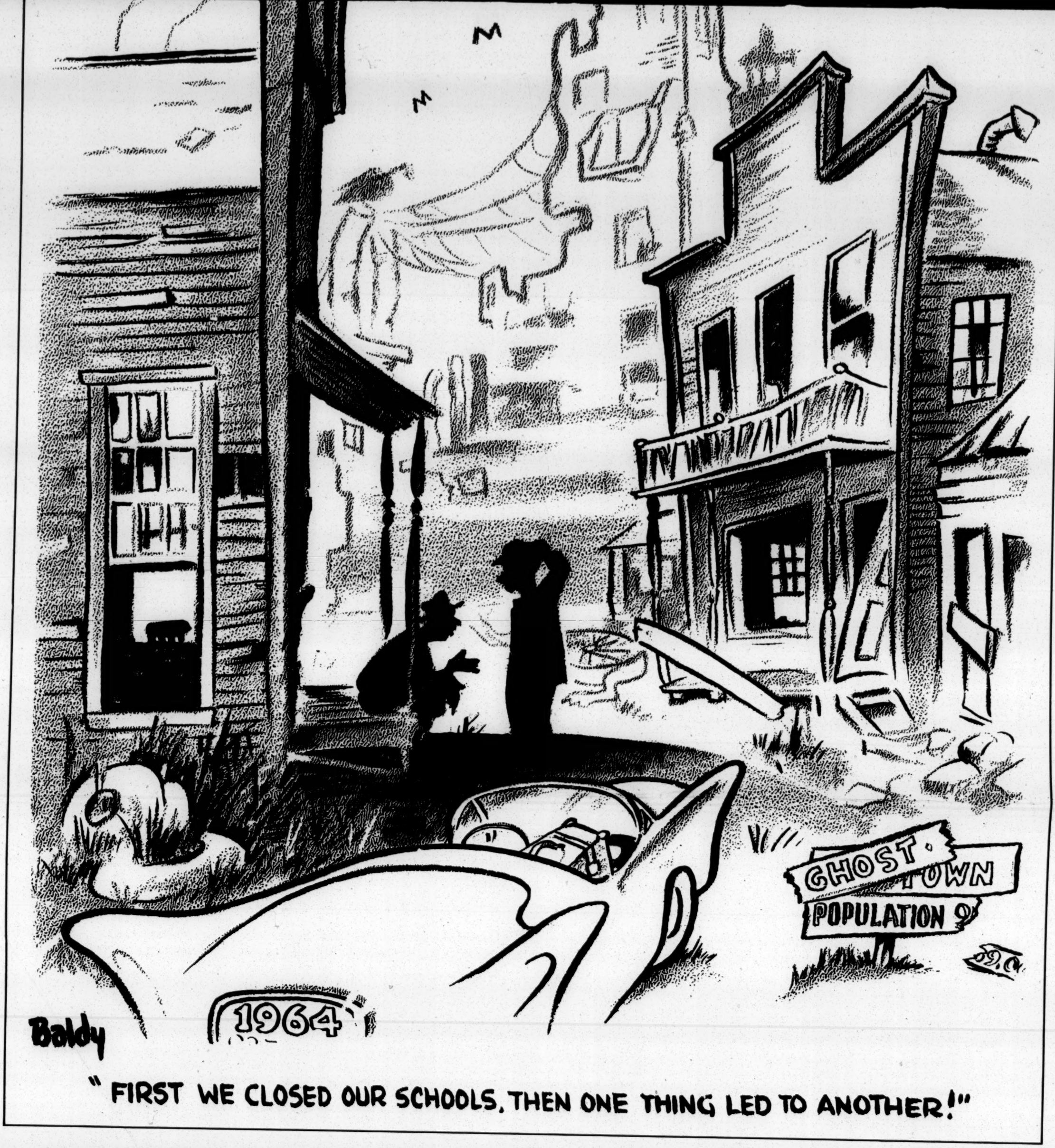
Our aims are:

To support a School Board committed to Public Education;
To work for the improvement of our Public School system;
To cooperate with other communities in educational programs in support of public schools;
To oppose any legislation detrimental to Public Education and to work for legislation favorable to Public Education.

We are convinced that a good Public School System is essential to the progress of our city and of our state. As in the past, we believe that the aid and encouragement which our committee can give to public education is our continuing responsibility.

P. O. Box 3244
Forest Heights Station

September, 1959



" FIRST WE CLOSED OUR SCHOOLS, THEN ONE THING LED TO ANOTHER!"

The above editorial cartoon by Clifford H. "Baldy" Baldowski appeared in the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., on November 21, 1958, and was the winner of the national Sigma Delta Chi Cartoon Award for 1958. It is reprinted with the permission of Mr. Baldowski and the Atlanta Constitution.

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WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
Box 3244 Forest Heights Station
Little Rock Arkansas

January 23, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee
P. O. Box 122
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

Thank you for your letter of January 16. We are indeed interested in the fine work of the Women's Emergency Committee and will be happy to do anything we can to further it.

We expect to work out soon a cooperative arrangement with one of the more experienced leaders of the Virginia effort to preserve the public schools. Some community leaders here in Atlanta have expressed interest in talking with such a person and getting the benefit of the experience and techniques developed in the Virginia effort. The Southern Regional Council's role would simply be that of arranging for the visit and making it financially possible. The Virginia consultant would not be speaking for the Council, but would be acting as an individual on the invitation of the local group.

We should be glad to make this service available to the Women's Emergency Committee on the same basis. As soon as our arrangement with a suitable

Virginia leader is completed and I have an indication of his available dates, I will write you again. Meanwhile, if we can be of assistance to your organization in any way at all, do call on us.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
TO OPEN OUR SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 122, PULASKI HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

January 16, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mrs. Harry S. Ashmore has told us that you are so interested in the efforts of the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools that you would be willing to send, at your expense, someone from Southern Regional Council who could talk with our Executive Committee and give them much needed advice and information concerning the work of similar groups.

We would be most appreciative of this kindness and if you would send us the name of the person who is coming and the date he or she might be here, we will most gladly set up a meeting at their convenience. Our executive committee consists of twelve members and normally we meet each Wednesday at 10:00 a.m.

Gratefully yours,

Vivian L. Brewer

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman

VB:igs

VIA AIR MAIL

February 12, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee
P. O. Box 122
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

Following up my letter of January 23, I can now give you the name of a Virginia leader in the effort to reopen the public schools there. He is Mr. William M. Lightsey at 231 N. Evergreen, Arlington, Virginia. His telephone number is JA. 8-4592. Mr. Lightsey is an employee of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, a native Southerner, and has given outstanding leadership to the "Save the Schools" effort not only in Arlington but state-wide. Our friends in Virginia speak of him in the highest terms, and I am sure that you and other leaders of your group will find it rewarding to talk with him.

I suggest that you write directly to Mr. Lightsey to determine what date would be mutually convenient for his visit to Little Rock. So that I may know what you work out, I hope I may receive copies of your correspondence.

As I wrote you earlier, the role of the Southern Regional Council is simply to facilitate the exchange of information among those Southerners who are working at the common problem of preserving public

education in their states and communities. In order to do this, we are glad to be able to bear the expenses involved. However, Mr. Lightsey will be serving in a purely individual capacity at your invitation. It is our understanding that this consultation will be without the benefit of publicity. If you should have any plans to the contrary, I suggest that you clear them with Mr. Lightsey in advance.

While I am writing, I might mention that the Georgia Council on Human Relations is planning to present, on television here, a thirty-minute film called "The Baltimore Story." They thought this documentary account of the desegregation process in Baltimore would be a useful contribution to public education in the community. You may be familiar with this film; it is available on loan from the Southeastern regional office of the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia.

I hope you will find it both timely and profitable to have Mr. Lightsey consult with your group, and I shall look forward to hearing from you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. William M. Lightsey

bc: Mr. Harry Ashmore
Mr. Nat Griswold
Mr. Paul Rilling

WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
TO OPEN OUR SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 122, PULASKI HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

February 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you so much for sending us the information regarding Mr. William M. Lightsey and particularly for your willingness to bear the expense of his trip to Little Rock.

We feel Mr. Lightsey's experience and knowledge will be of vital importance in our program.

Sincerely yours,

Vivion L. Brewer

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman

VLB:igs

Enclosure

February 18, 1959

Mr. William M. Lightsey
231 N. Evergreen
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lightsey:

Mr. Harold Fleming has written to us giving your name as a leader in the effort in Virginia to reopen the public schools. He tells us that you might be willing to make a trip to Little Rock to talk with our Executive Committee, and that the expenses of the trip would be borne by the Southern Regional Council, although we understand this would be confidential. We assure you that we would be glad to have a conference with you and would gladly arrange the date at your convenience. However, our regular meeting of our Executive Committee is each Wednesday morning at 10:00 a.m.

If you prefer, we will be glad to give no publicity to your coming. On the other hand, if you do not mind, we will be more than happy to give notice of it to our papers, for we feel flattered and privileged that you would make the trip here to help us.

We hope you will give us the schedule of your arrival in order that we may meet you and we will gladly arrange for a reservation at a hotel here for your stay. Our office telephone number is unlisted - it is MOhawk 41607 and the office is staffed from 9:30 until 3 daily except Saturday. and Sunday.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer,
Chairman.

VLB:igs

CC: Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council

bc to: Harry Ashmore

March 12, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee
P. O. Box 122
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

I am delighted that you and other leaders of the Women's Emergency Committee found Mr. Lightsey's visit to Little Rock so helpful. He has just spent a day with us here and told me how much he enjoyed and profited from the visit with you all.

Mr. Lightsey asked me to forward to you the enclosed copy of his report on the Little Rock visit.

I should like to take this opportunity to tell you what a fine job Mrs. Wilson did at the recent "HOPE" rally. This was a real contribution to Atlanta's growing pro-public school sentiment.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Report on Little Rock)

WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
TO OPEN OUR SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 122, PULASKI HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

March 2, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Our Committee is most grateful to you for making it possible for us to have a splendid conference with Mr. W. M. Lightsey of Virginia. We feel that the information and suggestions he gave to us came at a most auspicious time. It became clear to us that we had not concentrated our efforts as we should have done. All the comments from members and from the men who talked with Mr. Lightsey have been most favorable.

In accordance with your request and that of Mr. Lightsey, we have not divulged the fact that we owe his visit to you. Very few of our own members know it, but this does not lessen our gratitude to you.

In case Mr. Lightsey has not told you, he arrived on Tuesday evening at 7:40 and was met by three of our staff and by representatives of the Arkansas Gazette. We are enclosing clippings from this paper. From the airport we went to the home of Mrs. David D. Terry for a discussion of our Committee, its history, its program and its problems. The following morning Mr. Lightsey met with our Executive Committee composed of our officers and our committee chairmen. He discussed the Virginia committees and the Virginia situation with comparisons which pointed up the similarities and difficulties in our problems. There was an hour of general discussion, then a short break before a luncheon to which were invited two attorneys, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the three members of the School Board who are sympathetic with our program. Again there was general discussion. Mr. Lightsey left with members of the School Board and we feel you will be interested in the statement which these three members made public yesterday. Two of our staff, armed with a number of additional questions met Mr. Lightsey just before his plane time.

We think it might interest you that one of the members of the Executive Committee - a woman who has been both locally and nationally active in church organizations and so has attended many conferences - said this was the best thing she had ever heard.

Thanks again.

Gratefully yours,
Vivion L. Brewer
Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman

BC: Will D. Campbell

December 2, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Women's Emergency Committee
P. O. Box 3244
Forest Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

Many thanks for your good letter commending Will Campbell's work. I am glad that you share our high opinion of him, and your letter is very helpful to us.

With good wishes for the fine work that you and your associates are doing.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Mailed separately:

10 copies of <u>If the Schools are Closed.</u>

March 22, 1960

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee for
Public Schools
P. O. Box 3244
Forest Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

We are happy to send you, separately, the requested copies of <u>If the Schools are Closed</u>. There is no charge.

You also have our full consent to reproduce our Report "L" 11. It is we who are indebted to you for letting us condense the excellent full report.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Women's Emergency Committee
FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 3244 FOREST HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

March 17, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have found your pamphlet If the Schbols are Closed by Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke most useful and we would like very much to obtain several more copies. If these are still available, we will appreciate it very much if you will send us ten copies, and bill us for them.

For some time we have meant to write to ask your permission to duplicate your Report No. L-11, of October 12, 1959, which is a resume of our Little Rock Report. We have many occasions to use it rather than the full Report and would be happy tp mimeograph it here if you have no objection.

Many thanks for all you have done to help us here.

Most sincerely,

Vivian L. Brewer

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman

vlb/b

PR ✓
LWD ✓
MF - file

Women's Emergency Committee
FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 3244 FOREST HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

April 2, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The copies of If the Schools are Closed have arrived and we are most grateful to you for your sending them to us. I think I told you that we have found them invaluable in training our Speakers Committee for our campaign to defeat the proposed education amendment # 52.

Your "L" Report on our Little Rock Report will be helpful in this same program.

Many had hoped that the campaign against this amendment could be kept out of politics but a news release this morning seemed ominous: "Ed I. McKinley Jr. of Little Rock, former school board member who was ousted in a recall election, was named by Governor Faubus yesterday to a committee to study the educational possibilities of television. . . . . The Committee reportedly was created to study ways to continue mass education if the public school system is abandoned. . . . ."

Again, our thanks.

Sincerely,

Vivian L. Brewer

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman

vlb/b

June 3, 1958

Mrs. Emma Gray
c/o Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Here is a rough draft for the revision of the Integration Pamphlet put out by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. It is not in final form, but should be reviewed by a publications committee.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

Enclosure - 1 (Draft: "THE WILPF BELIEVES")

File

PRINCIPLES and POLICIES 1958 - 1960

AS ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE U. S. SECTION, WILPF

JUNE, 1958

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

United States Section

PRINCIPLES

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom originated in 1915 in the midst of the first World War, with Jane Addams as its first president. Throughout its history it has maintained a policy and program consistent with its purpose to work by non-violent means for the establishment throughout the world of those political, economic, social and psychological conditions which can assure peace and freedom.

PEACE

Peace is much more than the absence of war or the maintenance of order through dominance of force. It is a positive principle of human relations and can be found only where there is free cooperation for the common good.

FREEDOM

Freedom is more than the absence of unwarranted interference with individual action or expression. It is the right to contribute to decision on governmental policies and programs for the common good. Only where the right to participate is fully encouraged can a peaceful and cooperative society be built.

JUSTICE

Justice is essential to peace and freedom. Justice includes both equality among individuals within a nation and equality among nations. It requires that responsible governments, national and local, must faithfully uphold the right to an open and fair trial, due process and equality before the law. It requires the development of international cooperation to channel the dynamic forces of scientific discovery and economic change for the enrichment of all.

INTERNATIONAL POLICIES

I. THE UNITED NATIONS

Since its beginning in 1915 the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has believed that a strong international organization, working democratically within a framework of law, is essential to lasting peace. We support the United Nations as a stage in the development of such an organization. We believe the effectiveness of the United Nations will depend upon the willingness of its member nations to use it and to limit their own sovereignty when necessary for the welfare and security of mankind.

The primary function of the UN is to provide for conciliation, negotiation, and judicial review so that violence will be eliminated in the settlement of international disputes. The WILPF believes the United States should make full use of all these facilities, should submit all judicable disputes to the International Court of Justice, and accept its jurisdiction without reservation.

The UN is an instrument for the expression and development of world opinion, transcending and mediating the interests of particular nations or groups of nations. It can do this effectively only if all the people of the world, including those of the People's Republic of China, are represented at the UN by their de facto governments.

The WILPF approves of a UN police force based on moral rather than physical force, and hopes that a permanent agency of this kind will be established.

We urge continued support by the U. S. Government of the Social and Economic Council and the Specialized Agencies and Commissions, whose impartial international services raise the living standards of mankind.

In order to develop an adequate international civil service, the UN Secretariat must remain independent, as stated in the Charter. This means that it should be free from control or pressure by any national government.

The effective cooperation that created the International Geophysical Year and the International Atomic Energy Agency should be applied to extended UN control over unclaimed areas such as the polar regions, the depths of the high seas, and all objects in outer space. The WILPF has long believed in the internationalizing of waterways such as the Suez and Panama Canals. Such points at which international rivalries tend to converge should be put under UN control.

II. DISARMAMENT

The WILPF believes that only a bold program for total universal disarmament under UN supervision will bring security in this nuclear age, and release human and physical resources for constructive use. We support all steps which lead toward this goal—such as cessation of nuclear weapons testing and neutralization and eventual demilitarization of tension areas in Central Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, and Latin America.

III. PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

The WILPF holds that technical information and nuclear fuels for peaceful purposes only should be made available to all nations through the International Atomic Energy Agency. The controls involved would point the way to methods of policing a nuclear weapons production ban, as well as developing safeguards for human beings and wild life from radio-active waste and other hazards of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

IV. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The WILPF supports a program of non-military mutual assistance to relieve the human suffering and the serious international problems caused by the low economic status of vast areas of the world. Although we appreciate the value of government and privately sponsored aid programs, we believe that those carried on through the UN and its specialized agencies are preferable, since they furnish better safeguards against economic exploitation and lessen the fear of imperialist aims or military commitments.

Believing that free interchange of goods is necessary for the economic health of all nations, the WILPF supports reciprocal trade agreements and other measures to reduce U. S. tariffs in a gradual and orderly way. We also believe that differences in political ideology should not prohibit trade with any nation.

V. SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES

The WILPF believes that the exploitation of subject people must end. We deplore the subsidizing of colonial powers and the support of reactionary leaders. We therefore urge the United States, consistent with its historical experience, to support the principle of self-determination and to reject all policies that allow political, economic, or military expediency to take precedence over human rights and freedom. We call upon the United States, together with other members of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, to support this body in its work to advance the independence of non-self-governing territories.

VI. FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES

The WILPF is deeply concerned with people made homeless and stateless by war and oppression and vigorously opposes transferring them without their consent. We urge full financial and political support for the work of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, and early ratification of the Conventions on the Status of Refugees and on Stateless Persons.

VII. HUMAN RIGHTS

The WILPF reaffirms its faith in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, both of which clearly point out that the maintenance of peace is inseparably connected with respect for life and the fundamental rights, dignity and worth of man. We support all actions by the UN and its agencies to implement the obligations of the Charter.

We commend recognition by the General Assembly of valid complaints by individual petition as well as the UN inquiry into forced labor.

We urge completion and ratification of the Human Rights Covenants by member states. We believe the covenants should include the abolition of capital punishment.

We believe that the U. S. should ratify all Conventions concerning human rights, including the Genocide Convention and the Conventions on the Status of Women, Stateless Persons, and Slavery.

DOMESTIC POLICIES

I. FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH AND RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY

The WILPF believes that the guarantee of freedom of thought and speech and of the right of assembly is basic for a free society and affords a necessary safeguard both for the individual against tyranny and for society against stagnation. The protection of these basic freedoms demands vigilance on the part of all citizens and a recognition of the distinction between the expression of an idea and an overt act. The dignity, integrity, and effectiveness of government are seriously impaired when citizens become fearful and are exposed to extraordinary risks in the exercise of their rights as free men. The best defense of American democracy lies in reliance on the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and judicial procedure.

The WILPF strongly condemns infringement of the right of freedom of thought through loyalty oaths, governmental investigating committees and "vigilante" groups. We oppose security programs which subject citizens to secret trials, anonymous accusations, charges for undefined crimes, continuing jeopardy, destroyed careers and tarnished reputations. Such measures, born of fear and suspicion, lead to enforced silence, to penalizing of dissent, and to acceptance of unthinking conformity.

II. FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

The WILPF believes that there are periods in history when refusal to cooperate in programs that deny and debase the dignity of the human spirit may be the only recourse an individual can conscientiously take. We therefore uphold the stand of those who, for conscience' sake, take such non-violent action as refusal to sign loyalty oaths, give testimony, pay that share of taxes which goes for military purposes, or participate in civil defense activities.

The WILPF has consistently opposed compulsory military training and service. We therefore believe that those who, for conscience' sake, refuse to register for and participate in military service should be accorded the fair trial and safeguard against continuing jeopardy provided by the Constitution of the United States.

III. ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

We believe that the right to life is a fundamental human right and that no authority is entitled to sentence a human being to death. A state which considers an act of murder a capital crime ought not to make itself guilty of taking life.

IV. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The WILPF reiterates its conviction that the first concern of government should be the maximum development of its citizens. Whenever private enterprise and voluntary agencies fail to provide all citizens with the essential facilities for health, housing, education, and employment, it is the responsibility of government to do so.

As disarmament proceeds, financial and physical resources must be diverted from armaments to constructive, peaceful purposes. We urge the Federal Government to begin immediately to plan for the transition period, in order to allay the fear that widespread unemployment and economic collapse might follow disarmament. Assistance to workers in resettlement and retraining, public works programs, adjusted unemployment compensation, aid to industries changing from military to peaceful production, and increased international trade and foreign economic aid, are means by which disruption to the economy can be minimized.

Similarly, plans should be made to deal promptly with depressions whenever they threaten.

We oppose the transfer to states and private enterprises of our vast natural resources such as offshore oil, mineral deposits, forests and grazing lands, and electric power.

We further oppose the development by private industry of atomic energy for industrial and commercial purposes, without adequate safeguard for the public interest.

We recommend increased conservation of our natural resources. We believe those natural resources owned and developed by the Federal Government should be retained for the benefit of all our citizens.

The WILPF believes the Federal Government should provide sufficient aid to public education to meet the needs of a rapidly increasing school population and to improve the present low rate of teachers' salaries throughout most of the educational system.

V. LABOR

The WILPF believes that a vigorous and democratic labor movement is the best safeguard for the rights of workers, and contributes to the best interests of a sound economy. We deplore anti-labor legislation such as the so-called "right-to-work" laws. We commend the efforts to strengthen democratic practices within the trade union movement and support the forthright action of labor leaders to this end. We recognize that strikes are often labor's only effective means to obtain redress of legitimate grievances. We believe that negotiation of disputes between labor and management should be based on mutual respect, and both should maintain a strong sense of responsibility to the community.

The WILPF believes that the special conditions of migratory workers call for protective measures in their behalf, and we would support adequate legislation to that end.

VI. ABOLITION OF DISCRIMINATION

The WILPF urges effective action to eliminate from all phases of our national life discrimination based on race, sex, religion, politics, economic status or national origin. We stand for the removal of all barriers to free and equal opportunity for education, employment, housing, recreational facilities, and equal pay for equal work. Segregation is wrong; it must be abolished.

Adhering to the same principles of non-discrimination, we assert that the law should protect the rights of Indians, resident aliens, and all citizens, whether native-born or naturalized.

We believe a sound immigration law should permit the orderly migration of people, limited only by the ability of this country to provide for their social and economic welfare.

VII. FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION AND TRAVEL

The WILPF believes that facilities of motion pictures, press, radio and television must be available for the full information and free expression and discussion upon which democratic policy depends. We believe the government should not withhold from its citizens information important to the intelligent formation of public policy.

We condemn the censorship which interferes with free exchange of opinion and full access to reliable information. We deplore the efforts of groups within governments and communities to limit release of material contrary to their own opinions.

Freedom to travel outside the United States should be an inherent right, not a privilege, of all citizens. The requirement of loyalty oaths in passport applications, denial of passports to individuals because of opinion or affiliation, as well as curtailment of travel to certain areas, constitute a threat to the freedom and rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

The interests of democracy can be served best by the free flow of information, a broad program of cultural exchange and the guarantee of freedom of entry and unrestricted travel for visitors to the United States.

19 December, 1958

Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted
National Administrative Secretary
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
2006 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Dear Mrs. Olmsted:

Thank you for your letter of the 16th introducing us to your Mrs. Barbara Hornum. I look forward to meeting her and talking with her about working in the South. This is virgin territory and there is much to be done if we are not to lose peace and freedom at home even while we seek to establish it abroad.

I am glad that the AFSC invited you to participate in the Inter-agency Conference on January 13-14; I am sure the group will also welcome Mrs. Hornum. I am puzzled about the conference you mention for January 10; I know of none that is scheduled for that date. The January 13-14 is the one at which staff people working in the South participate.

With the best of seasons wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:a

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

JANE ADDAMS HOUSE
RITTENHOUSE 6-7110

2006 WALNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

December 16, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Routh:

I remember with pleasure the interesting discussions I had in your office early last spring. Out of that came the suggestion for having the Women's International League put on a regional conference in Atlanta. You offered if we would do so to help us with names of liberals all over the South who might and should be invited to attend. In fact you scolded me in a very courteous but none the less effective way for not doing more work in the South on the ground that most of our workers are northerners and therefore unacceptable.

Well, I took that scolding very much to heart and so I am sending our very attractive young field secretary to the South right after the first of the year! She is Mrs. Barbara Hornum and I am attaching a little background material for your own information.

We understand from the American Friends Service Committee that you are holding a conference of staff people working in the South in Atlanta January 10. Since Mrs. Hornum will be in Atlanta at that time, would you be willing to include her? I shall appreciate any help you can give her since her particular work right now is to build contacts quite quietly in different Southern states. I myself expect to be coming to Atlanta for your Conference on the 13th and 14th and can also arrange to stop in other places en route to or from Florida in case you have any suggestions as to spots in the South where this would be worth while.

I shall appreciate any help you can give us and also your including Mrs. Hornum in your Conference.

Sincerely,

Mildred Scott Olmsted

Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted
National Administrative Secretary

MSO/fb

BARBARA HORNUM

Field Worker U. S. Section,
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

* * *

Born in Brooklyn, N. Y., educated in public schools, graduated with Honors in Sociology and Anthropology from Bryn Mawr College in 1956. While in college she was active in the College Theater group and served for a year as Publicity Chairman. She also worked with The College Conference on Human Relations sponsored by the Greenfield Center, a Human Relations Center connected with the University of Pennsylvania. This Conference dealt with the problems of students both on the campus and in the surrounding community. During the summers she worked at business jobs, office and sales.

Upon graduation from Bryn Mawr, she worked for a time in the Bryn Mawr College Bookshop. In February 1957 she began volunteer work at Fellowship House in Philadelphia, working both in the office and on the special elementary school program. Fellowship House is a community house, in the sense of the wider Philadelphia community. It attempts to promote better relations, at all age levels, between the varied racial and religious groups in Philadelphia, among whom there are frequently conflict areas. Her association with the House has continued to date and at present she is serving as advisor to the new College Age group.

During the summer of 1957 she traveled to Europe under the auspices of the Lisle Fellowship, Inc., to co-direct one of their Seminars in Human Relations. This particular unit studied the communities and social institutions in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Lisle Fellowship is youth work in an unusual sense for the participants' ages may span three generations.

The Fall of 1957 was spent in New York, where she worked as an assistant to the Office Supervisor in a large insurance company. In January 1958 Mrs. Hornum and her husband returned to Philadelphia where she taught the second grade in the public schools. Her husband, Finn, is a Dane, who is a pacifist, and active in American Friends Service Committee work. He is at present teaching at Friends Central School, in Overbrook, Penna.

9/58

ATLANTA BRANCH, WILPF
749 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
February 19, 1959

Dear Friend:

The sun of truth does melt the ice of hatred, pride, special privilege and fear, wherever women like you live and work.

Therefore, you are invited to a Regional Conference, March 13 and 14, to strengthen your own work. And ours. Branches of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom -- in Durham, Chapel Hill, Atlanta, Montgomery, and Florida -- have asked our National WILPF leaders to hold this Conference in Atlanta. You will see that the enclosed program centers on the school crisis, and on effective political and legislative work for peace and civil rights. Our brilliant and charming legislative secretary in Washington, D. C., Annalee Stewart, is an ordained Methodist minister who lobbies year-round for peace. Miss Bertha McNeill of Howard University, a noted educator, will bring us the latest facts on integration in schools in our national capital. Mildred Scott Olmsted, a national peace leader for over thirty years, will bring latest news of the widening peace movement and practical advice on how to make our work more effective.

Equally inspiring, we all feel, will be our own interchanges as we meet in panels and discussion groups to compare and discuss advances, setbacks, problems, and the outlook for our widely differing Southern communities. There will be the contagion of courage, the power of new knowledge and of old and new friendships. This Regional meeting is by invitation only: for women who live their love and work with faith in the democratic process.

Therefore, we of the Southern WILPF Branches are literal when we tell you: you are needed. Come! We have reduced expenses to the minimum: 3 meals and room in the Atlanta University Dormitory, 50 Chestnut Street, Atlanta, for $5 per day. For those to whom even that item is an unanticipated strain, we have a limited number of members who can offer a bed and meals. For those not staying in the Dormitory, the cost for lunch on Saturday will be $1. Registration fee for local participants will be $2. Please fill in the form below. Even if, for reasons other than budget problems (which we trust you not to allow to prevent your coming), you cannot come, do please send us news of the work in your region, and your greeting and advices for the great good work for peace and equality.

Cordially and faithfully,

(Mrs.) Josephine D. Murphy

(Mrs.) Josephine D. Murphy
President, Atlanta Branch WILPF

To Assure A Successful Conference, RSVP by March 7

Name: Date:

Address:

Time of Arrival in Atlanta: Departure:

( ) Please Arrange hospitality for me in Atlanta University Dormitory.

( ) Please arrange hospitality for me in a member's home.

( ) I cannot come because _____.

Message and Comments:

Return this form before March 7 to: Mrs. Josephine D. Murphy,
Atlanta University, Atlanta 14, Georgia.

S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O N F E R E N C E

of the

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

March 13 and 14, 1959 A t l a n t a , Georgia.

" B U I L D I N G B R I D G E S "

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Friday, March 13, 1959

6:00 P.M. Dinner, Bumstead Hall, 50 Chestnut Street, Atlanta University

7:00 CONFERENCE CONVENED - Mrs. Josephine D. Murphy, presiding

"Building Bridges by Non-Violent Means " -
Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted, National Administrative Secretary,
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. Section

8:15 Reports of W.I.L.P.F. BRIDGE BUILDING

1. "Art for World Friendship" - Mrs. Charlotte Adams, Chapel Hill-Durham Branch, WILPF
2. "Peaceful Attitudes in Children" -Miss Bertha McNeill, Vice President, U.S.Section, W.I.L.P.F., Washington, D.C.
3. "Our International Student Receptions"-Mrs. Katherine Hocking Atlanta Branch, Hospitality Chairman
4. "Voice of Man" - Mr. Edwin Randall, Friendly World Broadcasting

9:30 Refreshments and fellowship

Saturday, March 14, 1959

9:00 A.M. Consultation Period - Mrs. Annalee Stewart, National Legislative Secretary,
Mrs. Olmsted, Mr. Randall.

9:30 CONFERENCE CONVENED - Mrs. A.S. West, Sr., Montgomery, Alabama will keynote this session and preside

9:45 LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP - Mrs. Annalee Stewart

1. Demonstration : work of local legislative committees
2. The Washington Scene

12:15 P.M. ADJOURNMENT

12:30 L u n c h e o n - Bumstead Hall, Atlanta University

1:30 Consultation Period- Mrs. Stewart, Mrs. Olmsted, and Mr. Randall available to help individuals and groups.

-more-

Saturday, March 14, 1959 (continued)

2:00 P.M. CONFERENCE CONVENED - Mrs. Adams presiding
"The WILPF and the Southern School Crisis" - Mrs.Olmsted

2:30 "Youth Talks About The Schools" - Panel Discussion by students

3:00 "What Has Been Happening In Integrating Schools?" - Panel:
Miss Bertha McNeill, Washington, D.C.

An Atlanta Leader in the movement to save the schools

3:45 Work Group: "What Has Been Happening?" "What Is Being Done?"
"What Can Be Done"?

4:30 Summary of Workgroup Sessions

4:45 "Looking Ahead With the WILPF " - Miss Bertha McNeill

5:00 ADJOURNMENT

Saturday Evening there will be fellowship and refreshments for those who plan to remain, lead by
Our Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays.

Note: Luncheon, Saturday, March 14: $ 1.00 - Atlanta Residents please make reservations in advance with Mrs. Manley.

HOSTESS BRANCH: ATLANTA:

Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays, Honorary Chairman,
Mrs. Gay Houston, Vice-President
Mrs. Norman Bates, Membership
Mrs. Josephine Dr. Murphy, President
Mrs. Dorothy Manley, Treasurer
Mrs. Barbara Baskerville, Secretary

****

"PEACE IS THE PRESENCE OF JUSTICE"
****

Meetings will be held in the Chemistry Building, Morehouse College.

631 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Feb. 22, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On behalf of the Women"s International League for Peace and Freedom, I wish to thank you for agreeing to participate as a resource person on the panel concerning Desegregation of Public Schools which will take place on Saturday, March 18th, at 10:30 a.m. in the Chemistry Building Amphitheatre of Morehouse College.

A complete program of the conference will be mailed to you later and we will be happy to have you attend all the meetings or as many as you have time for.

Cordially yours,
Margaret B. Sewell
(Mrs. Frank A. Sewell)

CALL TO
SECOND SOUTHERN
REGIONAL CONFERENCE
of the
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR
PEACE AND FREEDOM

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1961

CIVIL
RIGHTS
IN THE
SOUTH
1961

March 17 and 18, 1961

All Conference Sessions:
Chemistry Building Amphitheatre
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Sponsored by Atlanta Branch, WILPF

Registration fee	$ 2.00
Dinner, Friday, March 17, 6 PM	1.50
Luncheon, Saturday, March 18, 12:30	1.00

Meals served at Morgan Hall Dining Room
Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia

All sessions at Chemistry Building Amphitheatre
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Make checks payable to (Mrs.) Josephine Murphy

All Atlanta residents, please make reservations in advance with Mrs. Gertrude Anderson

Limited dormitory space available at $1.50/night.

CALLING ALL MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF WILPF

THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH

To Participate In A Conference To Help Us
Meet The Challenge: HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL!!!

March 17 - Friday Evening: Speaker:

Miss Ella Baker, National Consultant for YWCA
"Civil Rights in the South"

March 18 - Saturday Morning: Panel Workshops

Desegregation of the Schools
Desegregation of Public Facilities
Work and Building of WILPF in the South
Legislative Program of WILPF - Civil Rights and Peace.

Many outstanding Human Rights leaders have been invited to participate in the Panel Workshops:

Miss Dorothy Cotton - Southern Christian Leadership Council
Mr. Harold Fleming - Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Mildred S. Olmsted - National Administrative Sec'y, WILPF
Mrs. Frances Pauley - Georgia Council on Human Relations
Dr. Orlie Pell - National President, WILPF
Mr. Paul Reeling - Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Mabel Murphy Smythe - Principal, New Lincoln School
Mrs. Annalee Stewart - Nat'l Legislative Secretary, WILPF
Mrs. Bess Walcott - Tuskegee Inst. and Nat'l Board, WILPF
Mrs. Mayme E. Williams - Past President, Nat'l Parent Teacher Organizations, Vice Chair. Miami WILPF

March 18 - Saturday Afternoon: Plenary Session

TO ASSURE A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE: RSVP BY MARCH 12, 1961
(over for registration form)

W I L P F

REGISTRATION FOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

(please send in by March 12, 1961)

Date.....

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

TIME OF ARRIVAL IN ATLANTA ..... VIA .....

DEPARTURE .....

( ) Please arrange Dormitory hospitality for me.
( ) Please arrange hospitality for me in member's home.
( ) Please make dinner reservation.
( ) Please make luncheon reservation.
( ) I cannot come because .....

Mail this form with $2 registration fee to
Mrs. Josephine D. Murphy, Atlanta University
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Incomplete program as of February 20, 1961

SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

of the

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

March 17 and 18, 1961 Atlanta, Georgia

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

1961

Friday, March 17, 1961

6:00 PM Dinner, Morgan Hall Dining Room, Spelman College, Atlanta

7:30 PM CONFERENCE CONVENED - Chemistry Building Amphitheatre, Morehouse College
Mrs. Josephine D. Murphy, President Atlanta Branch, WILPF, presiding.

Speaker - Miss Ella Baker, National Consultant for YWCA,
"Civil Rights In The South."

Refereshments and fellowship will follow the evening session.

Saturday, March 18, 1961

9:00 AM Morning Session - Mrs. Margaret Sewall, presiding.

Worship - Mrs. Gertrude Anderson

9;15 AM Mrs. Mabel Murphy Smythe, Principal, New Lincoln School, New York City,
"Psychological Preparation for School Integration."

Mrs. Annalee Stewart, National Legislative Secretary, WIIPF,
"Legislative Program WILPF - Civil Rights and Peace."

10:30 AM Break - rest period.

10:40 AM Panel Workshops:

1. Desegregation of Schools - Mrs. Frances Pauley, Georgia Human Relations Council presiding.
resource leaders: Dorothy Cotton, Administrative Secretary, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Mr. Harold Fleming, Director, Southern Regional Council

2. Desegregation of Public Utilities - Mr. Paul Reeling, Field Secretary, Southern Regional Council, presiding.
resource leaders: six student representatives, Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, Council for Human Rights

3. Work and Building of WILPF in the South - Mrs. Bess Walcott, National Board, WILPF, presiding
resource leaders: Mrs. Virginia Durr, Montgomery Branch, WILPF
Mrs. Mildred Olmsted, National Administrative Secretary
Mrs. Estelle Wyckoff, Civil Rights Chairman, Atlanta Branch, WILPF

- over -

(Panel Workshops, continued)

4. Legislative Program WILPF: Civil Rights and Peace - Mrs. Eleanor Richardson, President Dekalb County, League of Women Voters, presiding.

resource leaders: Mrs. Isobel Cerney, Program Chairman, Atlanta Branch, WILPF.
Mrs. Annalee Stewart, National Legislative Secretary, WILPF

12:30 PM Lunch, Morgan Hall Dining Room, Spelman College

1:30 PM Plenary Session - Chemistry Building Amphitheatre, Morehouse College.

Mrs. Mayme E. Williams, Past President, National Parent Teacher Organization, Vice-President Miami Branch, WILPF, invited to preside.

Reports and discussion from all Panel Sessions - discussion leader Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted, National Administrative Secretary, WILPF

3:00 PM Dr. Orlie Pell, National President, WILPF

Mrs. Josephine Murphy, President, Atlanta Branch, WILPF, closing words.

HCF File, if any

Annalee Stewart
Legislative Secretary
Women's International League for Peace & Freedom
Washington, D.C.

Will come by office this afternoon for a few minutes. Is subscriber to New South. Heard talk made by you or someone from SRC last year at Amer. Civil Liberties Union

1.35 pm
12/1/47
RHA

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORchard 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

September 11, 1954

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Our mutual friends, Frank Loescher and Oscar Lee, have both suggested that we get in touch with you in regard to the project briefly outlined below. We have been unofficially told that there is a strong possibility of some funds being allocated by a national foundation to a responsible Southern organization which might ask for the services of our Workshop for Cultural Democracy.

Our work is based on twenty years' experience initiating and carrying through school and community projects aimed at the development of more sympathetic intergroup understandings in order to help build a more healthy community life. Several reports of these projects are available, the latest being NEIGHBORS IN ACTION, by our Director, Rachel Davis Du Bois, published by Harpers in 1950. This is a report of how a tension area became a friendly neighborhood by the use of our methods, notably group conversation.

More recently we have been training leaders on the national level in our group methods. A few of the organizations which have sought our services for training leaders are the United States State Department in its educational work in Western Germany; the East European Fund in its Chicago Branch; the Colgate Rochester Divinity School; the Community Relations Committee of Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Race and Cultural Division of the National Council of Churches; and the Center for Improving Group Procedures of Teachers College, Columbia.

Based on these rich experiences we are now offering the services of our professional staff for the training of leaders on the national level in order to spread the use of our methods. Leading sociological experts like Dr. Gordon Allport have said of our work: "Probably no more efficient method has been devised for bringing about good initial group sympathy and rapport."

We would like very much to have the opportunity to discuss with you the possibility of the Southern Regional Council requesting our services to train a picked group of leaders for community programs, as a supplement to the excellent

work your organization is doing in the school desegregation movement.

We are enclosing a copy of an article planned for publication in "Adult Leadership", which suggests some applications to problems similar to your own.

Will you be coming to New York soon on other business, so that we might have a thorough conference with you here? If not, would it be feasible to meet some of us at a "half-way" point, say in Richmond? Because time is so important both for you and for us, is it possible to have this meeting within a month?

You may be interested to know that we have recently been asked to consider coming to two communities in Florida to train leaders - the Y W C A in Tampa and the Human Relations Council in St. Petersburg. No decision has been reached as yet on these projects.

We shall appreciate very much hearing from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth M. Gould

Kenneth Gould
Co-Chairman

KG/fp

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORchard 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

Sept 14, '54

Dear Mr Mitchell,

Dr Gould's secretary, in a letter mailed you yesterday, failed to enclose the list of our Board which you will no doubt want to see as you consider his suggestion. I also enclose copy of the article which describes our work.

Cordially,

Rachel Davis DuBois
Director.

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

THE WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
1954 - 1955

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Dr Rachel Davis DuBois,director Workshop for Cultural Democracy
Mrs. Mew-soong Li,Executive Secretary

204 East 18th Street New York City3 N Y

Return to Rachel Davis DuBois
204 E 18th St
N.Y. C 3

A CONVERSATION ABOUT GROUP CONVERSATION

Recently two educational leaders, A and B, both interested in the field of intergroup relations, found themselves talking about the need for another book in the field. A is attached to a publishing house and B to an organization working with people on the community level. A suddenly bursts forth with some feeling:

A. Why another book? It's not more facts about the subject which we need; we already have innumerable books giving facts on the subject. Twenty five years of intensive work in trying to foster better race relations and look what we still have -- every suburb in the country a potential Cicero. Of course, I am proud of and thankful for our recent Supreme Court decision against school segregation, but the real struggle has just begun: the one to win men's hearts so they will want to live in the same neighborhood with Negro Americans and send their children to the same schools. Giving prejudiced people more facts about the subject will not change their hearts.

B. Yes, you're right. We all know that people do not act according to what they know, but according to how they feel about what they know. But we intellectals are so afraid of doing anything about our emotions, except hiding them, that we haven't worked out effective ways to win men's hearts. We've only tried to reach their minds by giving facts with various methods. Role playing comes closer to meeting the need. It gives people a chance to put themselves in the other person's shoes and thus to know better how to reach him -- but with facts or argument. Of course, the theater has been used to help achieve social goals by reaching the emotions, all the way from the mediaeval morality play to the long lamented W.P.A. theater. Now the American Theater Wing does a good job at helping to develop a social conscience by its well written and acted short plays on various social pro-

problems followed by audience discussion. However, the professional actors are only available to local groups in a radius of 50 miles from New York City. For non-professional groups in other parts of the country it takes several weeks of preparation for anything like the same results, and too few groups have the luxury of such leisure. To use the theatre arts for social goals is excellent. We need in addition, a method which is more easily available to local leaders, yet effectively reaches the hearts of people.

A. You sound as if you are leading up to something. What is it?

B. Yes, I am leading up to a way of reaching people's emotions and it is simple and easy enough to be quickly spread. It is called Group Conversation, and I believe it is a real social invention. It is different from group discussion, but should be related to it -- used with it, I mean. Take, for instance, that community council in a Chicago area last year. They had Group Conversation the first hour of their first meeting, then broke up for coffee and in a few minutes sat down for a discussion of their common community problems. The leaders felt they accomplished more in that last hour than if they had spent two hours looking for each other's "hidden agendas."

A. You mean they didn't trust each other at the start?

B. It was not so much distrust as it was strangeness. City people are such strangers to one another, you know. I have found that Group Conversation can take away that strangeness in less than an hour sometimes. Then people can more quickly move into group discussion and after that into group decision and even action, if necessary. Jokes and stories from a chairman may be all right for catching the attention of an audience, but they are not enough to produce the confidence necessary to carry a group through the discussion of a controversial subject. I've also found it isn't enough to get a group around a conference table and have each member give his name and why he came. We know today about the

unseen forces which can tie our tongues, or make us dislike or distrust, for no obvious reason, a person we've just met. This common occurence has been sought in those lines

"I do not like you, Dr. Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell.

The method of Group Conversation builds bridges between individuals in a group faster than any social engineering I've seen. A woman from England who had recently participated along with a Hindu woman said the next day, "I've never before been able to feel close to an Indian woman. I know it's partly my own English guilt feelings. But after that meeting she (an Indian participant) and I really had a fine, understanding talk." After the same session a white woman used almost the same words to describe her inability to "reach" a Negro woman who had been working with her on the same Community Council.

A. What is this powerful magic? What was talked about in these Group Conversation sessions?

B. You'll never guess! We swapped stories about our childhood — memories about our grandparents, and the things our families did together when we were ten or twelve.

A. Mercy! How can such a sunject hold the attention of sophisticated adult intellectuals for an hour?

B. You'd be surprised; they did not want to stop. Besides building these below-the-verbal-level bridges between people, so that social psychological blocks are removed, it can be very entertaining. There is a lot of gold in "them ther hills" I should say depths of memories. Let me tell you of one specific example:

It was in a Chicago suburb where whites were passing ordinances to keep Negroes from moving in. A certain pastor became concerned, especially since he had as a member of his church one of the men who was voting ~~voting~~ for the anti-Negro ordinances. The pastor invited this man as one of twenty-five community leaders to his home one evening. Among the twenty-five were four Negro leaders

who had moved into the area before the ordinances were passed. Group Conversation was used by the hostess the first hour, as she said, "to help us get acquainted." A coffee break was to follow, then there was to be discussion about the current vital subject. In starting the Group Conversation the leader casually said, "Let's play a little game of matching our memories around a topic I'll throw out -- say, around our early experiences of work -- the first work we did for which we got any pay. But first, where were we when we were ten or twelve? (Incidently that's a very important question -- first it takes the participants back and they begin, only in their minds, of course, a kind of role playing of themselves at that age. Secondly, it's important for the leader. His pump-priming questions can hit home easier if he knows to what culture group the participants belong, be they racial, religious, national, or just U.S.A. regional groups. Well, that night we were all Americans from different parts of the country and from this particular suburb of Chicago. One tall, good-looking, serious-faced Negro man had grown up in south Chicago. The others were soon swapping memories. (The Group Conversation leader is trained to use only a minimum of pre-planning, for spontaneity is most important. Spontaneity and acceptance. No leader should try to use this method who does not really accept people in the deep meaning of this word. Which is to say the leader accepts people as individuals in their own right, regardless of who or what they are. It is even more than being warm hearted. But there are always in every community folks who are like that and because of it make others feel at ease. These people can be easily trained. Some who have had group leadership training and experience can learn the method from the manual which is available).

But to return to our report of the Chicago group's matching memories of work. Several men told of their routes; two had dropped corn on farms. recalling the bit of folklore about the number of seeds in a hill, --"One for the blackbird, one for the crow, one for cutworms, and three to grow." They were delightfully surprised not only that they remembered it, but that it was the same in Kansas

as in New Jersey. Two of the women couldn't remember doing any real work as children. It was not necessary in their comfortable homes.

The man from South Chicago still had not spoken. "What about work in South Chicago when you were ten?" he was quietly asked. Emotion mounted in that moment before he spoke. He spoke with feeling but, thank goodness, not with bitterness. "I sold papers too, but I had to sell every copy before I could return at night. So I early knew what went on in saloons at midnight. My father was injured at work and for ten of my growing-up years we had only had his compensation money and what mother and we children could earn."

"Can you tell us of a particular job when you tried to earn money for a particular thing you needed?"

"There were many, but I recall the apples I sold in order to buy shoes. Sneakers can get pretty cold on the city streets in the winter time, you know." We didn't know really. Not the way he did. But we were all feeling it now along with him.

"And then the suit I needed to graduate in from high school. White pants and blue coat! I had to go in debt for that, but paid it all the following summer with the money from an ice wagon job."

"How did you happen to come to this community?" he was asked.

"My sister at first worked here, and then she moved here. I couldn't, at first understand how she could stand it, not being near all the places and people we were used to. And then when I came out of the Army and the hospital I stayed with her some weeks. It was then for the first time in my life I knew what being with trees and flowers and grass and the wide open sky can do for people. So I want no child of mine to grow up where I did."

We were all silent now, in that pastor's living room, as we thought of the many children still in the South Chicagos of all our big cities selling papers in saloons; running the streets at night. Such silence is valuable for a group for

Gordon Allport says "the most important things go on below the verbal level." However, we need to know how best to move in a group, from one mood to another. In our Chicago group, it was time for the coffee break and the hostess, who was co-leading, said something to the effect that hearing our friend tell of his childhood had made us more conscious of what city children miss by not being in the country and that perhaps we could catch that feeling as a group by singing "Home on the Range" that song of the wide open spaces.

During the coffee hour the man from the Village Board pulled his chair up close to the man from South Chicago. Were they still swapping stories of when they were ten, or talking about how to make it easier for Negro families to move into that community?

The group discussion which followed the coffee break, now led by the pastor was to the point. Some next step decisions were made and there was little dissension.

A. You have convinced me of the value of what you call Group Conversation but I'd like to know in what other settings it can be used and since you say anyone can lead who accepts people, how can one develop skill in its use? What training is available and where? How widely used is the method?

B. It is impossible to say just how widely it is being used for articles and books reporting on its use have been in circulation for some ten or twelve years. The method was created in 1940 and 41 by a small group of people; one, a dancer, Dvora Lapson; another a ballad singer, Wallace House; and a social psychologist, Rachel Davis DuBois.

I need not take the time here to tell how the combined arts and skills of these three people went into the development of Group Conversation. Rachel DuBois and the staff of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy of which she is director have carried it further and applied it to many social situations. At first it was used to

to bring together people of various religious, cultural, and racial backgrounds. Now it is also being used in more homogeneous groups to help adults understand themselves. Most of us who work in the field of intergroup relations are seeing that unless we can accept ourselves we cannot accept others. Different topics are used for these two goals. Our experiences around the change in the seasons, for instance, will show the similarities underlying various religious and nationality festivals, such as the American Thanksgiving, the Jewish Sucoth, and the harvest festivals of many groups. The same is true of the winter, summer and spring festivals and our country is still culturally diverse enough that the recalling of such memories in an atmosphere of fun and social recognition produces a warm feeling, a mutual acceptance.

The method helps to cut across age levels, different kinds of class and social barriers. It often happens in a Group Conversation that three generations, sometimes in one family, enjoy each other, along with the local bank president, the town cobbler, the newest DP family, the Episcopalian minister, a D.A.R.

Group Conversation has been successfully used in community centers, churches, synagogues, hospitals, women's clubs, labor union halls and especially in schools. The report of how the parents in a PTA used the method in various ways over a period of four years to change a tension area into a neighborhood has been published by Harpers (Neighbors in Action, Rachel D. DuBois, 1950). This book was sent by the U.S. State Department to its various Information Centers in West Germany. As a result, German group leaders asked to have Dr. DuBois sent over to train them in the use of Group Conversation. That happened in 1951 and 52, and since then the method has been in use at Haus Schwalbach, one of Germany's new adult education centers.

In this country church leaders are beginning to see its value as one group method among others to help achieve their goals of developing friendliness and acceptance both within the church neighborhood and church family. Youth group leaders are seeing its effectiveness in helping them interpret their programs to parents and lay leaders, as well as in helping them to better determine the emotional and social needs of the youngsters, they serve. Conference leaders of various organizations find that when used as

the first step in the total process of integrating the group, that is, when Group Conversation is taken as an initial step to develop rapport , then the other steps, group discussion, group decision, and group action can be taken more easily and with greater effectiveness.

Of course, Group Conversation is only one of many group methods. It should be added to the growing number of ways to help collections of people develop into real groups and to help such groups perceive more clearly and achieve more quickly their goals.

There is one more point which might be brought up here. The Workshop for Cultural Democracy sees in Group Conversation an outward expression of the underlying philosophy of cultural democracy. It decries the growing pressures toward uniformity --that all of us should think, act, and be alike. Group Conversation shows by very objective lessons that undergirding our cultural and individual differences is a basic core of similarity and when seen as a means toward mutual growth and enrichment our differences are valuable. The term cultural democracy focuses attention on the dynamics of interaction and suggests that our developing common American life will be the richer as we are all encouraged to share the best of our traditions, customs, and folkways. Group Conversation can help us do this in face-to-face groups all over the country.

Thus the Workshop stands for a "creative approach to the understanding and enjoyment of Americans cultural diversity in order to build among the people a more harmonious community life." It tries to stimulate thinking toward this end and shares its findings and methods through workshops for lay and professional leaders.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. KENNETH GOULD
WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY
204 EAST 18TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

REURTEL. SHALL HOPE BREAKFAST ARRANGEMENT OCTOBER 19 OKAY BUT

YOU LET ME KNOW IF THAT NOT SUITABLE.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGEA

We try to see to it that every message has its reply in the *shortest possible* time.

YOUR COOPERATION by sending your answer promptly will be very helpful.

4383

WESTERN UNION

(48)..

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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GEORGE MITCHELL=

SOUTHER REGIONAL COUNCIL ATLA=

UNDERSTAND YOU WILL PARTICIPATE IN HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM HERE WOULD LIKE OPPORTUNITY TO CONVER WITH YOU THEN RE OUR SEPTEMBER 11TH CORRESPONDENCE PLEASE WIRE COLLECT WHETHER POSSIBLE TO MEET TO YOUR CONVENIENCE=

KENNETH GOULD WORK SHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

204 EAST 18 ST NEW YORK CITY=

RECEIVED 9/29/74 Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

September 27, 1954

Dictated September 22

Mr. Kenneth Gould
Workshop for Cultural Democracy
204 East Eighteenth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Gould:

I am much interested in what you do and need to learn more about it. And I daresay there are a good many ways we can work together.

I got asked to be on the Herald-Tribune Forum the evening of Monday, October 18, and that provides me with a trip to New York.

I promised to try and go see Max Hahn in the cream of the afternoon of the 18th. That would leave some spill-over time in the late afternoon for the two of us to be together. I could undertake to be at your office by 5:00 October 18, but I realize that is late, and it may hold you up in getting off to Outer Suburbia, or wherever you live.

I offer a queer alternative. How about breakfast with me at the Hotel New Yorker 8:00 a.m., Tuesday, October 19? Method of contact -- you to arrive at one minute before eight o'clock and call my room.

Take your pick and we can do some talking.

Alternative device still. I am going to be in Salisbury, North Carolina, to make a speech to the Women's Club at the Elks Club at 7:00 p.m. for a Mrs. Berkshire. I will get there October 12, way before 7:00 p.m., and I will spend the night there at an address as yet unknown. If you should happen down that way, then we can do considerable talking.

Thank Miss DuBois for the list of your Board members, some of whom, of course, I know.

If none of these arrangements are workable, tell me what scrap of time you could find on the 19th, and I will try to squeeze something into my tight schedule to fit yours.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 1, 1954

Mr. Kenneth M. Gould
Scholastic Magazines
33 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Gould:

I quite forgot about the other end of a suburban ride. I, myself, flit about quite a lot at 3:00 or 4:00 a.x., but I approve of a man who doesn't like to do it.

The afternoon of Monday, the 18th, I have to see a man at 4:00 p.m., but it is in your general neighborhood and I think I can be at your office by 5:00 or a few minutes thereafter.

No need to phone the New Yorker Hotel, I will show up at your office at or a little after 5:00 on the 18th. Sure, let's have dinner together!

I am tied up tight on Tuesday, but Wednesday may not be quite as bad. Nice if Dr. DuBois would be around Monday afternoon late, or if that doesn't suit her schedule, I will try to get to see her on Wednesday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Scholastic Magazines

33 WEST 42ND STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

September 30
1954

RECEIVED
Oct. 1, 54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter, which of course crossed our telegram in transit, and also for your following telegram. Now if we just sit tight for a day or two, we'll probably get this straightened out. I know we didn't give you time enough to reply the first time.

I happen to be in close touch with the Herald Tribune Forum through its director, Mrs. Helen Waller. She had informed me that you were to be one of her speakers on their Segregation program Monday the 18th, since I was especially interested in this.

Now we are most eager to see you and have a good talk while you are here. It seems a heaven-sent opportunity. You guessed rightly that I am a commuter, and getting up in time to make an 8 o'clock breakfast date at a New York hotel is against my principles. (I would do it if there were no other solution, but I should have to fight my way over my wife's corpse.)

However, I see nothing wrong with the late afternoon of Monday, if it doesn't make you nervous to talk before your speech. In fact I had hoped to attend the Monday evening session to hear you and others on Segregation, so that I shall be staying in town for dinner anyway. I therefore suggest that we get together about 5 o'clock that afternoon the 18th, and continue our discussion, if agreeable to you, through dinner, and until we have to leave for the Forum. I understand that session is to b e held at Hunter College. Of course you may already have a dinner engagement, in which case we will talk as long as we can. But please be my guest if you are not otherwise arranged for.

If you can come to my office at 5 P.M., I'd appreciate it, but I can go anywhere else you say. Scholastic offices are on the second floor at 33 West 42d Street, facing Bryant Park and the Public Library. I will telephone you at the New Yorker in the morning, but if we miss on any of the arrangements, perhaps you will call me during the day. The number is OXford 5-1720.

You said nothing about your program on Tuesday, but I assume that it is crowded throughout the day. But we could, perhaps, if necessary squeeze something in that day. I hope to have Dr. DuBois meet you whenever I do. Looking forward to meeting you eagerly,

Cordially yours

Kenneth M. Gould

Kenneth M. Gould

incoming reprint from Freedom and Union "small talk with big results." to A.H.

November 8, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: Staff

FROM: GSM

Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois arrives by Eastern Air Lines today, Monday, at 4:46 p.m. Her assistant, Mew-soong Li arrives by train at 3:45 p.m. today also.

Object of early arrival -- ascertain the lie of the land.

HCF
GTH
KS
FR
AH
MET

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORchard 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

RECEIVED 11/6/57
Southern Regional Council

Nov 4 -

Dear Mr Mitchell, -

Supt. Corning of the Washington D C Schools has asked that I stop off Mon. a.m. to confer with him - so I plan to take the Eastern air line from D C 12.25 noon + arrive in Atlanta 4.46 P.M. Mon. Now I will go by train arriving in Atlanta 3.45 P.M. Perhaps we will

get a chance to talk
with you a short
while before we
begin to function
I mean just to get
the "lay of the land"
so to speak.

Cordially

Rachel Davis DuBois

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORchard 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

November 3, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
11/6/54
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This comes briefly to say that Mew-soong Li and I plan to take the Sunday evening train out of New York which is scheduled to put us in Atlanta at 3:45 Monday afternoon.

We do look forward to meeting your staff and board and hope sincerely that our conferring together will prove of some value to you in the very important work before you. We plan to be available for as much of the remainder of your conference as you feel necessary and valuable.

We want to say how grateful we are for the opportunity of sitting in and thinking with you and your staff.

Yours very sincerely,

Rachel Davis DuBois

Rachel Davis DuBois

November 1, 1954

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois
20 East Eighteenth Street
Workshop for Cultural Democracy
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have unscrambled the program for our meeting of state staff people, and can now be specific.

There will be no meeting of staff people on Monday, November 8. They will have a morning and afternoon and evening session on Tuesday November 9. You and Mrs. Li will first be getting dinner with the group at 6:00 p.m., at Atlanta University in the dining room of the Atlanta University Graduate Dormitory. And then the evening meeting of the group, which follows dinner and begins at 7:00 p.m. and lasts until 9:00 p.m., will have as its principal feature your suggestions on program techniques.

I suppose you will not wish to use more than forty-five minutes or an hour for showing your special techniques, and that the latter part of the evening would go to discussion of that device and of others, coming largely from those present.

We are arranging to have present at the evening meeting a couple from India, and a West African student.

The Board meeting, which comes up Wednesday, November 10, is so crowded that we found no opportunity to bring you and Mrs. Li in for that. And it has also been our staff decision that the daytime meetings, Tuesday, November 9, relate to such intimate organizational matters that it would be best if the group were composed of only SRC people.

So the thing for you and Mrs. Li to do is to arrange to come to Atlanta by any comfortable transportation you prefer that would put you here say on the afternoon of the 9th, enabling you to be present with the group from 6:00 p.m., on on the 9th, and let you go back at whatever hour may be comfortable on the 10th.

Rooms have been reserved for you and Mrs. Li at the Piedmont Hotel.

The Council will be responsible for reimbursement to you and Mrs. Li for the travel and actual expenses involved.

The Piedmont Hotel is in Downtown Atlanta. Well known to all cab drivers.

I am sure we are all going to learn a lot, and we are delighted that the two of you are willing to come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Mrs. Hamilton

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORCHARD 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

RECEIVED
12-1-54
Southern Regional Council

November 22, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia,

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mew-soong Li and I wish to thank you for our recent visit to Atlanta. It added much to our understanding of the South and it was most stimulating to meet and confer with your interesting staff and co-workers. We will be giving a report this week to our executive committee and they, too, will be interested.

I enclose our expense account. There were other expenses because we extended our stay over the one day, but we are, of course, absorbing them.

We trust that the "seeds" you spoke of will bear fruit. Both Mr. Calhoun and Mrs. Milner expressed a desire to confer with you. We will keep you in touch with any developments from this end.

Please convey our regards and appreciation to your staff, particularly Mrs. Hamilton. Our contacts through her efforts have been most rewarding. Our best wishes for the noble work before you all.

Yours cordially,

Rachel Davis DuBois

Rachel Davis DuBois

RDD: s
Encl-

$215.41
Bill taken to be
paid by KS-
12/1/54

RECEIVED FEB 27 1956

HCF

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

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RUTH R. WEISBURGER
HAROLD WINCHESTER

February 25th, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
62 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks so much for doing the review for The Pastor, and for sending us a copy. Thus the word spreads.

You will be interested to know that we have recently been doing more experimentation with our self knowledge topics for two goals (1) that of aiding the participant of group conversation to consciously or even unconsciously to accept themselves by this recall and matching of early experiences and (2) that of helping the leader to understand and accept his own negative as well as positive feelings so that he will be more sensitive to the feelings of others and thus become a better leader.

As you know the psychological researchers the last few years have come up with such findings that "the most prejudiced people are those who cannot accept themselves and that they project their sense of guilt and inadequacy onto others." Have you read the new book by Laurens Vanderpost Dark Eye in Africa in which he puts forth the idea that the white European is now putting his own non-acceptance on to the African Negro and the first step in getting to a solution of the race problem in Africa must be the white man's change in his attitude toward himself.

We in the North of course are holding in our hearts, minds and souls you leaders of the South during this critical period. There was a good report in the Sunday New York Times recently of your meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Montgomery. More power to you.

Cordially,

Rachel Davis DuBois

Rachel Davis DuBois

RDD/s

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

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HAROLD WINCHESTER

May 25, 1956

RECEIVED MAY 29 1956

card returned 5/31/56

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The officers and directors of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy invite you to join its newly organized National Advisory Council, of which Dr. Harry J. Carman has been asked to serve as Chairman.

Knowing that you are familiar, in general, with the methods and activities of the Workshop and sympathetic with its aims and philosophy, we hope that you will accept a place on the Council which was established under our recently revised By-Laws. Article V of the By-Laws, a copy of which we enclose, reads:

"The National Advisory Council shall consist of not less than twenty and not more than fifty persons. They shall be appointed by the Board of Directors to serve indefinitely and shall be chosen for their national reputation and influence in the field of the Workshop's interests. They shall not be expected to attend meetings, but shall be available for consultation."

As a member of the Council you will always be welcome to attend meetings of the Board of Directors. We shall keep you informed on our activities and new developments in our program.

The Nominating Committee wishes to present your name for election at the annual meeting of the Board to be held in June, and will appreciate your returning the enclosed card indicating your willingness to serve.

We include our latest folder descriptive of the program and plans of the Workshop, and are sending under separate cover, a copy of our recent manual on Group Conversation. If you wish, we shall be glad to send you further information on our work. Please feel free to visit the offices of the Workshop or consult with our Executive Director at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth M. Gould
Kenneth M. Gould, Chairman, Board of Directors

Martha Jaeger
Martha Jaeger, Chairman, Nominating Committee

Rachel Davis DuBois
Rachel Davis DuBois, Executive Director

The WORKSHOP *for* CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

THE WORKSHOP FOR

WHAT IT IS

An educational service organization in the field of human relations, designed to further, in cooperation with intercultural programs of national and local organizations, the understanding and enjoyment of America's rich cultural diversity and through this to foster a more harmonious community life.

WHAT IT DOES

For fifteen years it has developed techniques, materials, and the kinds of emotionally satisfying face-to-face experiences which help get at the roots of social prejudices. The WORKSHOP originated the social device known as *group conversation*. It has trained hundreds of professional and lay leaders and has conducted projects in numerous educational, social, and religious agencies.

WHAT IT AIMS TO DO

The future program of the WORKSHOP includes further research; closer cooperation with major academic institutions; leadership training directed toward school integration, family stability and community understanding.

THE WORKSHOP FO

GROUP CONVERSATION

Most significant among the techniques developed by the WORKSHOP is *group conversation.* Under the guidance of a skilled leader participants of a session share meaningful memories. Wit, humor, songs, and, often, remarks of deep significance come spontaneously, and a feeling of belonging together comes over the group. The resulting acceptance of self as well as of others has been found to be healthful and prepares a group to proceed on a work task with greater understanding.

"To me it was an exciting experience and I feel that I have had opened up for me something that will be of immense value to me in my work, and which I hope to share with others." (From a letter received from a YMCA leader after a week-end workshop).

THE WORKSHOP FOR C

204 EAST 18th STRE

R CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

SCHOOL & COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

The program of the WORKSHOP is rooted in years of experience on the community level assisting local leaders to arrange the kinds of social situations which help to produce confidence and trust. Participating organizations include schools, parent-teacher associations, church and synagogue groups, community centers, hospitals, worker education programs, parent and teen-age groups and teacher-training workshops.

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY, INC.
REET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

and an OUTLINE OF PR

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Many teachers and community leaders have been trained by the WORKSHOP staff in methods of intercultural education and group procedures. Recent emphasis has been on training trainers of leaders. Training workshops and longer courses are particularly addressed to professional personnel who train regional and local leadership. Recent participants have included national staff members of the YMCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the National Council of Churches and other group agencies.

ROGRAM ACTIVITIES.

PUBLICATIONS AND PROJECTS

In addition to serving organizations in leadership training, the WORKSHOP has engaged in intensive school-community projects. Among the many activities, those described in the following books are the most important:

Build Together Americans, by Rachel Davis DuBois, reports in full detail, a secondary school project using assembly periods in 15 schools as a core around which to integrate school activities.

Democracy's Children, by Ethel Duncan, carefully reviews the best of our experiences in intercultural education on the elementary school level.

Neighbors in Action, by Rachel Davis DuBois, outlines a project that helped to relieve tensions in a New York neighborhood. A public school and its PTA cooperated in a three-year inter-home visitation program out of which grew a new intergroup technique called the *parranda*.

Know Your Neighbors, by Rachel Davis DuBois and Mew-soong Li, is the Workshop's new manual for leaders. It is available at WORKSHOP headquarters, 204 East 18th Street, New York 3, N.Y., for $1.25.

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

WHAT PEOPLE SAY

You have here a procedure that penetrates below the verbal level. One session teaches more about the common ground of ethnic and religious groups than could many hours of lectures.

GORDON ALLPORT
Professor of Psychology, Harvard University

I consider *group conversation* a real social invention. It should be diffused through the country.

MARGARET MEAD
Author, *Male and Female*

We see *group conversation* as a valuable means for bringing people of diverse backgrounds and interests together in church groups.

OSCAR LEE
Executive Director,
Department of Race and Cultural Relations,
National Council of Churches

It gives a better understanding of our democracy by developing unity as well as respect for differences.

MIRIAM EPHRAIM
Program Director,
National Jewish Welfare Board

I know of no other method which so quickly and effectively turns strangers into friends.

HARRY OVERSTREET
Author, *The Mature Mind*

In my judgment Rachel DuBois has worked out the most significant approach to intercultural education of any person I know. Her techniques in this field have been thoroughly tested for years and evaluated by numerous expert individuals.

MABEL CARNEY
Professor Emeritus, Teachers College,
Columbia University

THE WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

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204 EAST 18TH STREET
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

Send for Mr Republic

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORchard 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

PRELIMINARY PLANS FOR POSSIBLE COOPERATIVE PROJECT IN GROUP RELATIONS

AIM: to help cushion impact of decision on desegregation

FOCUS: centered in Group Conversation method of Workshop for Cultural Democracy and focused on need for more integrated community

PARTICIPATION: in cooperation possibly with United Church Women (Department of Christian Social Relations) and Department of Race and Cultural Relations of National Council of Churches and Southern Regional Council

SUGGESTED PATTERN:

I. PILOT PROJECT in one or two areas carefully selected

(a) contacting, interviewing, conferencing with strategic people in church, school, community, et al, using United Church Women leaders as key contacts

(b) demonstration of group conversation before united leadership group followed by discussion on method to show its function and value in creative interaction and integration

(c) training workshops in use of the method

1. training in the technique will be focused on the backhome situation

2. church women to be used as key contacts to other community leaders; trainees to be screened for ability and temperament

3. area training workshops would aim for at least three trainees per local community or community situation, who will be followed into their respective communities and given aid in setting up and functioning in the specific situation. These trainees would assist in the training of others.

4. trainees should include personnel with state responsibility, financed for Southern Regional Council program by Fund for the Republic, who could be important professional resource especially in meeting new impasses and who could help strategicly to

discover and integrate other methods and patterns.

5. state church councils and similar resource groups should be used likewise, wherever possible

6. should include plans for progressive reporting and continuing evaluation involving indications of change in the community...day-to-day records, as much as possible, bringing group together to share evaluations from time to time.

7. if possible, should select to make accessible all academic resources available for best use of methods and materials for action research

II. OTHER AREA WORKSHOPS based on findings of Pilot Project

(a) patterns and set-ups would necessarily be planned according to particular needs, problems, resources, et cetera, of each area situation, but should generally include pertinent and optimum patterns developed out of pilot experience

(b) here again provision should be made for constant exchange among all areas

III PREPARATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALS FOR LEADERS

(a) these should be started and collected as much as possible in advance of pilot project and would include among other items, folk material and regional lore, for which, research should be begun immediately

IV CONSULTATION AND GUIDANCE

V. EVALUATION AND PREPARATION OF FULL REPORT

THE 1957

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

WORKSHOP IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

A flexible and variegated educational program for all persons interested in reducing discrimination and prejudice in our communities

---

JULY 15 TO AUGUST 2

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

Indiana University Workshop in Intergroup Relations -

Program

Monday, July 15. "Brotherhood—Fact or Fancy?" A panel discussion by members of the Anselm Forum of Gary

Lee R. Gilbert, Principal of Froebel School

Henry W. Jacobsen, President of Jacobsen's, Inc.

Fred H. Steininger, Director of the Lake County Department of Public Welfare

William R. Wilkinson, U.S. Probation and Parole Officer and President of the Anselm Forum

Benjamin F. Wilson, Attorney and City Councilman

Tuesday, July 16. "The Tolerant Personality"

by James G. Martin, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Northern Illinois State College

Wednesday, July 17. "The South Has a Rendezvous with Democracy"

by Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council

Thursday, July 18. "Anthropology and Human Relations"

by June Macklin, Instructor in Sociology, Connecticut College, and Consultant on the Workshop Staff

---

Monday, July 22. "Diagnostic Thinking about Social Relations in the Classroom"

by William Wattenberg, Professor of Educational Psychology, Wayne State University

Tuesday, July 23. "The Teaching of Controversial Material in Public Schools" A panel discussion by

James R. Trost, Valparaiso High School

Earl M. Utterback, Kokomo High School

Shirley Engle, Associate Professor of Education

Wednesday, July 24. "Human Relations—the Fourth R"

by Edward G. Olsen, Associate Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Chicago Region

Thursday, July 25. "Intergroup Relations Films"

with comments by members of the Workshop Staff

For information regarding the Workshop, please write or telephone Mr. Robe telephone 6811, Extension 530. All students planning to take the Worksh

– July 15 to August 2, 1957 – Bloomington, Indiana

Monday, July 29. "Minority Housing Problems in Indianapolis"
by Alexander M. Moore, Vice-Principal, Crispus Attucks High School, Indianapolis

Tuesday, July 30. "Drug Addiction as a Minority Group Phenomenon"
by Alfred E. Lindesmith, Professor of Sociology, Indiana University

Wednesday, July 31. "Religion in Public Education"
by Harold E. Hill, Assistant Professor, Indiana School of Religion, and Lecturer in Comparative Religion, Indiana University

Thursday, August 1. "Governmental Policies and Intergroup Relations"
by John P. Ward, Teaching Associate in Government, Indiana University, and Assistant Director of the Workshop

---

Time and Place

All the meetings will begin at 7:00 p.m. (Central Daylight Time). Those on July 17, 24, and 31 will be held in Social Science 100. All the others will be held in Jordan 124. All are open to the public without charge.

Academic Credit

Students may, if they wish, earn one credit for attending the programs and, if they also wish, one or two additional credits for doing related reading. The regular Summer Session fee of $8.00 per credit is charged.

A Cooperative Project

The Workshop is a cooperative project. The physical facilities and administration, and the travelling and living expenses of the speakers are provided by Indiana University. The time and effort and talent of the speakers are contributed by the speakers themselves and by their organizations.

---

rt G. Stephens, Welborn House, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana;
op for credit should do this.

The Workshop Staff

Director: Robert G. Stephens, Assistant Professor of Philosophy

Consultant: June Macklin, Instructor in Sociology, Connecticut College

Assistant Director and Consultant: John Ward, Teaching Associate in Government

The Workshop Committee

Heyman B. Allman, Professor of Education
Stanley E. Ballinger, Assistant Professor of Education
Howard T. Batchelder, Associate Dean of the School of Education
Shirley Engle, Associate Professor of Education
Harold E. Hill, Lecturer in Comparative Religion
John T. Liell, Assistant Professor of Sociology
Georg K. Neumann, Associate Professor of Anthropology
Karl F. Schuessler, Associate Professor of Sociology
Robert H. Shaffer, Dean of Students
Newton P. Stallknecht, Chairman, Department of Philosophy
Sheldon Stryker, Assistant Professor of Sociology
Fred Witney, Associate Professor of Economics

Advisers to the Workshop

The Committee and the Staff of the Workshop gratefully acknowledge the advice and help of many persons and organizations. Their names appear on a separate sheet.

Hotel Accommodations

Hotel rooms (*air-conditioned) with private baths will be available in the Union Building at the following rates:

Double—for two	$6.00	Twin—for two	$8.00
Single	$4.50	Suite from	$11.00*

Hotel rooms (all air-conditioned) with lavatories and detached baths will be available in the Campus Club at the following rates:

Single	$4.50	Suite—for one	$7.00
Double—for two	$5.50	Suite—for two	$9.00
Twin—for two	$7.50		

Requests for reservations should be sent to The Conference Bureau, Union Building, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Reservations will be held until 6:00 p.m. (Central Daylight Time) of the day of arrival. A deposit of one night's rental is required to hold reservations after 6:00 p.m.

The Committee and Staff of the Workshop in Intergroup Relations wish to thank the following persons who have given advice or have stood ready to give advice regarding the 1957 Workshop:

Dora Lee Allen, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Max Birnbaum, American Jewish Committee

Rev. Raymond T. Bosler, Indiana Catholic and Record

Albert D. Chernin, Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council

Robert G. Godsey, American Friends Service Committee

Robert Gordon, Anti-Defamation League

Charles E. Haines, Bloomington

William B. Harper, Anderson Urban League

Christian W. Jung, Director of the Summer Session

Earl S. Kalp, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Wayne A. R. Leys, Roosevelt University

Clifford E. Minton, Urban League of Gary

Gertrude Noar, Anti-Defamation League

Harlan J. Noel, AFL-CIO

Reuben Olsen, Anselm Forum of Gary

William T. Ray, Indianapolis

Mark C. Roser, Anselm Forum of Gary

Rev. Nicholas Sileo, Christian Center, Bloomington

Ruth Sonneborn, Bloomington

Charles C. Thornburg, East Chicago Fair Employment Commission

Dennis L. Trueblood, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Frank Westie, Department of Sociology

Robert E. Wilkerson, Fort Wayne Urban League

Bureau of Governmental Research

". . . an organization of citizens for the improvement of the state and municipal government . . ."

822 PERDIDO STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

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LOUIS E. NEWMAN
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

F13R

February 14, 1958

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am closing two copies of our announcement of a new program in conjunction with The Tulane University of New Orleans. We would appreciate any publicity which you can give to this program and in the event of any inquiries concerning such scholarships would be pleased if you would make reference to it. As this is a new program, we are particularly anxious to secure the best qualified persons in order that it may get off to a good start.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Newman

~~Louis E. Newman~~
Assistant Director

LEN:ekf
Encls.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

February 20, 1958

Mr. Louis E. Newman
Assistant Director
Bureau of Governmental Research
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Newman:

Your recent letter to Dr. George S. Mitchell has been directed to me. Dr. Mitchell has retired as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and now resides in Scotland.

We will be glad to inform our state organizations about the new program the Bureau of Governmental Research has organized in conjunction with Tulane University. We will keep the announcement on file for we occasionally have enquiries about available scholarships.

As you know we are an interracial organization working for compliance with the Supreme Court decision. We are interested in knowing before we publicise the available scholarships whether or not they are open to all qualified applicants without regard to race, creed, or national origin. I assume the Bureau of Governmental Research, dedicated to the improvement of state and municipal government, would hesitate to inaugurate programs not in compliance with the spirit of the Supreme Court decision.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Tulane University

and the

Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

announce the

Bureau Institute Program Honors Fellowship

in the fields of

Municipal and State Government
Public Administration
Public Finance
and allied research areas

The Tulane University of Louisiana is a non-denominational private university located in New Orleans. Within its Graduate School it offers the Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Political Science.

The Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc. is a privately financed, non-profit educational and scientific corporation founded in 1932 for the improvement of the government of the City of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana.

In 1957 the University and the Bureau cooperatively formed the Bureau Institute Program, the first phase of which is an honors fellowship for graduate students in political science.

STIPEND

The fellowship carries a stipend of $1200 to $1800 depending on individual need. Graduate fees and tuition are contributed by the University.

SELECTION

The fellow will be chosen by joint action of the Department of Political Science and the Bureau staff. Selection will generally be

made from application, though oral interview may be used to supplement application information. Applicants must meet the requirements of the University Graduate School.

REQUIREMENTS

The fellow will be expected to complete either the Master's degree or residence for the doctorate within the twelve month period of the fellowship.

Additionally, he will be required to pursue and complete an independent research project set up by the Department of Political Science and the Bureau staff. This project, with the approval of the Department, may be used for the thesis or a portion of the dissertation. Research materials, library facilities and consultative supervision of both the University and Bureau are available to the fellow.

APPLICATION OR INQUIRY

Applications or inquiries should be addressed to the Chairman, Department of Political Science, Tulane University or the Executive Director, Bureau of Governmental Research, Office 409, 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana.

February 20, 1958

Mr. Shepherd L. Witman
Director
Residential Seminars on World Affairs
Lafayette College
Easton, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Witman:

Thank you for the cordial invitation to participate in a seminar on Tropical Africa and U.S. Foreign Policy. I am very interested in the topic but unfortunately find it impossible to attend the seminar due to prior commitments.

The Hampton Institute is a splendid site for the conference. It has an excellent faculty, comfortable facilities, and a pleasant location.

Every good wish for the success of the seminar.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Residential Seminars on World Affairs

SHEPHERD L. WITMAN, *Director*

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA

February 11, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

This is a cordial invitation to you to participate in a seminar on Tropical Africa and US Foreign Policy composed of twenty-five community leaders in the southeast who will attend this intensive four day program at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia from April 10-13, 1958.

Everything seems to be happening at once in today's world. There is no time to ponder leisurely, to let policies evolve, or to take care of things one at a time. Africa is a case in point. The issues at stake in North Africa and in the Union of South Africa have been fairly clear for some time, even though the solutions are still elusive. But less clear are the problems which we must deal with in Tropical Africa. Here affairs are changing so rapidly that we are in no way prepared to cope with emerging nationalism in that portion of the African continent about which we have to learn so much, so fast.

In the quiet, attractive atmosphere of Hampton Institute you will have an opportunity to study and discuss with a small group of specialists and leaders in international affairs some of the problems of Tropical Africa. The enclosed information sheet provides additional details. Discussion outlines, "Selected Readings", and bibliographies will be sent to all participants early in March.

I sincerely hope that you will join us in making this most worthwhile investment in thoughtful, provocative considerations of a major problem in world affairs. Through our proven study and discussion techniques, the Seminar will stimulate new thinking on this vital subject, and lead us to a better understanding of the course US foreign policy should follow.

This is the only seminar we will offer in the Southeast during our program year of 1958.

Sincerely yours,

Shepherd L. Witman

Shepherd L. Witman

enclosures

FACT SHEET

Seminar: Tropical Africa and US Foreign Policy, April 10-13, 1958. (Opening session begins with dinner at 6:30 pm on Thursday, April 10 continuing through Sunday afternoon, April 13)

This is a study of the developments in the east-west belt of Africa, south of the Sahara and north of the Union. It is in this area that rising political, economic and cultural developments foreshadow a new impact on world affairs and US foreign policy. Each of these developments is analyzed and related to US policy.

Residence: Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia

Hampton Institute is a four year college located in the city of Hampton, Virginia, at the southern end of the Peninsula separating the James and York Rivers. The city of Hampton itself is the oldest community in the United States continuously occupied by English-speaking people. Within a radius of 40 miles from the campus are Jamestown, Yorktown, Williamsburg, and other places of historic interest. The College may be reached by the C & O Railroad, Greyhound Bus, and Capital, National and Piedmont Airlines. The airport limousine provides direct service to the College.

All expenses...$35.00 per person. This includes 9 meals, lodging for 3 nights, "Selected Readings," bibliographies, program outlines and other materials. Please make check payable to Residential Seminars on World Affairs.

Program: The Residential Seminars on World Affairs provide an opportunity to withdraw from the details of daily life for concentrated study, thinking and exchange of ideas on world affairs. They are designed to renew and strengthen competence in subject matter. The topic has been chosen for importance and immediacy of impact on American policy, and yet with the major stress on the longer view of our world relations. The seminar will be international in membership as well as subject, as a number of Africans will attend. The names of these authorities, as well as the US specialists on Africa who will act as consultants, will be available within the next few weeks.

A full brochure about the organization is available upon request.

Registrations: Since membership to this seminar will be strictly limited, registration should be made immediately. After registrations are filled, a waiting list will be set up in case of cancellations. Please fill out and return the enclosed reservation card as soon as possible.

See also correspondence with Ray Farabee of National Student Assn.

March 11, 1958

MEMORANDUM Fte Confidential

To: Senior Professional Staff

From: Fred Routh

Re: College Conference Planning Session

I spent the better part of Saturday, March 8th, at Atlanta University attending a college conference planning session under the sponsorship of the YMCA and the U.S. National Student Association.

Among the adult leaders present were: Ray Farabee, President of NSA; Paul Rilling, Southern Regional office YMCA; Rev. Charlie Jones, Chapel Hill; Art Levin, ADL, Atlanta; Rev. Robert Mills, Episcopal Chaplain at Georgia Tech.; and Max Heirlich, AFSC, High Point, North Carolina office.

Student leadership from North Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia, and Texas was also present.

We discussed a proposed conference for Southern college student leadership on the problems of desegregation. The following decisions were made:

Title -- "The College Student in the Changing South" -- a consideration of problems of racial tensions confronting the college campus.

Time -- Thanksgiving Weekend, 1958.

Where -- Nashville, Tennessee.

Size -- 150-200 student participants from all Southern states.

Goals -- 1. Develop a full understanding of the problem.
2. Methods of approaching tension problems.
3. Student responsibility in times of transition.

Format -- A. Several major speakers representing a wide range of opinion. Possible speakers: M.L. King, Jr., Tom Waring, Brooks Hayes.
B. Six interest-area workshops -- student leaders and participants, adult resource persons:
1. What can we do to better relations on a segregated campus?
2. What can we do to better relations on a desegregating campus?
3. What can we do to better relations between campus and community? (Prevent a second Miss Lucy affair.)
4. What can we do to better relations between colleges? (emphasis on communication between Negro and white schools.)

5. What can we do to better secure civil liberties on the campus? (freedom of speech and association.)
6. How can we deal effectively with the emotional dynamics of individual and group reaction to change?

This was a good planning session and SRC played a functional role in it. We will continue to serve in an advisory capacity through Paul Rilling of the YMCA and Ray Farabee of the NSA.